UNIVERSITY OF MADRAS

Thirumathi Sornammal Endowment Lectures

on

TIRUKKURAL

1959-60 to 1968-69

(In Two Parts)

PART I - ENGLISH

1971

MADRAS UNIVERSITY TAMIL DEPARTMENT

PUBLICATION

THIRUMATHI SORNAMMAL ENDOWMENT LECTURES

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Price Rs. 20

Printed at:
Rathnam Press, 11, Badrian Street Madras-1

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Proofs corrected by:
Perumpulavar M. V. VENUGOPAULA PILLAI

FOREWORD

Tirukkural has been acclaimed as one of the finest products of Indian culture. Many savants have found it to be an eternal source of inspiration that springs from the perennial philosophy of human thought.

This masterpiece of Tamil literature is yet a fertile field for scholars to explore and exhibit the lofty wisdom of the Tamils to the world.

Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, the eminent Tamil scholar, who devoted his life and energy for bringing home to the common man the beauty and nuances of Tamil language and literature, donated in 1955 a sum of Rs. 25,000/- to the Madras University for instituting an endowment in the name of his revered mother. This endowment is known as 'Thirumati Sornammal Endowment'.

Under the auspices of this endowment, lectures are to be delivered annually by erudite scholars in Tamil. The donor's wish was that the lectures should be on Tirukkural, at least for the first ten years.

So far eleven scholars have delivered these special lectures on Tirukkural under the auspices of this endowment.

Among them, the first lecture on the 'Age of Tiruvalluvar' was delivered by Thiru S. Natesa Pillai, late lamented scholar and statesman of Ceylon. But it is very unfortunate that this valuable script of his lecture is not available to us. Therefore, the subsequent nine lectures are published in this volume. The eleventh lecture was delivered in Tamil and is being issued as a separate volume.

The learned lecturers who have delivered these lectures are the acknowledged authorities in their fields. Therefore, these lectures which are the results of their deep reflections and long experience, will certainly be useful for all who are interested in the study of Tamil language and culture. Therefore, I am very happy to have been instrumental for the publication of these lectures in this form.

It will also be appropriate for me to mention here that the endowment instituted by the great philanthropic Tamil scholar Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, more than a decade ahead of the second International Tamil Conference held at Madras found its proper sequel in the institution of three University Centres in Tamil Nadu for Tirukkural Study, by the enlightened efforts of our late lamented Dr. C. N. Annadurai, one of the great architects of mordern Tamil, who was than the Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu.

I hope and trust the inspiration that the readers get by a study of these lectures and allied research works on Tirukkural will help to make the world a better place to live in.

N. D. SUNDARAVADIVELU,

25th May, 1971. *Vice-Chancellor.*

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ASPECTS OF TAMIL HUMANISM

BY

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The ancient literature in Tamil provides useful data for an enquiry into the origins and into the sociological development of education within a culture complex. It is a very valuable corpus for the study of Ancient India, because unlike the ancient Sanskrit and Pali literatures which are predominantly priestly and monastic literatures, the ancient Tamil literature is predominantly secular. Its value to the understanding of the non-Aryan life of Ancient India is all the more enhanced, since none of the other languages of Southern India and Ceylon have literatures extant which or so ancient or so independent of Aryan influences.

The themes and situations of this ancient literature were determined by a society which did not then accept any caste determinism and rigidity, and which opened learning and perfectibility to both men and women and to all occupational groups. There is, in this literature,a strong belief in human powers and an integration and affirmation of life in its humanistic and social aspects, without any desire as yet, in the earlier phases, to end birth, to renounce life, or to obtain birth through mental powers and through elaborate Vedic sacrifices (1).

As Swami Vipulananda says: "This earliest epoch in the civilisation of the Tamils is the age in which heroism was exalted to the position of a religion. The acquisition of fame was held up as the motive for virtuous action and the performance of strenuous deeds of valour" (2).

It is perhaps more convincing to quote a foreign scholar familiar with Indian literatures regarding the special characteristics and beauty of Ancient Tamil literature.

Pierre Meile says: "Le signe le plus evident de cette originalité est que la portion authentiquement ancienne consiste en une poésie strictement laique: pour une fois, danş toute la

litterature de l'Indé, le problems religieux est a peu prés absent; pas d'hymnes liturgiques, pas de lyrisme mystique, presque pas de noms de divinités, de rares allusions, faites d'un ton détachè, ā des sanctuaires ou des idoles; et surtout, presque aucune trace d'inquiétude religieuse. L'ambiance est toute laique la vie d'ici-bas seule importé : amour et guerre, épisodes de la vie sentimentale ou féodale célébrés en des chansons bréves, beauté de la nature, briéveté de l'existence. La mort, considerée dun pòint de vue puremeut humain, n'est que le terme des plaisirs et de la puissance; et c'est pourquoi cette ancienne littérature tamoule est la seule, ou presque, dans toute l'Inde, qui ait pratique le genre d l'élégie. Il en est de poignantes, dans leur profonde humanité, comme celle .' Pour une Reine defuncte'. Par conséquent Arrien dit vrai quand il rapporte, d'apres Megasthéne, que l'Inde a des élégies: mais c'est en tamoul, et non en sanscrit, qu'elles ont survécu".

"La valeur littéraire de ces poémes est de premier ordre, Consis, élégants, sans bavures, presque toujours d'un mouvement vif et animés des sentiments trés humains, parfois d'une émotion poignante, ils'sont, dans la plenitude du terme, classiques : plus sobres et moins rhétoriques que Pindare, qui est le meilleur terme de comparaison, ce sont presque les seules productions de l'Inde qui, exemptes de précosité, et n'abusant pas de la virtuosité intellectuelle, aient la grace, l'équilibre et la sobriété de l'art attique" (3).

The most evident sign of this originality is that the most authentic and ancient portion consists of poetry which is essentially secular. For once in the literature of India, the religious problem is almost absent. There are no liturgical hymns, no mystical lyrics, almost no names of divinities, but just a few allusions made in a detached sort of way to sanctuaries and to gods, and, above all, no trace of religious restlessness. The environment is all secular, and only this life matters–love and war, episodes of the emotional life or feudal life sung in short poems, the beauty of nature and the brevity of life. Death is considered from an earthly point of view and is the final end of power and pleasure. Of all Indian literatures, Tamil literature is the only one which contains elegies. There are elegies most touching in their expressions, as the one upon a dead queen. Arrien is right

in saying after Megasthenes, that India does have elegies, but it is in Tamil, and not in Sanskrit, that they have survived.

"The literary qualities of these poems are of the highest order. Short, elegant and unexaggerated, almost always lively and animated with very human feelings, sometimes of most poignant emotion, they are classics in the fullest sense; more sober and less rhetorical than Pindar who is the best term of comparison. These are the only literary productions of India which are free of conceits, and which, without abusing intellectual virtuosity, have the grace, the balance and the sobriety of Attic art."

A discussion on the chronology of this ancient poetry would be long and involved, because when it comes to precise dating of particular poems of the anthologies on the basis of the contemporaneity of the poets and their respective patrons, or on a stratification on the basis of language and grammar, the student is faced with some intransigent, and in the present state of available evidence, insoluble problems. But the attempts at a chronological and ideological stratification based on language, grammar and ideological content, are making the panorama of Ancient Tamil life and institutions clearer and clearer and reducing the obscurity which hangs over the centuries represented by this literature. For the purpose of the growth and development of educational and humanistic ideas we shall examine them on the traditional and accepted chronology that they represent Tamil society prior to 200 A.D.

Two pioneers in the field of stratification have contributed to a clearer understanding of the development of Ancient Tamil poetry. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar established in an admirable monograph entitled *Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture* (1925) the non-Āryan and pre-Āryan origin of aspects of Tamil Culture and Tamil institutions from a study of the words in ancient Tamil which are of non-Sanskrit origin. Another of his works entitled *History of the Tamils from the earliest times to* 600 *A.D.* (1929) contains chapters in which, with remarkable skill and insight, he has traced the evolution of the conventions of Tamil love poetry, and thus illustrated a development of Tamil society from a tribal, primitive stage to that of full social development and city life and stable kingdoms.

K. N. Sivaraja Pillai was a pioneer in the study of the more ancient verbal terminations, from the use of which he demonstrated the relative antiquity of certain poems. He appears to have realised the insufficiency of arguing antiquity only from linguistic structure and semantic changes, and hence in a noteworthy contribution to Tamil studies, *A Chronology of the Ancient Tamils* (1932), attempted to show a chronological sequence in the anthologies, founded on the chief, dominant ideas and motifs which appeared to mark the stages of the development of Tamil thought. He sought to have his theory conformed by an appeal to the general laws formulated by the Evolutionist school of anthropologists and sociologists then in vogue. He divides early Tamil literature (200 B.C. to 700 A.D.) into three strata, the Naturalistic, the Ethical and the Religious, and contends that by and large the earliest poems deal with man, " his physical wants and sensuous enjoyments." This anthropocentric Naturalistic period was followed by an " Ethical period " in which the poets "grappled with questions of conduct and character arising from the various complex relations of life in society and appear generally preoccupied with the evolution of a code of morals and polity to form the basis of an ordered social life". The predominant influence of this Ethical period he attributed to the Buddhists and Jains. The third stage of the evolution, according to Sivaraja Pillai, was the Religious period which was brought about by the Pallavas and the Saivaite and Vaishnavite hymnists. (3)

The books of P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar and K. N. Sivaraja Pillai, in spite of their defects, are some of the most outstanding contributions to Tamil research in the fiirst half of the present century. The present speaker by examining the same bulk of literature from an educational point of view, has been able to trace out the development of an ideological content, which is of interest to Tamil studies as well as to the general development of educational ideas and institutions in ancient societies. The results of this study seem to confirm the sociology of change and progress as outlined in the theories of linear development of society. (4)

From the Ancient Tamil literary sources, it has been possible to trace a sociology of educational technique and thought from a "primitive" epoch of shamanism to the religious and philosophical epoch of the *Maṇimēkalai* (200 A.D.). These typological strata do

not necessarily imply a chronological development. It may well be that some of the poems which represent a simpler stage of clan culture are poems which were composed in more remote areas and among conservative clans, at the same time the poems revealing a more complex type of city culture were composed in the cities. The main lines of development of Tamil educational techniques and ideas seem also to correspond to the main lines of development in other ancient cultures, as those of Northern India and the Greek and Celtic words, to take but a few comparable societies, and as in those countries illustrate the thesis that a given type of society evolves a pattern of informal or formal education in response to the social and economic needs and cultural values obtaining in that particular type of society.

Though the anthologies reflect eminently a bardic and panegyric age, and the longer poems, the *Silappatikāram* and the *Maṇimēkalai* reflect a didactic, religious and philosophic age, all these works contain "survivals" or "retentions" of previous epochs of development and offer much material of value to the social anthropologist and the study of early education. In this feature, they resemble other classical literatures which contain earlier traditions, myths and ages of oral compositions embedded in them. The Sānskrit and Greek Literature are particularly wealthy in this regard, as an examination of the Rig-Veda, the Atharva-Veda and Homer or Aeschylus abundantly demonstrate.

The study of "Primitive" and "non-literate" cultures demonstrate that parents shamans, tribal chiefs, bards and minstrels are the educators of such societies, and that education in these societies becomes more formalised with the restriction and particularisation of functions as a result of functional differentiation. Tutorial guidance of the young in early societies, says Malinowski, is twofold, viz. an apprenticeship which trains the student to fulfil the technological and economic needs of his society, and that is the training given him in the practice of a particular occupation or craft (hunting, fishing, herding), and the other which trains him in the intangibles of his society, the spiritual and moral values of his society, a training which is intrinsically related to mastery of language. Craft and literature are the two main divisions of educational processes in early societies, and because of the rarer powers necessary for the academic aspect of early education

(greater intelligence, memory, psychical dispositions), it is particularly the literary aspect which has been most identified with the educative process. In fact, the early specialised educators are precisely those responsible also for literary origins and development. (5)

The family is the first and original source of education and as such is a universal constant in education. Side by side with the family is found another educational constant or intermediary, the representative of hidden powers, the priest, the priestess, the shaman or the medicine-man (அகவலன், அகவல் மகள், அகவுநர்) and from this double source, parent and shaman, seem to proceed the educators of more complex societies. At an initial stage, the parent was the first educator and combined in him both parenthood and religious power. But with the increase of individual and social needs he abandoned his religious functions to a specialised person, the shaman, better equipped than himself by natural endowment for the functions of religious ritual. The shaman with his rites and magical song and ritual dance, necessary concomitants for entry into communion with the occult, became the vehicle of prophecy and the source of mantic poetry, the earliest traceable oral literature and record of traditions of a people. It is in these priestly functions that one must find the origins of the Vedic *mantra*, the Greek *molpe* and the Tamil *ahaval*. The sacrificial use of liquor, the juice of the soma or of the grape or of the palmyrah palm, or fermented honey, provided the material excitants for a mystical exhilaration. The shaman in time became the repository of power and wisdom. (6)

While the shaman affirms the powers of the occult, it is but natural that a society dependent for its primary needs on physical strength and power, should also affirm its reliance on the powers of man and glorify the strength and vigour which makes him modify his environment or master it. This eulogistic anthropocentric function is performed by the bard and the minstrel. The person who is intermediary with the occult does not share to the full the life of the world about him. He is a separate being *segregatus a populo*, but the bard is one of the people, a witness to the display of physical prowess in tribal feud and war, and he sings of arms and men. The bard is nevertheless part of the common people, and therefore in a more complex society his more literary function are taken over by the poet, a singer who has

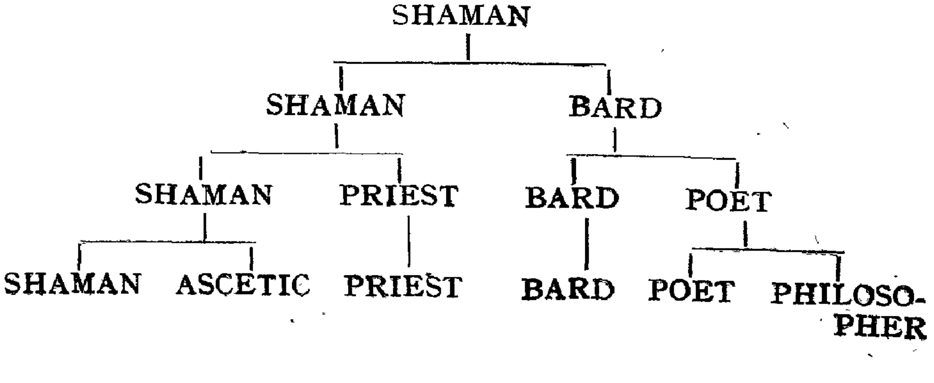
given up the musical instrument of the bard and moves in a higher plane of philosophic truth and morals than the bard himself. It is the poet who paves the way for the philosopher and the philosophic religious teacher.

The religious and spiritual functions of the shaman too undergo a differentiation as society increases in numbers and cultural complexity. From the shaman seem to develop the priest and the ascetic, both types of intelligentsia in society and both closely associated in societies with mental powers, literary skills and educational functions. The word "shaman" itself seems to be closely associated with the word "samana" (Sk. sramana), and the word "tapas" (penance, asceticism, originally "heat") appears to point to original shamanistic fire-rites. (7)

This development may be generally traced in the origins and growth of most of the classical literatures by examining their caltural "survivals" or "retentions." There is all over the ancient world the phenomenon of single persons being invested with multiple functions in an early stage of society, and as social development becomes more complex, there is the fact of a distribution of functions. Thus in an early ancient society, whether Indo-Aryan or Greek or Celtic or Tamil, priesthood, prophecy, poetry, philosophy and teaching are seen to reside in one and the same individual. Even today among the Tartars and other Siberian peoples, the shamans and bakshas are described as "singers, poets, musicians, diviners and doctors, the guardians of popular religious traditions and the preservers of ancient legend".(8)

The functional differentiation of educators stemming from an original unitary type may be illustrated by a diagram :—

Diagram to illustrate Ancient Educator Typology



THE SHAMANS

Though the earliest Tamil poetical anthologies reflect a predominantly bardic and poetic age of educators, they contain traces of shamanistic functions, which because of the reasons arguing their antiquity, are to be considered survivals and retentions of still earlier stages of culture.

These early primitive societies, which are suggested more than described, seem to have been of the food-gathering type, in which populations were sparse, social classes were unknown, mates were selected by freedom of choice within the regional clan, government was under local chiefs, and social life was imbued with a keen sense of kinship and community. The family appears to be supreme in the enculturation of the group, but the more spiritual elements of the culture are already entrusted to the shaman. Since the societies are animistic in their beliefs attributing hidden beings as indwelling in the hills, in groves and trees, the shaman is considered to possess special magical powers through which he appeases harmful spirits(9). The priests and priestesses related to the cults of Murugan and Korravai are considered to be intermidiaries whose religious rites obtain the prevention and cure of illness and calamities said to have been caused by them. In order to appease the god, the Murugan priest or priestess is invited to offer the sacrifice of the blood of rams, roasted rice grains and red flowers, to the accompaniment of a vigorous and frenzied ritual ballet—வேலன் ஆடல். (10) The priest (or priestess) generally entered into a trance and sang as he danced in the open space of the village common or before the temple of Murugan. The priest and priestesses, because of their contacts with the spirit world, were also considered to be diviners who could predict the future.(11)

The shaman whose presence among contemporary societies, as in Bali or among the Tartars, is popularly regarded as an unimportant piece of curiosity, is the parent from whom are derived both the poet and the philosopher. Often music, dance and literature begin with him. The earliest cave-paintings and figurines in prehistoric societies like Altamira and Lascaux are also to be attributed to priest-magic, and hence the role of shamanism as the source and origin of different branches of cultural development seems to have been satisfactorily proved. (12)

To an ancient and 'simple' society, education consisted in procuring economic wealth sufficient for basic needs and in averting illness and other calamities. While elders of the tribe saw to the transmission and efficiency of the group's occupation, the shaman not only averted illnesses but was trusted to procure economic wealth by recourse to his supra-human powers. Thus when the fisherfolk found their net did not provide sufficient reward for their toils, the shaman planted in the sand the horn of a shark, the most feared denizen of the seas, and danced his ritual dances together with the people for prosperity. When there were portends of impending disaster to the flocks, the shepherds and shepherdesses danced to the god of the flocks with one of them impersonating the god so that he might avert the calamity; when marauding tribes found their cattle-wealth diminishing, they danced before their mother-goddess in order to obtain greater prosperity for their villages by more abundant plunder.(13)

Such dances have remained as 'retentions' in the 'epic' *Silappathikāram*. Of these the most revealing, from a shamanistic point of view, is the dance of Sālini in the village community centre (potiyil, manṟam) of the Maṟavar. The significant term given the Maṟavar is வில்லேர் உழவர், — the farmers of the bow. In the episode Sālini, an elderly lady, the priestess of Koṟṟavai, dances into a trance and makes her mantic declarations. She declares that the wealth of the tribe is progressively on the decline, that the group has become degenerate. She exhorts them to develop a more martial and plundering spirit and make their offering to their mother and goddess Koṟṟavai. Her exhortations are made with a voice of authority, and a people used to plunder and cruelty watch her dance and listen to her with awe. The episode is a clear illustration of the power and direction which the shamanistic priestess gives to the entire culture of the tribe, and of her being the repository of the traditions and hopes of her people.(14)

'தெய்வ முற்று மெய்ம்மயிர் நிறுத்துக்
கையெடுத் தோச்சிக் கானவர் வியப்ப
....
நடுவூர் மன்றத் தடிபெயர்த் தாடி'

The early sacrificial rituals were attended by solo and choric dances, by mantic declarations often made during mimetic ballets, in which the dancers felt possessed by the god or goddess, or represented and impersonated the god or goddess who was worshipped. A highly emotional religious enthusiasm and exhilaration were manifested in these dances which were accompanied by songs, the beat of drums and tabors and the ringing of bells.

The priests and priestesses were also the authentic interpreters of omens. Their songs and sayings were probably the earliest poetry and oral literature to which society paid any heed. For the origin of Tamil poetry from a mantic stage, there is a revealing piece of evidence in the name given to the shaman and to the fortune-teller who divined the future from the configuration of rice-grains spread on her winnowing-fan. Her appellation was 'ahaval mahaḷ' or 'the woman who calls,' and the shaman was called 'ahavalan.' The word 'ahaval' by itself means a call, an appellative utterance, and referred in this context to the custom of the priestess calling upon the gods and spirits. This usage led to the same name 'ahaval' being given to the early Tamil poetic metre which originally must have been a recitative chant like the religious chant of early ritual (15). The essential relation and the common origins of poetry and dance and movement is seen in the use of the word "foot"—அடி—in most languages to denote a fundamental unit in prosody. It is even clearer in Tamil because of the presence in the Tamil vocabulary of certain primary words such as அசை, ஆடல், பாடல் related to literary origins, which imply movement and rhythm.

The *Atharva-veda* contains sufficient evidence for the existence of shamanism and for the power which the atharvans (magician-priests) could have wielded with their spells, incantations and magic. The *Atharva-veda* is indicative of a society and a stage of thought more ancient than the one represented by the *Rig-Veda* and is of greater anthropological interest than the *Rig-Veda* itself. The atharvans, corresponding to the 'magi' in Persia were the earliest shamans and teachers as revealed in Indo-Aryan sources (16). The evolution of the Brahministic shaman into the Brahmin priest of an elaborate sacrificial ritual and thereby into a supreme social determinant in his society is one of the most

impressive facts of shamanistic study in the world (17). Shamanism affected the growth of religious thought and cosmology even in the non-Brahmin philosophical religions of India (18).

The derivation of bardism from shamanism and the dual role of religious priest and secular poet played by the shaman is also shown by the name *ahavalan* and *ahavunar* given to bards and bardesses. They are said to carry a wand made of select bamboo with a silver mount and to dance or direct the music and dance with this conductor's baton. They praise the warriors in the village community and in the streets and as such they are entitled to some of the spoils of war.

'மன்றம் படர்ந்து மறுகுசிறை புக்குக்
கண்டி நுண்கோல் கொண்டுகளம் வாழ்த்தும்
அகவலன் பெறுக மாவே.' (19)

THE BARDS AND MINSTRELS

The second series of educative impulses in early Tamil society is to be seen in the growth of a hereditary class of professional singers, dancers, musicians and panegyrists known as *pāṇar* (பாணர்). The earliest poems concerning this class point to a stage of societal evolution in which the regional culture and community have broken into many villages with a chief presiding over each village, or a super-chief presiding over a number of villages.

Many of the panegyric or bardic poems are illustrative of a society in which warfare of the feud-vendetta type took place. In these poems recognition and merit are attached to prowess in the chase and in archery, and warriors involved in feud-vendetta for the seizure and plunder of cattle and of land are greatly eulogized, viz, the chief who leads the foray and distributes the spoils with drink, song and dance, the blacksmith who makes the weapons of warfare, the potter who makes the jars for the corpses of heroes, the drummer who infuses a martial spirit, the warrior who has fallen in battle, and the bard who sings to the accompaniment of his lute heroic and panegyric songs in honour of his patron, both on the battlefield and after his victorious return home. Occupations held in disrepute in Indo-Āryan society are held in esteem within these Tamil groups.

'துடியன் பாணன் பறையன் கடம்பனென்
றிந்நான் கல்லது குடியு மில்லை.' (20)

While the sense of community grew around the leader and chief who led the forays, distributed plunder, and entertained them lavishly to meat and drink, the bard became the voice of the community which expressed in song its past achievements and its present ambitions, hopes, fears and sorrows. Some of the best Tamil poems in the *Puṟanāṉuṟu* anthology are the elegies mourning the death of patron chiefs who had been munificent in their gifts and affectionate and 'paternal' in their treatment of the bards. (21)

In this 'heroic' society each group had to defend itself. Each hamlet had its leader who organised its attacs and defencos, and had its own troupe of bards and drummers and musicians. In times of peace, the bard kept alive the spirit of bravado and bravery, and eulogised other qualities always associated with the warrior, namely, honour, glory, hospitality and liberality. In the grounds where stood the village community centre as well as the village shrine, under the shade of the lofty trees or beneath the thatched roof, the bare, sometimes alone, oftentimes with his troupe, entertained the village folk to song and dance and long recitals of the heroic achievements of the clan. The group sentiments were strong in the organisation of village life in the Tamil country and the village government was well regulated by custom, sanctions and the voice of the elders. In popular esteem, however, the bard, the drummer and the herald were of vital importance to the community. (22)

The origin of bardic poetry demonstrates a bifurcation of functions which were originally resident in the shaman priest or priestess. The word 'ahavalan' (அகவலன்) originally meant both shaman and bard. Since a martial society tends to centre its ideals, thoughts, ambitions and praise around the achievements of men themselves and relies on physical strength and bravery, exclusively secular persons are needed to make them articulate for the clan and tribe. The function of the bard is both to inspire to heroism as well as to entertain, and thus for entertainment purposes he has with him his troupe of men and women and children, dancers and musicians. Hence bardism and minstrelsy in the Tamil country gradually grew to be the hereditary occupation of a class of people called the pāṇar (பாணர்).

This Tamil name for the professional bard is itself derived from the word 'puṇ' which stands for instrumental music. Instrumental accompaniment in India was an indispensable feature of early song and dance as in Greece. The bards in the Tamil country were differentiated by the kind of musical instrument they played, the large lyres or the small lyres; by the posture they adopted while singing panegyrics in court, whether they were entitled to sit or stand before their patrons; and by the kind of dances they performed.(23) We have no means of assessing the number of bards or bardic troupes which existed in the period, but all evidence points to their having been numerous, each village having its own troupe and the larger villages and towns several troupes or families. (24)

Many of these troupes led a wandering life in search of patronage in various parts of the Tamil country. They were of primary importance, not only in the development of oral and written literature, but also in the growth and popular appreciation of music, dance and drama. Princely patronage was the bard's reward for his service to the community. While many of them wandered in the Tamil kingdoms and chieftaincies, there were others who appear to have been official bards at the courts of chiefs and kings. Like all panegyrists they are mostly concerned with contemporaries, their patrons, whom they praise or whose passing away in the palace or in the foray, they lament. Almost their entire literature, even if it was recorded has perished, and what remains are probably a few eulogistic and didactic poems which were preserved in the courts of the patrons they celebrated. It was their oral literature which made further literary progress possible. A bard's compositions are generally anonymous; they are not personal or individualistic, but speak for the community as a whole. He educates a heroic or epic age by holding up for imitation the type of hero who is the ideal for his community and his age, and crystallises his ideas even in single words which are charged with a dynamic meaning for his contemporaries. (25)

An evolution in the role of the bard is easily traceable in the anthologies. He began as an individual necessary, like the drummer, to stir up the martial spirit of the clan engaged in battle, and to sing the praises of the chief and the warriors when after victory

they danced and drank and feasted. At a later stage, song and dance became choric and musical instruments developed, and thus bardic tradition became more organised and resulted in a troupe and a hereditary class.

When at a third stage the poet became the respected personality of a more developed and literate society, music and poetry, which hitherto were combined, separated to a certain extent. The bard and his troupe continued with music, and song and dance, but poetry, reflective, didactic, and panegyric of a higher order, becomes the property of poets. The Tamil society then originated a distinction between the bard (pāṇar) and the poet (pulavar) as much as the Greeks did between the bard (aoidos) and the poet (poietes), and Indo-Āryan society between the bard (sūta) and the poet (kavi).

The bards being panegyrists by profession were extremely eloquent persons. When poets gained ascendancy in society and the bardic institution degenerated, the bards were used in the poems of a subsequent stage of development as conventional pimps and as companions to young men in love, obviously because of their gifts of persuasive speech. For the same competence in language, the bards were conventionally used by chiefs and kings to carry messages from the battlefield or battle camp to their queens in the palace. A poem in the *Kuṟuntogai* anthology expresses the marvel of a damsel at the persuasive language of a bardic messenger from her lover. She argues how much more eloquent would he be in the village assemblies of his home town if he could be so eloquent before strangers in a strange place. The expression 'adolescent student' (iḷāmāṇākkan) used in this poem is significant as one of the rare examples in the anthologies of evidence for formal studentship.

'அன்னா யிவனோ ரிளமா ணாக்கன்
தன்னூர் மன்றத் தென்னன் கொல்லோ
இரந்தூ ணிரப்பா மேனியொடு
விருந்தி னூரும் பெருஞ்செம் மலனே.' Kuṟ. 33

Women constituted an integral part of the bard's troupe, and they were the principal singers and dancers at the performances in courts and village community centres in programmes of entertainment. They do not appear to have been panegyrists directly

apostrophising the patrons of the bard. Transmission of the arts within the class was easy since entire families, children included, went from chief to chief, and kingdom to kingdom entertaining the villages on their way and receiving their hospitality.

The minstrel and bard have been studied by critics and historians of literature, but their role as educators deserves greater notice in the study of the education of early societies.

THE POETS

The role of the poet as educator of groups of disciples as well as of the community in general corresponds in the anthologies to a society in which kingship prevails, and the chieftaincies and clans have been welded into feudal monarchies. Political and social life are developed on a larger scale and with a more extensive and variegated background. The problems which confront the king and his administration as well as society are much more complex and include moral and ethical values involving interaction between individuals and groups. The inflow of wealth into the capital cities and the sea-ports makes the problem of wealth and poverty, of taxation, trade, war, peace and good government, subjects or reflection on the part of the poets who have become the friends and counsellors of kings. Thus, from the panegyric role of the bard, emerges the poet of a complex and wealthy stage of society, relinquishing popular entertainment and education to the bard, but assuming for himself and developing those aspects of formal teaching which were contained among the bard's functions.

The increase of wealth and splendour at the court, the higher and more universal values with which the poet deals, his cultural activities at courts, his friendship with the royalty of the land, and his interventions with kings on behalf of his friends confer on the poet an aristocratic standing, even though the poet is almost entirely dependent on royal patronage. (26)

The poems which describe the rule in the Tamil monarchies show that kingly society was developed on a money economy and that there was wealth and affluence in the royal household. The forest defences, the regular armies and provisions made for the elephants, the horses and chariots of warfare, the different parts of a palace and their costly apartments, the gold and silver

vessels in which food and drink are served, and the imported articles of ornamentation in the royal households are evidence of *the economic prosperity* which marks the poetic stage of culture, correlate of an aristocratic tradition of education. The organisation of clan has given place to the feudal monarchy, and the bard's functions in tribal forays are taken over by a formal war-drum, enthroned in the palace, the sounding of which summons a regular army in the hour of danger.

More people were released *for occupations other than primary* production, and thus opportunities were created for the introduction and development of formal education. Though Tamil society continues to cherish the values of a warrior society and even voluntary suicide by fasting to death is nndertaken to vindicate a point of honour in the same manner as the religious suicide of the Jains, there is an insistence on intellectual perfection and on moral enrichment, and an uninhibited development of music and other arts in addition to the warrior ethics and arts of the bardic period. From *the warrior ethics developed gradually* more universal values. For instance, the Kosar, a fierce and warlike clan, are said to be as true to their word as are their arrows to hit their targets. They are people of their word—ஒன்று மொழிக் கோசர். (27)

What are the differences in function which appear between the categories of bard and of poet ? The bard is a peripatetic with his troupe and his family whereas the poet journeys alone ; the bard and his troupe entertain, act plays, sing, praise and dance and use musical accompaniment, whereas the poet instructs and counsels as one having authority, scholarship and learning with an unaccompanied technique of poesy ; the bard is the voice of the community, whereas the poet goes under his own name and his poems are mostly personal, expressive of his own relations with his patron and his own reflective thoughts ; the bard is more the entertainer of the people and of the court while the poet is found mostly in the court and in gatherings of poets of his own standing and learning ; the bards sing panegyrics, martial exhortations and heroic verse, while the poet's preoccupations even when praising a king's valour are with human conduct and ethics and morals ; the bard may be found in the battlefield during this period to exhort the troops to bravery, but the poet

has no place in the battlefield, except as a peacemaker or as an interested friend. The Tamil names for a bard and his troupe were derived from roots which are associated with music, drama and dance, while the name for a poet is associated with a word which signifies general knowledge, reasoning and learning. (28)

That the period represented by the anthologies was predominantly a poetic stage of culture and education is admirably illustrated by comparing it with the subsequent epoch of the longer poems, the *Silappatikāram - Manimēkalai* period when the place of the poet has been almost taken by the religious teacher and the philosopher. The poet seems to vanish from the foreground and it is the philosopher who uses the language and the conventions of poetry. But during this poetic stage, the number of poets and the range of their activities more than amply illustrate the formal function of education which they performed among their groups of disciples and the informal education which they imparted as the moral guides, informal law-givers and counsellors of society.

This development of secular poetic thought was not to blossom forth immediately into a full and pure philosophy as it did in Greece. The political movements in India and Ceylon and international trade were bringing Indian kingdoms and foreign countries into very close relationship, and the political and commercial routes were also the highways along whieh Vedic Brahmanism, Jainism, Buddhism and Ājīvikism travelled to the Tamil kingdoms. The *Silappatikāram, Maṇimēkalai* and the *Tirukkuṟal* represent an age of philosophic thought, religious and secular, and of inter-cultural contacts and inter-cultural conflicts.

THE PHILOSOPHERS

The transition from the period in which the poet is the prominent educator of society to the period in which the philosopher becomes the prominent educator is gradual. It is hardly necessary to remind the reader that these stages overlap and are named the most prominent and distinctive educator-type of a certain period, and that the prominence of one type during a specific period does not exclude the functional activites of the rest during the same period. The shaman, the bard, the poet and the philosopher are always present in society, but the fourth

stage of development, brings to the fore the philosopher, both religious and secular. (29)

The bard and much more the poet, by the metaphysical abstractions involved in ideals such a puhaḷ, mānam (glory, honour) and aṟam (cosmic and moral order, righteousness), by constant references to moral and ethical problems of justice and honesty, and by exhortations to bravery, kindness and generosity have initiated the steps leading to formal philosophy. The intuitive insight of the poet now gives place to the organising wisdom of the philosopher, the humanist philosopher who believes in his self-sufficiency, and the religious philosopher who elaborates on a doctrine he claims to have been revealed, or which has been handed down by a tradition to which he gives the reverence that another gives to a revelation. For even revelation, which is explicit in the shaman and his priestly-prophetic role, undergoes a philosophic "processing" and rendering at a certain stage of religious development. (30) Poetry itself becomes philosophic and philosophy assumes the garb of poetry.

The social configuration within which the philosopher emerges is the City, a harbour-city or a king's capital. The descriptions in the longer poems of the anthologies and in the *Silappatikāram* and *Maṇimēkalai* of a chess board development of a city-plan and of the quartiéres occupied by various trades and professions, the day market-place and the night market-place, the multilingual residence of foreign merchants, the quays heaped with exports and imports stamped with the Customs seal, the multitude of ships riding at anchor, the well-lit roads at night, the various temples, monasteries and preaching rostra of a multi-religious population and the assembly halls, are common features of any large city in which culture-contacts resulting from a plural society occasion the creativity and the stir of the spirit. (31)

> "As in festivals many and diverse groups mingle
> together, so people speaking different tongues who
> have left their own countries live here in harmony." (32)

> "வேறுவே றுயர்ந்த முதுவா யொக்கற்
> சாறயர் மூதூர் சென்றுதொக் காங்கு
> மொழிபல பெருகிய பழிதீர் தேஎத்துப்
> புலம்பெயர் மக்கள் கலந்தினி துறையு
> முட்டாச் சிறப்பிற் பட்டினம்."

The monarch and his subjects are conscious of a 'sense of empire', sometimes territorial, often commercial, and the new exigencies of statecraft and citizenship demand not panegyrics with incidental moralising, but specialised treatises on social and individual problems cast in the mould of cryptic, condensed verse to be easily memorised as in the *Tirukkuṟal* and thus become common property, or personified and hypostatised in the dramatic characters of literary and polemical epics like the *Silappatikāram* and *Manimēkalai* so as to be presented as types for imitation or rejection.

The culture of the city guarantees the democratisation of Education and the Arts and shifts the scene of culture and art from the palace to the houses of merchant princes, the temples and monasteries and the forum and the market place. It creates men of culture and taste even among non-professionals. Kōvalan, the hero in the *Silappatikāram,* is a merchant prince, but his accomplishments are more than mercantile; he is a composer of impromptu lyrics of great beauty and a skilful player on the lute who finds music a solace to him at a time of distress. (33) Music and dance are no more the exclusive property of the bard and his troupe. The entertainment which is at a popular level in the village becomes formal and highly technicalised in the city. Music and dance are cultivated by professionals and they have become subjects of formal scientific study. Mātavi, the professional danseuse, begins learning her art at the age of five under a consummate master skilled in dance and poetry and drama. Her first public appearance a seven-year course of intense training is on a stage which conforms to long established norms, and professional musicians, each a master in his own instrument, are the members of her accompanying orchestra. (34) Modern scholars are unable to explain the highly technical data and musical learning incidentally furnished about Tamil dance and music in the 'epic–period'. One critic has asserted that Equal Temperament, said to be found by Haydn in the eighteenth century. was no secret to the Tamil musicians of the Silappathikāram epoch. (35) The professional danceuse, who now belongs to a courtesan class, and the professional musician do not now enjoy a reputation for moral behaviour. (36)

The democratisation is apparent not only in the Fine Arts but even more so in the teaching of religion and philosophy. The

different secular and religious philosophies at this epoch appear as full and well-developed systems in the local cultural and language matrix. The twenty-seventh canto of *Manimēkalai* contains an exposition of all the Indian systems of philosophy and religion, those originating in the Vedas and those originating outside of it. (37) These systems are propagated by philosopher teachers not only in esoteric gatherings but also in the market place and Hyde Park Corner. (38) Each philosopher school has its own banner which it flies above the booth of its representatives. They hold disputations in the market place and these disputations, expositions and Puranic and bardic recitations are special attractions at the time of the great annual festivals. In the Cōla capital, Puhar, the annual festival in honour of Indra which lasted a month was held to be an occasion for such religious and philosophical exposition. The herald in *Manimēkalai* who is announcing Indra's festival says:

> " Let those who teach philosophy, politics. logic and religion not leave the city ... ...
> Let those well–versed in ethical lore take their place under awnings or in canopied halls. Let those well-versed in religious lore assemble in the halls of learning set apart for discussion." (39)

These philosopher-teachers, especially the religious philosophers, are found visiting important cities of the Tamil country like Kānci, Uraiyur, Madurai and Vanci and are also found preaching or on pilgrimage outside the Tamil country in oversea territory, Aravana Adikal, the Buddhist philosopher, is found at Kaverippaṭṭinam, Kānci, and Vanci, at Maṇipallavam and in Northern India. Kavunti Adikal, the Jain ascetic, accompanies Kovālan and Kaṇṇaki from Kaverippaṭṭinam to Madurai in order to listen to the teachings of the great ascetics. In the Jain and the Buddhist Tamil Books, the preachers of the Dharma (Dharma-Cāranas) course through the heavens and land on earth at will to impart instruction. Manimēkalai, the Buddhist heroine, and other preachers are thus granted the boon of space-travel and thus they are able to impart their teachings in different cities of the Tamil country and in other countries which they visit. The *Manimēkalai* gives grounds to the inference that

strong religious contacts were established between Tamil India on the one hand and Ceylon, Java and other lands and islands bordering the Bay of Bengal, just as the *Silappatikāram* mentions commercial contacts. This inference is confirmed by the similarity of the cave inscriptions in Ceylon and South India, and by the story of the Dhammaruci sect at the Abhayagiri monastery, and the relations between the Buddhist monks of the cōla country and the Buddhist monks of Anuradhapura. It is during this epoch that Kaverippaṭṭinam, Uraiyūr, Madurai, Kānci and Vanci became strong centres of the religions which originated in Northern India. Kānci (Conjeevaram) especially, is important in the history of the spread of Tamil Buddhism in foreign countries.

While the *Silappatikāram* and the *Maṇimekalai* are essentially poems with a background of religious philosophies, the secular humanism of the poetic period finds its philosophic development and expression in the *Tirukkural* which may well be termed a humanist codex.

NOTES

1. The statement may be verified by the study of the poems in the *Puranānūru*, particularly numbers 256 to 299 and the anthologies of love poetry. See ALBERT SCHWEITZER, *Indian thought and its development*, p. 200 ff.

   Pierre Meile in *Historie des litetratures,* Vol. I, p. 1050 ff.

2. **Swami Vipulananda,** *The development of Tamilian religious thought* in *Tamil Culture,* Vol. V, 1956, p. 254 ff.

3. **Pierre Meile,** *Litteratures Dravidiennes,* in *Histoire des litteratures* Vol. I, p. 1051. *L' Inde classique,* Vol. II, numbers, 1910, 1904-1928 and 1538–1541.

3. **K. N. Sivaraja Pillai,** *The Chronology of the Early Tamils,* op. cit., p. 7 ff.

4. See **Melville J. Herskovits,** *Man and His works,* pp. 461-621, Alfred A. Knopf, New york. 1949,

   W. H. Sprott *Sociology,* p. 159 ff, Hutchinson, London, 1956.

5. See **A. S. Mackenzie,** *The Evolution of Literature,* John Murray. London, 1911. This is a remarkable comparative study of literature as a social phenomenon among both primitive and civilised peoples.

6. **Gilbert Murray,** *The Classical tradition in poetry,* Oxford University Press, London, 1927.

   Mircea Eliade, *Le Chamanisme,* Payot, Paris. 1951.

   F. M. Cornford, *Principium sapientiae, the origin of Greek Philosophical thought,* University Press, Cambridge. 1952,

   C M. Bowra, *Heroic Poetry,* Macmillan, London. 1952.

7. **Mircea Eliade,** *Le Chamanisme,* op. cit., p. 369 ff. and. p.430 ff.

8. **F. M. Cornford,** *Principium sapientiae,* op. cit., p. 94.

   Cf. **Kershaw N. Chadwick,** *Poetry and Prophecy,* University press, Cambridge, 1942. See also the following books:

   Edgar Thurston, *Omens and superstitions of Southern India,* Fisher Unwin, London, 1912.

   C. G. Seligman and B. Z. Seligman. *The Veddas of Ceylon.* Cambridge, 1911.

   W. D. Hambly, *Origins of education among primitive people,* Macmillan, London. 1926.

   Albert D. Helser, *Education of Primitive People,* Fleming H. Tevell Co., New York, (no date).

   Christopher Dawson, *Age of the Gods,* Sheed and Ward London, 1933.

Franz Boas, *The mind of primitive man*, Macmillan, London, 1938

Melville Jacobs, *Cultures in the present world crisis in Human Relations*, Vol., I, (1947)

A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology*, London, 1948

Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and his Works*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1949

Ralph Linton, *The Tree of Culture*, Alfred, A. Knopf, New York, 1955. Pages 486–498 in *The Tree of Culture* present for the first time in an American book an analysis of ancient Tamil society of the Sangam period. The author has drawn from secondary sources but recognises the value of *Tolkāppiyam* for cultural anthropology.

9. *Puṛam.*, 52, 1: 'Aṇangkuḍai neḍungkōḍu'. There are several indications of animism where the words 'sūr' and 'aṇangu' (spirits) occur. On the shaman's religious role and the development of the priesthood, see

   Gunnar Landtman, *The origin of the inequality of the social classes*, Kegan Paul, London, 1938. Pages 111 to 226 on the origin of priesthood is of great interest in the study of ancient Indian shamanism and priesthood among the Dravidian and Aryan—speaking language groups. Cf. Hasting's *Encyclopaedia of Religions*, articles on *Dravidians* (Northern) and Dravidians (Southern).

   See **B. Malinowski,** *Freedom and Civilisation*, Allen and Unwin, London, 1947, p. 213; "Sociologically speaking magic adds to the force of solidarity and to the power of leadership in primitive communities the magician—who occasionally is the leader himself—always inspires the community with a conciousness of discipline and with the faith in leadership." Cf. T. Porul., 60. 1-2.

10. *Aham.*, 22; *Puṛam.*, 253, 5; *Kuṟ.*, 53; *Puram.*, 269 and 299. For reference to primitive cults in the *Ten Idylls*, see **J. V. Chelliah's** Introduction in his *Pattupāṭṭu*, General Publishers, Colombo, 1946.

11. *Naṛ.*, 288, 4-7; *Aham.*, 98, 1-10.

12. See **Ceonhard Adam,** *Primitive art*, Pelican Books, p. 45 ff.

13. *Pattuppāṭṭu, Paṭṭinappālai*, 86–90.
    Silappatikārm, Cantos 12, 17 and 24; See

P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, *History of the Tamils,* op. cit., 74-85. See also

W. O. E. Oestezley, *The Sacred dance,* University Press, Cambridge, 1923;

W. D. Hambly, *Tribal dancing and social development,* Witherby, London, 1926.

E. O. James, *The beginnings of religion,* Allen and Unwin, London, 1949 :

Louis E. Backman, *Religious dances,* Allen and Unwin London, 1952.

14. *Silappatikaram,* canto XII, 11 ff. See English translation by **V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar,** *The Silappatikaram,* Oxford University Press, Madras, 1939.

15. *Kur.,* 23; *Patir..* 43, 26-28; *Aham.* 27, 10-11, 208, 3, e.g., *Kur.,* 23, The men and women shamans during their ritual functions held a small wand like the leader of the bards in Greece; See *Kur.,* 298; *Aham.* 97, 10-11. 152, 4, 208, 3.

16. **HII,** Vol., I, 119-158.
A. M. Macdonnel, *A History of Sanskrit Literature,* pp. 191-201: Heinemann, London, 1905.

17. **Christopher Dawson,** *Religion and culture,* op. cit., p. 93. "This theological development of the theory of the sacrifice is intimately related to the sociological development of the institution of priesthood, which in India as nowhere else was able to concentrate the whole intellectual and social energy of the community on the intensive cultivation and study of its specialised functions.

18. **Mircea Eliade,** *Le Chamanisme,* op. cit., p. 362 ff.

19. *Patir.,* 43, 26-28.

20. Regarding the potter see translations of Tamil poems in **K. R. Srinivasan,** *The Megalithic and Urn fields of South India in the light of Tamil literature and tradition in Ancient India,* Vol. I (1946), number 2, pp. 9-16, *Puram,* 335.

21. See *Puram,* 223-250 for elegies and reflections on old age and death.

22. An imaginative analysis of the following poems would illustrate the bardic society here described.
Puram. 335, and 285 to 290.

23. See **Swami Vipulananda,** *Yāḻ Nūḻ* (Tm.) and **J. V. Chelliah,** *Pattūppāṭṭu* on distinctions between bards *Viraliyar* (dancers), *Kūttar* (actors).

24. The antiquity of the bardic tradition is clear from the poems. See *Puṟam.* 151; பண்டும் பண்டும் பாடுனர் குவப்ப

25. E. g. *Puṟam,* 68, 69, 103, 105, 115, 125. 150, 180, 212, 234, 240, 319, 320-334; and **J. V. Chelliah,** *Pattuppāṭṭu.* especially page 7, page 36, 11, 314-319; page 45 ff; page 85 ff; 193 ff.

26. Cf. **Arnold Hauser,** *The Social History of art,* op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 71-130. page 124: "The poet is looked upon as the guest-friend of his patron, even at times when he is utterly dependent on him.

27. *Purām.* 169. *Kuṟ.,* 15, 73; *Aham.* 251.

28. *Puṟam,,* 169. Compare பாணன், கூத்தன், விறலி with புலவன்.

29. See **Morris Ginsberg,** *On the diversity of morals,* Essay on *The Concept on Evolution in Sociology,* p. 182: "It is clear that there is no single order of development nor can any given form of an institution be invariably correlated with a determinate stage or phase of culture taken as a whole."

30. **Christopher Dawson,** *Religion and culture,* op. cit., p. 43: "The continuity between the primitive tradition of devination and shamanism and the higher developments of philosophic thought is to be seen even in Greek philosophy with Empedocles and the Pythagoreans—not to mention the daemon of Sacrates—and in Eastern religions is still closer and more unmistakable."

31. *Silap.,* V. 7-58; *Maṇi.,* XXVIII, 29-68.

32. *Paṭṭinappālai,* 214-217.

33. *Silap.,* XIII, 102-114.

34. *Silap.,* III.

35. See **M. Abraham Pandithar,** *Karunamrtasāgaram.* Madras, 1917
See **Beryl De Zoetc,** *The other Mind,* Gollanz, London, 1952.

36. *Maṇi.,* XVIII, 107 ff.

37. See **S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar,** *Manimekhalai and its historical setting,* pp. 54-107. Luzac and Co., London, 1927. ID. *The Buddhism of Mnimekhalai* in *Buddhistic Studies* (**Ed. B. C. Law**), Thacker, Calcutta, 1931.

38. *Pattinappālai,* 170 ff. Cf. *Maduraikkanci,* 370 ff.

39. *Maṇi.,* I. 10-14, 58-64.

THE IDEAL OF THE EXPANDING SELF

A study of the development of the 'expanding self' within the ancient geographical area represented by Tamil culture should show us how communities two thousand years ago were prepared to look upon their neighbours, their neighbouring villages, their neighbouring kingdoms and upon the world at large. Such an enquiry should also reveal to us that the need to open lines of communication and bridge distances is not a need which has suddenly grown out of the 'air age' or the 'jet age'. When communications were much slower and there were no international and inter-governmental organisations, man still felt the need to commune with his fellow-men. Philosophers, religious teachers, kings and conquerors, commercial itinerants and professional travellers and adventurers have been engaged at all moments of human history in bringing men of different countries, races and languages together, and we remain amazed how much they, with their limited means of transport, were able to achieve.

Two oft-quoted verses of Tamil poetry induce one to examine the development of the expanding self within Tamil Culture. One is a line from the *Puṛam* poem which outlines a philosophy of individual dignity and personal responsibility and which says :

'யாதும் ஊரே
யாவரும் கேளிர்'

To us all countries are one
And all men are kin. (*Puṛam.* 192)

and the other an incomparable couplet from the *Tirukkuṛal*

'யாதானு நாடாமா லூராமா லென்னொருவன்
சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு?' (*Tk.* 397)

Since all towns and countries are one's own
How may one discontinue learning until death?

The implication of this distich is that since there are so many different countries, each with its own language, philosophies, culture, religion and literature, and since these various fields of learning regarding each country are to be investigated, if each

foreign country is to be understood as one understands one's own native country and its cultural heritage, the duration of life is so short that one has to continue learning so long as life lasts.

The semantic significance of *ur, nadu, keḷir,* may have varied in different epochs of Tamil history, but the essential expansiveness of the above verses and their humanistic significance are only equalled by another oft-quoted Latin line from the African Terence *"Homo sum; nil humani a me alienum puto"*.

The attributes of a mature personality are reduced to three by Gordon W. Allport. The first is the avenue of widening interests (the expanding self), the second is the avenue of detachment and insight, according to which the individual sees himself as other see him (self-objectification), and the third a unifying philosophy of life, which gives life an integrative pattern (self unification).[1]

If a society is to function with energy and success and provide maximum happiness to its members, it has to be nourished on ideals. It was the fortune of early Tamil society to realise that a man or a society without ideals was an empty shell—'பூட்கை யில்லோன் யாக்கை போல' (*Puṛam.* 69, 5.)

The expanding self is an attribute of vital importance in the development of a mature personality, and a people to whom the ideal of the expanding self is continually presented will tend to construct a society which is mature in its interests and in its activities. The expanding self designates a person who seeks to widen his interests outside of himself so that he is not preoccupied with himself and forgets the self in seeking what is non-self. He cultivates a variety of psychogenic interests "which concern themselves with ideal objects and values beyond the range of viscerogenic desire".[2] In order to create such interests and cultivate such ideas, he should establish links and common bonds with the immediate community in which he lives and with the larger community which is the nation, and finally with the world community or the countries and peoples outside his own. The expanding self enlarges in concentric circles of widening interests, and paradoxically 'self expression', a frequent and great word in educational theory, requires the capacity to lose oneself in objectives not primarily referred to the self.

Altruism may be considered the quality which characterises the fullest development of the expanding self, and altruism takes time to appear in the history of a people. The solidarity of the primitive man is with his tribe and his clan; it is gradually that reflection brings on the conviction that all men are his brothers and neighbours, and that love takes the primary place in the moral life.[3]

The altruistic idea has been stated at various times in various cultures. Among Chinese thinkers Lao-tse, born in 604 B.C., and Confucius, 551-479 B.C. propounded comparatively early the thesis of responsibility towards others. On the other hand Plato and Aristotle and other thinkers of the classic period limited their consideration to the Greek freeman. The *Dharmasastras* in their heyday of formulation excluded those who were not Brahmins by birth and those who lived outside the region of spiritual eminence, Āryavartha, the boundaries of which were the Himalayas and the Vindhyas. But the altruistic idea seems to have developed in the Tamil country unimpeded by caste or by religious exclusivism. Like Panaetius, the Stoic humanist, the Tamil poets and thinkers spoke of the equality of men and the sympathy due to all life as truths known by reason.

The early discovery of this ethic of world and life-affirming goodness by Tamil society is impressive. Hence Albert Schweitzer:

> "With sure strokes the *Kural* draws the ideal of simple ethical humanity. On the most varied questions concerning the conduct of man to himself and to the world its utterances are characterised by nobility and good sense. There hardly exists in the literature of the world a collection of maxims in which we find such lofty wisdom".[4]

The ethic of altruistic love and service, however, occurs much earlier than the *Tirukkural*.

The earliest persons whom we find responsible for the development of the expanding self in the Tamil country are its bards and poets. The bards and poets have their own favourite chiefs and patrons and in time of feuds and war have their own loyalties, but they also travel from chieftain to chieftain, from court to court; and from kingdom to kingdom, so that they form

both a unifying and expanding cultural agency amidst the political divisions of the Tamil country. The bards and poets act also as ambassadors to kings and chieftains, bringing greetings, offering mediation or recommending treaties and confederations. They are highly conscious of the political units of warring chieftaincies and rival kingdoms among the Tamils themselves, but they are also fierce about the integrity of the Tamil Nādu and the cohesion and unity given to the entire people by the Tamil language. It is not political institutions common to the Tamil kingdoms or common religious beliefs which decide the bond of unity in these kingdoms. The bonds of unity are the language and the culture of which the bards and the poets are the custodians, and these define the limits of the territory to which a special loyalty is due, the Tamil land, தமிழகம். The Tamil people and their territory are known simply by the name of their language ;

> தமிழ்தலை மயங்கிய தலையாலங் கானம்—*Puram*. 19,2.
> அதூஉஞ் சாலுநற் றமிழ்முழு தறிதல்—*Puram*. 50,10.
> ண்டமிழ் பொதுவெனப் பொறாஅன்—*Puram*. 51,5.
> வையக வரைப்பிற் றமிழகங் கேட்ப—*Puram*. 168,18.
> தொடுத்த தண்டமிழ் வைப்பகங் கொண்டியாக—*Puram*, 198,11-12.

The Tamil kings are known as தண்டமிழ்க் கிழவர் (*Puram*. 35,3), and the Tamil-speaking territory as பொதுமை சுட்டிய மூவருலகம்—(*Puram*. 357). Border states and foreign countries are considered foreign because there the language is different, *moḻi peyar tēyam*..[5] The bards and poets, and under their inspiration, the people have a twofold loyalty; one to a particular chieftain or king another to the Tamil-speaking land; and, warring as they might among themselves, the Tamil kings and chiefs unite to form a confederation on the basis of their common heritage in order to resist foreign armies or to advance on foreign territories—வடபுல மன்னர் வாட. (*Puram*. 52,5).

This dual loyalty is also exemplified by the *Silappatikāram* which is professedly regardful of the common links which bind the Tamil kingdoms. The epic is the most concrete and impassioned expression of Tamil patriotism. It will brook no aspersions on Tamil military prowess even in jest by North Indian kings :

> அருந்தமி ழாற்றல் அறிந்தில ராங்கு *Silap*., XXVI, 161.
> தென்றமி ழாற்றல்
> அறியாது மலைந்த கனக விசயர் (*Silap*.,) XXVII, 189—190.

These same kings, however, who were so jointly sensitive to North Indian ridicule would not have hesitated to war among themselves.

The volume of poetry which the bards and poets composed became common to the Tamil speaking kingdoms and through their poetry, the people came to know of the lives of the people of neighbouring districts and regions, of the material resources of the Tamil kingdoms and of the history of chiefs and kings not their own. In the *Aham* poems the description of Nature in different physio-geographical regions is indispensable and hence a knowledge and love of the entire Tamil country was engendered by this poetry. Whatever history exists of the Sangam age is gathered by the incidental references to kings and chiefs, their cities and places, their war and treaties in the *Aham* and *Puram* poems. It is in such incidental fashion that the emblems of the Tamil kings, the names of the prominent chieftains and the location and brief descriptions of the Tamil cities, hills, and battlefields of that early age have reached us.

The *Aham* poetry developed these self-expanding sentiments in many ways. It enjoined a study of the annual seasons and particulars regarding every geographical region and brought in all Nature as a background for the most expansive of human emotions which is love. The regional division was a poetic division of the whole world :

படுதிரை வையம் பாத்திய பண்பே (*Tol.*, 948.)

The poetry which dealt particularly with separated lovers brought into the picture of suffering, other lands, other climes, other peoples, where the lover has gone for purposes of trade or war or embassy of one kind or another.

The hills and tracts often forlorn, unpopulated and inhospitable which separate the home country from the rest and especially the deep resounding ocean are reminders that there are other peoples and other lands to which the lover undertakes journeys without his bride.

முந்நீர் வழக்கம் மகடூஉவொ டில்லை. (*Tol.*, 980.)

The organisation and the sense of the self undergo great extension in the period of falling in love. Some *other* person is

involved and what is of interest to some other person becomes important to oneself. Hence in the extension of the self, the Sangam love poetry was greatly instrumental. It was equally instrumental in developing self-exteriorisation and self-objectification through the impersonating character of the poetry which demanded that the poet compose poems under different situations, as a lover, as a nurse, as a parent or as a companion. Such situational impersonation produced insight, sympathy and humour in the expansion of the self.

Both in love and outside of love, the expanding self has to forget self and lose itself in finding the good of others. Such altruism and disinterested love of another's well-being has been repeatedly enjoined as the ideal in early Tamil literature. A great hero of the period, Āy, a warrior chief and patron of bards and poets, is praised because he does not trade in goodness in this world in the hope that it will be profitable in the next or because it is the accepted conduct for men known to be wise and good, but because good should be accomplished for its own sake.*

'இம்மைச் செய்தது மறுமைக் காமெனும்
அறவிலை வணிக னாயலன்' (*Puṟam* 134.)

Altruism and 'living not for self but for others' is recommended in ancient Tamil thought because of its own intrinsic worth and not for any future reward or for the benefit of a future birth.

The following poem tersely expresses certain dynamic and creative thoughts underlying this altruism :

> " Does this world really exist? If it does, it is because therein live persons who if they came by divine nectar would not consume it selfishly alone; they bear ill-will towards none ; they fear not nor quail before what others fear ; they waver not. ***With ideals of striving not for their own good but for the good of the rest of men they live—hence one may believe the world exists*** ".

'உண்டா லம்மவிவ் வுலகம்
... ...
தமக்கென முயலா நோன்றாட்
பிறர்க்கென முயலுந ருண்மை யானே' (**Puram. 182.**)

If there were no such altruistic persons, life would not be worth living nor would the earth be considered existent for human purposes. This altruistic purposiveness was considered the highest culture. *It is because of the existence of persons of such altruistic* culture that human life seems bearable; else one would have to bury oneself in despair.

> *'பண்புடையார்ப் பட்டுண் டுலக மதுவின்றேல்*
> *மண்புக்கு மாய்வது மன்'* (*Tk*. 996.)

Men possessed of the keenest intellectual acumen and the sharpest wit are insensitive as logs of wood did they not possess this altruistic culture.[7] It is this expansiveness which makes friendship and laughter possible. To those who cannot laugh the world must seem dark even amidst the blazing light of noon.[8]

These poets have already discovered that without a minimum number of persons who release this altruistic energy, there would be far too much hatred for society to be stable or happy.

This expansiveness is part of the integral and total goodness of the heroes portrayed in Sangam poems. When the bards and the poets praise the kings and the chieftains, they recount more their victories in peace and in war, and they are remembered for their unbounded and indiscriminating liberality like the cloud, their domestic felicity, their accessibility, gentleness and kindliness, a gentleness and kindliness *comparable to the* sense of refreshment bestowed by limpid streams and cool fragrant waters.[9]

This altruism makes everything associated with altruistic persons sweet, picturesque and refreshing.

When Shakespeare in *Coriolanus* refers to Valeria as

> *'Chaste as the icicle*
> *Thats curdled by the frost from purest snow*
> *And hangs on Dian's temple'*

he means that ice, pure everywhere, becomes *purer by association* with the temple of Diana of Ephesus. Similarly flowers fragrant everywhere are more fragrant in the land of Ōri of the liberal hand (*Kuṟ*. 199), and waters cool and refreshing everywhere are

far more refreshing in the lake which belongs to Pāri, the magnificent giver. (*Kuṟ*. 19) Confering material benefits is but a small and one-sided manifestation of this altruism. Its main feature is to live for others. Water tastes sweet when drunk after eating a *nelli* fruit. It is an experience with every child likes to repeat wherever *nelli* fruits are available. But the water will be sweeter if tasted after eating the nelli fruit from a particular garden belonging to Paṇṇan. And why? Because he is one who does not live for himself but for others.

> 'தனக்கென வாழாப் பிறர்க்குரி யாளன்
> பண்ணன் சிறுகுடிப் படப்பை நுண்ணிலைப்
> புன்காழ் நெல்லிப் பைங்காய் தின்றவர்
> நீர்குடி சுவை' (*Aham*. 54, 13-16.)

These heroes and their friends, the poets, were the ideals of early Sangam society. The society realised that altruistic love was the ideal which would confer to any society the vitality and creative which it needed so that its members might find both happiness and freedom. I find almost a commendation of Tamil social ideas in what Pitrim A. Sorokin has written about *Altruistic Love* in his studies of American Good Neighbours and Christian–Catholic saints :—

"In its declining sensate phase Western culture has become increasingly negativistic. In papers and magazines it devotes the front page to hair-raising murder stories, to sex scandals of perversions, to hypocrisy or insanity hardly ever mentioning any good deed or anything truly positive. It does the same in fiction; in cinemas and plays; in operas and songs; in painting and sculpture; in radio and television. Sex, insanity, and crime constitute roughly from 80 to 90 per cent of the topics in these fields of contemporary Western culture. The situation is no different in other fields. Our sensate culture there also dwells mainly in the region of subsocial sewers; breathes mainly their foul air; and drags down into their turbid muck everything heroic, positive true, good and beautiful."

"In contrast to this, Western social science has paid scant attention to positive types of human beings, their positive achievements, their heroic actions, and their positive relationships. The criminal has been 'researched' incomparably more thoroughly than the saint or the altruist; the idiot has been studied more

carefully than the genius; perverts and failures have been investigated much more intensely than integrated persons or heroes. In accordance with the total nature of our nagativistic culture, our social science has been semi-blind about all positive types and actions and very sharp-eyed about all negative types and relationships. It seems to have enjoyed moving in the muck of social sewers; it has been reluctant to move in the fresh air of high social peaks. It has stressed the pathological and neglected the sound and heroic.

"The social function of the saints, aside from the above role of the good neighbours, consists of being a living incarnation of the *highest goodness, love and spirituality* of a *given* society. The saints are creative heroes in the field of moral values and they set a visible example for imitation. In the field of altruistic love the bulk of the saints are masters and creators of love energy, which they generate in large quantities of the purest quality. Without these masters of 'love production,' society is bound to suffer greatly from a catastrophic scarcity of friendship and harmony among its members, and from an overabundance of deadly hatred and strife. Whatever the form in which these masters *of 'love production'* appear, be *it* religious or non-religious, a minimum of such apostle of unselfness is as necessary for any creative and happy society as is a minimum of experts in the production of vital material goods. The concrete forms of love of these saintly apostles change, but their substance remains perennial and immortal; no society can live a long, happy and creative life without the heroes of love and spirituality." [10]

So far for the ideal of the expanding-self within the limits of Vēnkadam and Cape Comorin, within those districts which were traditionally Tamil-speaking. The extent of Tamil interest was wide. The earliest historical evidence available about the Tamil kingdoms supports Tamil commercial and political interests outside the Tamil kingdoms. The evidence of the Asokan II and XIII Rock edicts (3rd c. B.C.) and the Khāravela Inscription (c. 165 B.C.) suppose the Tamil kingdoms as fully established political entities. The evidence of Megasthenes, of Kautilya, of the Sanskrit epics, and the sangam literary allusions to the Nandas and the Mauryās shows that the Tamil kingdoms were not living in cultural or commercial isolation or segregation. [11]

The inclusion of Northern India within the orbit of Tamil interests was due at this period mainly to commerce and religion. North Indian goods were to be found in the Tamil sea-ports, and North Indian craftsmen were employed together with Tamil artisans in the embellishment of Tamil cities—'skilled artisans from Magadha, mechanics from Maratam, smiths from Avanti and Yavana carpenters,'[12] With the introduction of Vedic religion and Brahmin influence, the Himalayas and the Ganges became sacred also to the Tamils and Vedic, Puranic and Epic knowledge enlarged the geographical limits of their religious, literary and social interests. About the same time that Brahminism entered the Tamil country, Jainism, Ajivikism and Buddhism also made their entry. With the religions of North Indian origins came religious teachers who expressed in Tamil the thought contained in their Sanskrit and Prakrit religious literature. Pilgrimages were encouraged to North Indian and Ceylonese shrines, and commercial as well as religious travel opened up new lines of communication.

Through the doctrine of rebirth, the *Silappatikāram* and the *Maṇimekalai* strove to destroy the barriers between various political and language groups of India and even outside. To the Tamil characters in *Maṇimekalai* are attributed North Indian origins in previous births and Kannagi and Kovalan are foretold that they would be reborn in Kapilavastu, embrace the Buddha's teaching and thus attain nirvana. Kovalan himself is said to have been in his previous birth in the service of the king in the Kalinga kingdom: Āputra is a Brahmin, born in the Tamil country (of a mother of Varanasi) who in another birth becomes the king of Java and its dependencies. *Manimekalai* in the previous birth was the wife of a prince Rahula and belonged to a North Indian kingdom as also did Matavi and Sutamati.

As the contacts with Northern India increased because of commerce, and religious and philosophic interaction, and because of wars against the Northern kingdoms, the Ganges and the Himalayas are increasingly alluded to in the poetry of the anthologies, and the area of puranic, religious and altruistic interest widens. The Himalayas are considered symbolic of long enduring stability: they are also the 'golden-crested Himalayas' *பொன்படு நெடுங்கோட்டிமயம்* as the snow-covered ranges appear in the sunlight

to the beholder in the plains. The gazelles repose in peace and security within the light of the sacrificial fires along the Himalayan ranges and by their placid lakes.[13] Even if there were no other world or no rebirth, one should so live as to establish glory Himalayan in its heights.[14]

'இமயத்துக்
கோடுஉயர்ந் தன்ன தம்இசை நட்டுத்
தீதுஇல் யாக்கையொடு மாய்தல் தவத்தலையே'
(*Puram.* 214, 11-13)

The sands, usually symbolic of longevity and multitudes are those of Pahruli, Kaveri. Comorin or Sentil. But the sands of the Ganges and the rain on the Himalayan ranges, also find a place.

'இமயத் தீண்டி யின்குரல் பயிற்றிக்
கொண்டன் மாமழை பொழிந்த
நுண்பஃ றுளியினும் வாழிய பலவே' (*Puram.* 34. 21-23)

A pre-occupation is there with one group of poets to associate the Himalayas and the Ganges with mountains and rivers in the Tamil country.

'வடாஅது பனிபடு நெடுவரை வடக்கும்
தெனாஅ துருகெழு குமரியின் றெற்கும்' (*Puram,* 6)
'குமரியம் பெருந்துறை யயிரை மாந்தி
வடமலைப் பெயர்குவை யாயின்' (*Puram.* 67)

Sometimes the association with the North Indian landmarks is one of conquest.

'பொன்படு நெடுங்கோட்
டிமயஞ் சூட்டிய வேம விற்பொறி' (*Puram.* 39, 14-15)
'பஃறுளி யாற்றுடன் பன்மலை யடுக்கத்துக்
குமரிக் கோடுங் கொடுங்கடல் கொள்ள
வடதிசைக் கங்கையும் இமயமுங் கொண்டு
தென்றிசை யாண்ட தென்னவன் வாழி' (*Silap.* XI, 19-22)

In one poem the statement is made that the Himalayas may well be maintaining the balance in the world. But if the dynasty of Ay (the Aioi of Ptolemy) were not there, would not the world itself be overturned ?

'வடதிசை யதுவே வான்றோ யிமயம்
தென்றிசை யாஅய்குடி யின்றாயிற்
பிறழ்வது மன்னோவிம் மலர்தலை யுலகே' (*Puram.* 132. 7-8)

3

The expanding interest in Northern Indian partly synchronised with the intense religious activity, navigation and maritime enterprise and international trade which marked the first three centuries of the christian era in the Tamil kingdoms. The archaeological and numismatic evidence for the existence of vast commercial Tamil contacts and trade with the East and West during this period are confirmed by both Tamil and foreign literary records. This trade brought to the Tamil country not only foreign sailors and merchants but also numerous foreigners who established themselves in *Damirica* as merchants, middle-men, soldiers, body-guards and city-guards. The Tamil country was the scene not only of terminal trade but also of transit trade which reached Europe from South East Asia and the Far East through the Tamil country. Cities both on the coast and inland should have included in its populations Arabs, Romans, Chinese, Malays and other nationals. The Sangam poems and the two epics speak of the fine ships and the fine wines of the Yavanas, the settlements of the foreigners, and the many languages which are heard in the Tamil cities. To this peak period of foreign trade corresponds also Tamil colonisation in South East Asia and Tamil embassies to foreign courts including that of Agustus (d. A. D. 14), The remains of the Roman factory at Arikamedu is a surprising confirmation of the cosmopolitanism which prevailed in the Tamil country.[15] Tamil research and criticism have not paid hitherto attention to the influence of this cosmopolitanism in the widening of the Tamil intellectual, social and altruistic horizon. A couplet like 'யாதானு நாடாமா லூராமால்' becomes doubly intelligible in this context of cosmopolitanism.

This peak period of international trade was also the period of unprecedented religious and philosophic activity in the Tamil country. Hence the ideal of the expanding self becomes greatly enriched and notions of the world, Humanity, Honour, Aram, Altruism are widely extended so as to include the new semantic

significances that the broadening of sympathies and systematising of experience has acquired. The twin epics and above all the *Tirukkural* are witness to this expanding social weltanschauung.

The Ideal Man of the *Tirukkural* is said to live for others.

'அன்பிலா ரெல்லாந் தமக்குரிய ரன்புடையார்
என்பு முரியர் பிறர்க்கு' (*Tk.* 72)

He gives himself to his wife, to his children, to his relatives, his friends and to humanity at large. The very purpose of married life is to provide that companionship and joint partnership which promotes altruistic love and entertainment.

'இருந்தோம்பி இல்வாழ்வ தெல்லாம் விருந்தோம்பி
வேளாண்மை செய்தற் பொருட்டு' (*Tk.* 87)

Even if the expectation of reward in another world were no motivating force, it would yet be the proper end of life to be altruistic.

'மேலுலக மில்லெனினு மீதலே நன்று' (*Tk.* 222)

The courtesy of the Ideal man extends to his enemies as well for enemity has its own code of honour (*Tk.* 995). Further

Of what avail is culture if it returns not
What it receives in wrongs ?

'இன்னாசெய் தார்க்கு மினியவே செய்யாக்கால்
என்ன பயத்ததோ சால்பு ?' (*Tk.* 987)

The expansive character of the Ideal man is futher illustrated by the study of sub-social characters in society. If the base and the low are liberal at all, they would be so only under compulsion and force (*Tk.* 1077, 1078). They have no regard for any one else and consideration for the feelings and rights of others does not enter into their composition.

'தேவர் அனையர் கயவர் அவருந்தாம்
மேவன செய்தொழுக லான்'

Vile persons are like unto the gods
Because they also do as they please. (*Tk.* 1073)

The chapters on Love, Culture, Wisdom, Honour, Friendship are impregnated with exhortations and reflections regarding a

purposive altruism as the basis of the Ideal Personality. There are few ancient world classics in whichthe ethics of altruistic love are so elaborately outlined as in the *Tirukkural* and a person's entire life and personality are said to be perfect only when dedicated to a life of complete self-giving.

The twin epics confirm the social weltanschauung of the *Tirukkural*. Kaṇṇagi, the heroine of the *Silappatikāram* laments her years of separation from her husband, not because of the personal privations to which she has been subject but because his absence has deprived her of the opportunity to practise the domestic virtues of liberality and entertainment.

'அறவோர்க் களித்தலும் அந்தண ரோம்பலும்
துறவோர்க் கெதிர்தலும் தொல்லோர் சிறப்பின்
விருந்தெதிர் கோடலும் இழந்த என்னை' (*Silap*. XVI, 71-73)

Domestic life is portrayed in the same epic as having hospitality its primary aim, and the possession of wealth is but a stewardship.

'விருந்து புறந்தரூஉம் பெருந்தண் வாழ்க்கை' (*Silap*. II, 86)

In the *Manimēkalai*, the Ideal of the Expanding Self is even more of a dominant note since altruistic service is the underlying motif of a number of episodes which are woven into the epic. The anti-social effects of poverty are vividly portrayed and a miraculous bowl is introduced which is inexhaustive in supplying food to needy animals, birds and human beings. When *Manimekalai* goes to obtain her first alms, Ātirai blesses her—May hunger cease to exist in all the world—

'பாரக மடங்கலும் பசிப்பிணி யறுக' (*Mani*. XVI. 134)

The ancient Ideal of living not for self but for others is hypostatised, made incarnate in the Buddha who is described in the now stereotyped phrase

'தனக்கென வாழாப் பிறர்க்குரி யாளன்' (*Mani*. V, 73)

and

'பிறர்க்கற முயலும் பெரியோய்' (*Mani*. XI. 63)

The salutations in the epics wish prosperity for all the world and the cessation of hunger, disease and hatred.

> 'பசியும் பிணியும் பகையும் நீங்கி
> வசியும் வளனும் சுரக்க' [16]

The Expanding Self cannot find its fullest fulfilment in human beings alone. His compassion has to include all living beings. Certain anecdotes concerning Tamil heroes fired the popular imagination with a love for animals, birds and plants, even before ahimsa and vegetarianism became accepted codes of Tamil life. Pāri, one of the seven chieftains known for his altruism and liberality had abandoned his own chariot to support a *mullai* creeper which was growing athwart his chariot's path for lack of a support. Pēhan, another of the seven traditional chieftains, had flung his own silk mantle over a peacock shivering with cold. Kapilar, the poet, had trained birds to bring sheaves of paddy grain from surrounding fields when his patron chieftain's fortress had been beseiged. Āy was such a lover of birds that upon his death in the field of battle the birds had outstretched their wings to protect his corpse from the rays of the sun. And the poor owl had been struck with grief that it could not see Āy or his wounds to be of any help with the rest of the feathered company.

The Expanding Self finds another source of fulfilment in religious experience. Man seems to develop his humanity most when he admits the existence of an Infinite Being outside of this world. This spiritual experience of relations with God marks another potent source of psychogenic desires and values which are not self-centred. The mere desire to establish contact with the Divine is an expansive experience which spells freedom. One loses oneself in the quest of the Infinite in order to find oneself—*noverim te noverim me*.

The love poetry of the Tamils was the foundation for the Bakthi poetry which again is a significant Tamil contribution to world literature. He who is at peace with God seeks to be at peace with his fellowmen, and his spiritual experience he seeks to share with his fellowmen. Like the intellectual humanist who seeks more learning and enjoys the prospect of the world enjoying what he has enjoyed.

'தாமின் புறுவ துலகின் புறக்கண்டு
காமுறுவர் கற்றறிந் தார்' (*Tk*. 399)

the religious man seeks his religious experience to be known by the rest of men, and his soul expands in the process of spiritual sharing—

'யான் பெற்ற இன்பம் பெறுக இவ் வையம்' (*Tirumantiram*, 85)

5

One could thus trace the expansion or the contraction of the Expanding Self through the centuries of philosophy and literature in Tamil. It is rather striking that the most flourishing periods of the Expanding Self correspond to periods of national prosperity and overseas empires as during the *Silappathikāram* period, and later during the period of the Imperial Cholas. This lecture has examined primarily the development of the altruistic ideal in the earlist literature.

Pitrim A. Sorokin observes that altruistic persons enjoy remarkable vitality and a long duration of life. The same may be observed of societies. The longevity and vitality of Tamil culture was probably also due to the altruistic ideals which were so much a part of Tamil society in its more creative periods. It would be good for contemporary Tamil society to examine how far it stands for those ideals which give life and meaning to the literature of which we are justifiably proud, and whether we place before our youth that habitual vision of greatness without which a people must decay.

NOTES

1. **Allport, Gordon W**, *The individual and his Religion.* p. 53, Macmillan, New York, 1950; **Allport, Gorden W**, *Personality, a psychological interpretation*, pp. 213-214, Constable, London, 1938.
2. **Allport, Gordon W.**, *The Individual and his Religion, op. cit.*, p. 53
3. **Schweitzer, Albert,** *The Evolution of Ethics in American Review*, Vol. IV, No. 2 (Jan. 1960), pp. 5-14.
4. **Schweitzer, Albert,** *Indian Thought and its Development*, p. 203, Adam and Charles Black, London, 1951.
5. *Kur.*, 11, 7; *Aham*, 67. 12; 211. 8., *Aing.*, 321. 4. *The Silap.*, Canto VI, 143; *மொழிபெயர் தேத்தோர் ஒழியா விளக்கம்* "The never failing lights in the quartieres of those who come from lands where the language differs."
6. *Puram.*, 134; " Āy is no mercenary trader who does good in this life because it profits him in the next, nor does his liberality result from his pursuing the path set by the Wise (sanror)". This poem has also been interpreted as to mean that "his liberality results from his pursuing the path set by the wise."
7. *Tirukkural*, 997. See also 990.

   'சான்றவர் சான்றாண்மை குன்றி னிருநிலந்தான்
   றாங்காது மன்னோ பொறை'

   ***Puram.* 34. 19—20.**

   'இவ்வுலகத்துச்
   சான்றோர் செய்த நன்றுண் டாயின்'
8. *Tirukkural.* 999.
9. *Pari of nature sweeter than river water.* (*.Puram.* 105, 7) *of sweeter nature than the water of the Vani river which brings sandalwood.* (*Patir.*, 86, 13) *Your mother like summer waters.* (*Kali.* 42. 84.,)
10. **Sorokin, Pitrim, A**, *Altruistic Love*, pp. 3, 4, 197, Beacon Press, Boston, 1950.
11. **Srinivasa Ayangar, P. T.** *History of the Tamils, from* the *earliest times to* 600 A.D ; op. cit., **Nilakanta Sastri, K A.** *History of South India.* Oxford University Press, Madras, 1956.
12. *Manimekalai*, XIX, 107-109.
13. *Puram*, 2, 20-24; 39, 14-15; 369. 24; *Nar.*, 356.
14. See also *Puram.* 166, 32-34. *Kur.*, 158.
15. **Casal, J. M.**, *Fouilles de Virampatnam Arikamedu*, Klincksieck, Paris, 1949. **Wheeler Mortimer**, *Rome beyond the Imperial frontiers*, pp. 141-182, (Pelican Books), 1955.
16. *Silap.*, V. 72-73; *Mani.*, I, 70-71.

THE HUMANISTIC CONCEPT OF NATURE

Humanism is a philosophy and an attitude which considers man, his nature and his work as the central themes of history, literature and art. It is an outlook and an attitude which fully sympathises with man and seeks to understand man.

Humanism loves the creations of men, namely towns and cities. The description of South Indian sea-ports and inland capitals made in the Tamil classics reveal town-planning on an extensive scale, with due attention to streets, to parks, to division into quarters, and to the general beauty and architecture of buildings, the prominent ones among which are said to be of the standardised and conventional seven-storey type. I wonder if in any other literature, if even in the literature of peoples of a city-culture, a city is used as the term of comparison for a lady. Such a simile however is very common in ancient Tamil literature. When a poet wished to express the abundance and resource of joy and pleasure that a man derives from the woman whom he has married, or whom he wishes to marry, he can think of no better simile than a city which in its own way is full of abundance and resource, and where every sense may be gratified. You remember Lewis Mumford in his *Culture of Cities* :

> " Through its complex orchestration of time and space, no less than through the social division of labour, life in the city takes on the character of a symphony: specialised human aptitudes, specialised instruments, give rise to sonorous results which, neither in volume nor in quality, could be achieved by any single piece."[1]

A city was also the symbol of beauty, and hence the beauty of woman was also compared to the beauty of a city.

"Rich and resourceful is she like New York of the Americans" or "Meet me with all your virtues, London-like," may sound very strange to modern ears, but that is exactly what the ancient Tamil poets said with Tamil cities and towns as their terms of comparison. They chose cities and towns of historical importance or cities and towns which were prosperous and of greatest profit to king and people, and often the mention of a town situated

in a certain kingdom was a graceful manner of paying a compliment to its sovereign. Women are often said to be as pretty or as resourceful,

> "as the cool Kudavayil" (*Aham.* 44)
> தண்குடவாயில் அன்னோள்
>
> "as Allur of paddy wealth" (*Aham.* 46)
> பிண்ட நெல்லின் அள்ளூ ரன்ன
>
> "as Tondi of the Cera king" (*Aham.* 60)
> திண்தேர்ப் பொறையன் தொண்டி யன்ன

"Meet me", says a lover, "with your several Tondi-like virtues", Tondi being the great sea-port on the West Coast, the Tyndis of Ptolemy. Thus nearly every famous town or city of old has been pressed into service as a term of comparison in a lover's language.

The Tamils idealised city life, but this idealisation of city life they made quite compatible with love of Nature. It was a love of Nature which was different from the love of Nature of the Greeks and the Latins, and different from that European and English literary tradition of Nature derived from the Mediterranean classical sources. We shall search in vain in the Tamil classics for poems like those of Theocritus or Vergil. No Bucolics are there as poems of escape from brutal reality singing of idealised herdsmen; no Georgics which professedly deal with aspects of agriculture; no poems exclusively on the Moon or River, or the spring. The poetry of the Tamils places man and human emotion at the centre and Nature as the setting in which man lives and loves.[2]

The first characteristic which strikes the student of Nature in Tamil poetry is the resource of the poets of old and the manner in which the poets have utilised the terrain which was available to them. The five-fold division of land is perhaps applicable to the world at large, but it was a reality within the limits of Tamilakam, between Comorin and Vēnkadam. Such a division based on physical geography could not have been possible in the Indo-Gangetic plain or in Ceylon, because the land does not allow of such a division. The poet writing from Nāgapuri or from Pāṭaliputra would have to travers

several hundred miles, and to kingdoms very different from his own before coming to the seashore and *neital* tracts, but here within the Tamil country were available the mountain ranges of the Western ghats and the Palni hills, the rocky hilly land of Salem and Coimbatore, the *Mullai* tracts of Chettinad, the alluvial plains watered by the Kaveri and the Vaihai, the long broken costline of the Eastern and Western coasts, and the backwaters of Malabar. Here was enough diversified terrain for poetic adventure.

Victor Laprade in a work published in the last century regarding the concept of Nature among ancient peoples observes that it has varied amongst such peoples as those of Northern India and those of Greece. In Northern India, the vast Himalayan range, the broad plains which seem to have no horizon, watered by rivers which in their expanse seems to have no shores which limit them, were instrumental in creating the sense of the infinite and the sense of wonder at natural phenomena which are characteristic of early Vedic poetry. Man, he says, was faced with this Infinite on all sides. Infinity seemed to overwhelm him and crush him. Greece, on the other hand, is example of another kind of landscape which, engenders quite a different reaction to Nature. Greece is a small diversified country with not too dense a vegetation. Its rivers flow placidly through meadows, and its pine clad promontories look out on the many-islanded Aegean. Its sky is clear and blue; its coast curves into innumerable gulfs; its rivers are small and its hills are low. There was nothing to awe the Greeks. In such a country, argues Laprade, man was free to evolve a spirit of independence, of conquest and of liberty.[8]

In the Tamil country, however much the climate or the landscape may have changed, the sense of infinity was very much less. To the Tamil poet, it is the ocean which is awe inspiring and mysterious. The heights are mysterious, not because they are unconquerable but because they are thickly wooded, and contain deep caverns and gloomy groves—அணங்-குடைக் கவான், குருடை அடுக்கம்.

Hence early Tamil poetry is not conspicuously religious; it does not theologise Nature as does Sanskrit poetry. Its main

preoccupation is with Man as a member of small closely-knit group and small kingdoms. Further, the sea mysterious as it was because of the sense of the unknown which it engendered, was sufficiently navigable. The Tamil coastline included several sheltered harbours, and backwaters on the West Coast. When the West Coast was not safe, the East Coast provided safe anchorages as at Arikamēdu or Korkai. The *Periplus Maris Erythraei* and ptolemy's *Geography* mention numerous harbours located along the southern Indian coast. Navigation and sea-power became characteristic of the Tamil kingdoms.

Nature was therefore, not so awe-inspiring as to be divinised and theologised. Instead it merely became the background, and provided the stage and the scenery for Man. The concept of nature was fundamentally humanistic and anthropocentric as were the culture and the poetry of the earlier period.

The background of Nature is so constructed that every aspect of Nature evident to the senses, serves to bring into relief the central human emotion or sentiment which is the motif of the poem. Thus in *Mullaippaṭṭu* for instance, after the description of the queen in the place and the king in his encampment, the pastoral landscape is drawn as the background for the horses and chariot whose sound brings joy to the forlorn queen:

'செறியிலைக் காயா அஞ்சன மலர
முறியிணர்க் கொன்றை நன்பொன் காலக்
கோடற் குவிமுகை யங்கை யவிழத்
தோடார் தோன்றி குருதி பூப்ப
... ... ஆலின
நெடுந்தேர் பூண்ட மாவே.' (ll. 93-96)

Similarly, in poem 41 of *Ahanānūṟu* the central emotion is disquietude at the possibility that the beloved suffers because of his separation—"how fareth it with my beloved?"—வருந்தினள் கொல்லோ.

"Darkness yet lingering Dawn. Buffaloes are at large, swarms of bees resound around the branches of the Murukku, aflame with dense clusters of unfolding buds.

"Ploughmen drive their feams through the fields and into the orchards of cloddy earth; all the air with trained

oxen's clear urge doth resound; and the stumpy glebe breaks beneath their furrow. The wood itself is bedecked with the bouquets on yonder trees.

"In this, the eye's festive hour, *how fareth it with my beloved?* When ignorant of my parting, she was in bloom; now forlorn, is such her grief that her shoulders slim?—She my beauteous brunette, with beauty spots like leaves on which hath flowed honey from cool, scented flowers, haunts of gossamer-winged bees."

The sights and sounds of the break of day in the fields are described merely to raise the question "how fareth it with my beloved?"

In the two examples cited above, the circumstances of their awaiting the return of their husbands could have been stated without bringing in Nature; or Pathetic fallacy could have been introduced to produce emotional reaction. Instead, the natural phenomena of the season and of the hour of day are described as they effect the human person There is no need to codify the *aham* poem as *pālai*; one should consider it merely as a poem. I am sure the poet when he wrote it or sang it, did not say to himself that he was going to write a *pālai* poem; else he would have used other figures and another landscape. When we throw off the shackles imposed on us by commentators and codifiers, we interpret the poems with a freshness and a freedom which introduce to us new dimensions of criticism, The spontaneity and the naturalness of the poet's impulses become far more evident without commentaries and glosses.

In these poems the entire global situation is introduced. The poems show the advantages which poetry has over other Fine Arts. No painter could have depicted this scene with equal effect. If he had portrayed in colour the exact dimness of the *வைகு புலர் விடியல்* and the *மைபுலம்*, his painting would yet not reveal the other features of the landscape; he would not be able to reproduce the sounds of the farmers in the field and the hum of the bees; his canvas could not include the landscape and the

details of the home of the parted lover. The poet works with a medium which brings into play greater and more responses of the human person.

We are in some ways nearer to the spirit of the poets than were the commentators. They were nearer in point of time, but they interpreted the poets according to the restrictions of textual criticism prevailing in their time. A great amount of historical data and new critical apparatus are available to us which were not available to them. The classics have a meaning for every new generation and every new epoch; they have to be reacquired and reinterpreted for every new period—and I wonder if we who interpret the classics for this generation have contributed our share to the accumulated human *experiencing* of our classics.

The seasons of the year, and the hours of the day were so used along with the five-fold division of the landscape to demonstrate the changing effects of Nature, The changes produced by the different seasons are not so great in Tamil Nad as in Northern India where are prevalent extremes of heat and cold. It is cold in the *Ritusamhāra*; it is not half as cold in the *Neduñalvādai*; there is the spring of the *Kalittogai* but it is not as full of new sights and sounds as the spring in the *Ritusamhāra*. The seasons as depicted in the poetry of Vergil or of James Thompson depict the changes brought about by the different seasons, from snow to spring, to summer and autumn and how human life has change and variety. The variety which the poet of a temperate and colder zone obtained from the seasons, the Tamil poet obtained by utilising the resources of different landscapes and the changes visible in the different months of the year and the hours of the day. If we commend an artist or an architect for using to most advantage the economy the space and the material at his command we are also logical in commending the resource with which the good earth has been made to respond to the poetic impulse by the Nature poets of the Tamil country.[4]

In other literatures, it was not incumbent on the poet to make the minute study of Nature, of flora and fauna and the changing colours of the sky and the sea as was enjoined on the Tamil poet by necessity of poetic convention.

Though the study of Nature was compelled by poetic convention, the resulting poetry was not greatly conventional, and the descriptions of Nature were not conventional. This was the great success of the Tamil poets that within a framework of convention they were able to create a spontaneous and refreshing poetry of Nature. The appeal to the senses is strong in Sangam poetry. Nature in her wild and uncultivated beauty in the mountains the sweet scents and sounds in the fields and meadows, the tang of the salt on the seaside and the dry parched leaves in the summer are felt with a fidelity and a propriety which a thousand repetitions do not pall or obfuscate. One might follow the descriptions of landscape, or of a single flower like the *kāntal* (*gloriosa superba*) to realise the keen observation of the poets. The *kāntal* has been compared to hands joined in prayer or to lights lit at twilight; its petals to flames, to pieces of broken bangles, to a snake's tongue; and its sagging leaves to the walk of drunken men.

From the animals and the birds and their reactions the Tamil poets learned wisdom. The lovers recall their own course of love when they observe the behaviour of animals and of birds. The elephant that strokes with its trunk the back of its mate or helps it to feed on bamboo shoots, the deer calling unto deer, the dove cooing unto dove, the buffalo plunging into the lotus tank, the crab on the beach, all these teach them or remind them of love situations common to human kind.

Since the earliest Tamil poetry which has come down to us is the product of a highly civilized period and the result of centuries of a well-established culture, it is not surprising that its interpretation of Nature does not contain the simple or the utilitarian appreciation as a prominent characteristic. Lines do occur which express simple joy at the coolness of water, the pleasures of shade and bower, child-like joy at the sight or the use of flowers, lines do occur when the material beauty of the universe is expressed with the freshness of Chaucer and the keen observation of a Vergil or Tennyson, but these lines are never without relation to man. However, in Tamil poetry occur certain conventions which are the remains and echoes of a very primitive and distant age when there was more of the immediate contact with Nature. What was actually a mode of life, later became a custom, and

finally crystallised into a hallowed poetic convention which was followed in poetry even when the custom became obsolete.

A lover is depicted, for instance, in ancient poetry as presenting his beloved with garments of leaves, or of garments interwoven with leaves and flowers, to be worn round about the waist over whatever clothes she may wear. Such leafy garments were also given as gifts on ceremonial occasions or as symbols of friendship and hospitality and worn on days of social rejoicing. It is likely that this custom was but the relic of a time centuries earlier. when cotton fabrics were unknown and the primitive Tamil folk covered themselves only with leaves. There are also references to the ritual of marriage taking place under the spreading shade of a véngai tree in full bloom. There are, on the other hand, indications that the wedding ritual at this time was performed under a temporary hall erected in front of the house. This mode of marriage under a flowering véngai is just a poetic convention, but a convention that points out to an earlier period when life was more primitive, and trees were the actual temples and halls of the population, and when marriages did actually take place under arboreal shades. Husking paddy and other cereals are said to be done in the open with the hollows that Nature has made in rocks as mortars. the tusks of elephants or sandalwood branches as pestles. At the time of the composition of the poem the Tamils had motors and pestles in their homes, but in depicting Nature's motars and costly pestles, the poet seek to embellish a common scene by presenting a closer touch with Nature and with primitive life.

From *Puṟam* poetry too a like illustration may be given. According to the literary conventions of *Tolkāppiyam*, the first stage of war is cattle-lifting. This again is a remiscence of earlier society when cattle was the chief wealth of Tamil chiefs and when cattle-lifting was the predominant cause of warfare between clans and settlements. But later poetry treated of cattle-lifting as a preamble to war even when there was actually no cattle-lifting.[5]

A surprising evidence for the earlier contact with Nature, is not merely the use of leaf-garments, but also the names of the ornaments of Tamil women; which recall the time when rolls of strips of the palmyrah leaf were used as ornaments for the ear

and the branches of creepers were entwined about the arms—ஆம்பல் வள்ளித் தொடிக்கை மகளிர் (*Puṛam.* 352, 5.) The names of the ornaments are the names of leaves, or creepers, or flowers, as for example : தோடு, அரசிலை, குழை, ஓலை; கொந்திள வோலை, நாலிக் கொடி.

The Tamils made the desert bloom. They have the distinction of being, perhaps, the only people in history who, while not being desert dwellers, made poetry blossom in the desert, and better poetry than what other regions inspired. The Arabs have had to sing of the desert by force of circumstances, but the Tamil sang of it through choice, and located in Nature's dreariest places the dreariness of soul. Poems with the motif of separation of lovers have the desert as the background, and these poems demonstrate a wonderful resource on the part of the poets who could use the desert to such great advantage.

The opposite in *Puṛam* poetry to Kurinji was Veṭci and due to early and primitive association, meant the initial stage of warfare, forays and frontier raids made for the purpose of cattle-lifting. Veṭci is the name of a flower again indigenous to the mountain region, the *ixora coccinea*, and cattle-lifting came to be designated by this name, because the Tamil warriors adorned themselves with wreaths and garlands of these red flowers whenever they set out on cattle raids.

In fact, each strategic movement, or aspect of war, had its own particular flower after which the movement was named. The garland indicated the character of the undertakings, and the feelings of those engaged in them. A verse of later epoch says that the soldiers setting forth decorated with red ixora garlands on their heads seemed as if the rosy evening sky were moving.

Commenting on the use of flowers by the ancient Tamils for warfare, Dr. Pope observes : 'This is to us a novel form of the language of flowers... These garlands were intended to strike terror into the eyes of the opposing hosts, and to some extent supplied the place of military uniform. The armies of Europe have never been unmindful of the moral effect of the soldier's head-dress; though it would be a novel experience if our troops went forth it was like a marching garden of, flaming and fragrent flowers."[6] The author of *Paṭṭinappālai*, describing Karikalan on the battle-field decked with appropriate flowers and leaves, compares the king to a hillock overgrown with shrubs.

The choice of the regional trees and flowers shows that there was graciousness and taste in the lives of the ancient Tamils.

Sincè a munute and accurate study of Nature was prescribed to the Tamil poet of the Sangam age, we find the poetry of that age very faithful to Nature. Stopford Brooke observes in his study of '*Naturalism in Euglish Poetry*': "There are two great subjects of poetry; the natural world......and human nature. When poetry is best, most healthy, most herself. she mingles together human nature and Nature, and the love of each. Human nature is first in poetry and Nature second but they must be together, if the poetrv is to be great and passionate, simple and perceptive, imaginative and tender. It is a terrible business for poetry when it is wholly employed on man, or wholly employed on Nature. In either case the poetry becomes thin, feeble, unimaginative, incapable of giving impulse or bringing comfort."[7] Stopford Brooke might have spoken of ancient Tamil poetry in these words, for the happy combination runs through all Sangam literature.

The Sangam poets did not confine their poetry to a special locality. They treated all classes of men and women from all the regions they knew. Though their *aham* poetry deals with the ideal and heroic; though they take the best of a type as hero and heroine, a chief and the daughter of a chief, they are always conscious of the fact that in the exuberance of love, every lad is a king and every lass a queen. A study of landscape as was enjoined on the Tamil poets meant also a study of the occupations and lives of the people who were indigenous to every region and landscape. Therefore they did not treat only of kings and queens, cities and palaces. They found poetry in the fishers' lowly huts and in the dwellings of mountain peoples. The fisher-woman waiting for the fishing boats with the days haul. or the fisher-children watching the fish being dried, the shepherds with their flocks, the lowly at their work, came in for as much poetry as the weaithy heroine of a mountain chief wandering over the hills gathering flowers with a number of maids to attend upon her. Even when they sang of kings or sang to kings, they pleased their hearers most, not by describing the palace, but by describing the people that were privileged to live under the king's protection. It was certainly Humanism of a Universal kind.

NOTES

1. *Culture of Cities,* Introduction.

2. The material for this lecture is mainly taken from my book, *Nature in Ancient Tamil Poetry,* Tamil Literature Society, Tuticorin (S. India) 1952.

3. **Victor De Laprade,** *Le sentiment de la Nature avant la christianisme,* Paris, 1866.

4. See for Comparative purposes, **W. F. Jackson Knight,** *Roman Vergil,* Faber and Faber, London, 1945, **Gilbert Highet,** *Poets in a Landscape,* Pelican Books, 1959.

5. **P, T. Srinivasa Iyengar,** *History of the Tamils,* op. cit. pp. 63-71.

6. *Tamilian Antiquary,* No. 6, p. 5.

7. **Stopford Brooke,** *Naturalism in English Poetry,* p. 17: Dulton, New York, 1920.

ECONOMIC IDEAS OF THIRUVALLUVAR

BY

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ECONOMIC IDEAS OF THIRUVALLUVAR

Thirukkural is classified among the didactic works of the Sangam Age. It is variously dated from 3rd Century B. C. to 2nd Century A. D. It is cosidered a work of ethics *par excellence*. If ethics is the Science of Living, then Thirukkural is the undying classic on the subject. The preoccupation of the work is with the fundamentals of life here below. Of the four–fold conventional division of life's aim into Dharma or Aram (Ethics). Artha or Porul (Polity), Kama or Inbam (Love), and Moksha or Veedu (Liberation), Thirukkural deliberately excludes the fourth objective, and confines itself to the first three, Valluvar was concerned with building of a model—the three-dimensional Model of Living. All life here below, as he saw it, is comprehensible in terms of these three categories. Anyone living up to the ideals of these three life's divisions will have lived a full life. "He will certainly be counted among the Gods."[1]

The Model is an integrated structure. The three chambers of the mansion he erects are inter-connected. A single current runs through them all—Aram or a body of ethical concepts. This central thread is of a fundamental quality. Life may vary and proliferate in its contents; but the fundamentals of right living are unchanging. Life has to be lived as a whole. The ethics behind living is pervasive. It is indivisible into compartments. Morality knows no distinctions of class, caste, sex, time or space; it is the fundamental truth. In this sense, Thiruvalluvar is an Idealist.

Yet Valluvar is not merely that. If that is all, all Kural could have been contained in perhaps half a dozen chapters. The Ideal assumes its meaning and significance only as it is applied to the business of living. The Ethics Fundamental faces varying situations in the realm of reality. Life is a highly complex activity. It is something of a multi–faceted glass dome; and as through all its segments the central spark of Ethics Fundamental burns eternally, the dome of life throws up a spectrum of variegated hues, presenting an appearance of differences, diversity and changeability. Yet there is no contradiction in all this; no inconsistency with the Ideal; for it is but the appearance—the unchanging Ideal in

1. வையத்துள் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்பவன் வானுறையும்
தெய்வத்துள் வைக்கப் படும். (50)

the context of changing Reality. The ideal still remains there, fixed and fundamental. The appearance is the inevitable result of the process of application—the marrying of the Ideal to the Real, the permanent to the passing phenomena. That constitutes the intelligent way of living.

Ramakrishna Paramahamsa gives a story. I shall reproduce it in the inimitable words of the story-teller 'M'.

"In a forest there lived a holy man who had many disciples. One day he taught them to see God in all beings and, knowing things, to bow low before them all. A disciple went to the forest to gather wood for the sacrificial fire. Suddenly he heard an outcry: 'Get out of the way. A mad elephant is coming.' All but the disciple of the holy man took to their heels. He reasoned that the elephant was also God in another form. Then why should he run away from it? He stood still, bowed before the animal, and began to sing its praises. The mahut of the elephant was shouting: 'Run away', 'Run away!'. But the disciple did not move. The animal seized him with its trunk, cast him to one side, and went on its way. Hurt and bruised, the disciple lay unconcious on the ground. Hearing what had happened, his teacher and brother disciples came to him and carried him to the hermitage. With the help of some medicine he soon regained conciousness. Someone asked him, 'You knew the elephant was coming. Why did not you leave the place?' 'But', he said, 'our teacher has told us that God Himself has taken all these forms, of animals as well as men. Therefore thinking it was only the Elephant God that was coming, I did not run away'. At this the teacher said: 'Yes, my child, it is true that the Elephant God was coming; but the mahut God forbade you to stay there. Since all are manifestations of God, why did not you trust the mahut's words? You should have heeded the words of mahut God." (Laughter).[2]

Again, coming nearer our times, take the life of Gandhiji. His basic philosophy was Non-violence. But when the occasion demanded, the Mahatma did not hesitate to preach to his people, "Do or die." Or, when the honour of woman was threatened in the troubled days of Partition in 1947, he did not think it inconsis-

2. Gospel of Sri Ramakrishna, by 'M'.

tent with his ideal philosophy to preach a course of action other than that of passive resistance.

There is an incident told of Valluvar's own life, apocryphal though it be. Valluvar was selling a piece of cloth which he himself had woven on his own loom. A rogue, intent on mischief, tore it into two halves and asked the price of one-half. Valluvar quoted half price. The professed buyer further subdivided it and then asked the price of the quarter piece. Valluvar quoted one-fourth. But when the trying customer proceeded to further fragment of the piece, Valluvar showed his fist! Patience, his ideal, had now reached the stage of realistic application. And whenever it does so, it assumes an aspect of intelligent reasoning which is prima facie divorced from the ideal. But in fact it does no violence to it. It is but investing the ideal with, what the economists call, the utilities of time and place. It is the translating of the ideal to the rationality of living. It is by no means a transmutation of the ideal. It is but the living of the ideal, as life demands it. The Sage Vyasa would have delineated a far less noble Dharmaputra, had he not made the embodiment of patience fight when fighting was called for.

All this, however, is not to fall in with the views of certain philosophers who hold that ethics is a changing code, in concept and contents, changing with times and circumstances. Where Valluvar seems to differ is that there is a core of fundamental concepts, which is unvarying and permanent, the bedrock of all human conduct the motor force of all right living. What make it change, or rather appear to change, are the realities of life's situations. But the core remains unaffected.

This then is Valluvar's contribution—the postulating of an ideal code, and the delineation of that ideal code to meet the realities of all major situations that life gives rise to. It is not a reconciliation of the ideal with the real. It is the blending of them into a harmonious way of living. In a word Pragmatic Idealism. A born artist in weaving, that he was, he could work the woof of living reality into the warp of fundamental ideality and produce a piece of workmanship that is at once splendid and wearing in its qualities. The Spiritual and the Material are no longer to be two distinct paths, mutually exclusive. The

Spiritual can be lived in the Material, the Ideal in the Real. The Spiritual is a purposeless negation if it bears no relevance to the realities of material living; and the Material is base anarchy if uninformed by the Spiritual. The one supports and sustains the other. Abstract philosophy does not interest Valluvar. What absorbs his mind is concrete practical philosophy—philosophy applied to life. Hence his devotion to ethics, political philosophy and sociology rather than to logic and epistemology. It was a unique synthesis.

The times needed such a synthesis. A peep into the infinite vista of Time shows that history is a rhythmic process, alternating between epochs of emotion and epochs of rationality. Centuries of striving after the material things of life have been followed by equally long periods of religious fervour and other-worldly preoccupation. The worldliness allures, for a time eggs on humanity to great achievements, then with surfeit palls; the zest and vigour of physical living diminish and the human mind longs for a dreamy change. Then follow years of passivity which ripens into apathy and lack of effort. Thus the rhythm goes on swinging from the *yen* of the Spiritual to the *yan* of the Material. It is so with the physical human body; it is so with the contemplative mind. It is so with peoples and nations. It is the elementary law of action and reaction in eternal operation. It has been so with the history of the Tamils.

The Tamils, it is now acknowledged on all hands, are one of the most ancient peoples of the world. Perhaps the antiquity of their civilization was co-existent with that of the Indus Valley people dating to the third or fourth millennium B. C. Their recorded history at least goes back to 2500 years. The earliest work in Tamil now extant is the grammar Tholkappiyam, the date of which is placed generally by scholars around 500 B. C. But Tholkappiyam reveals a civilisation already mature and organised in many ways. It refers to numerous literary works that had existed before; and postulates that grammar is the distillate of literature, even as oil is of sesame seed.[3] The literature that went before the grammar of Tholkappiyam should have taken several centuries to evolve.

3. இலக்கிய மின்றேல் இலக்கண மின்றே;
எள்ளின் றாகில் எண்ணெயு மின்றே.
—தொல்காப்பியம்

With Tholkappiyam came the Sangam Age. Of the numerous works that followed, only a handful are left behind. These, however, unmistakably reveal that the Sangam Age, considered the golden age of the Tamils, was largely preoccupied with the building up of the material achievements of life. Love and war formed the main themes of the poets. Ethics no doubt had a place, but was mostly incidental to the main themes. There was no obsession with things of the spirit, no elaborate enquiries of the life hereafter, no metaphysical disquisitions on God and soul. Life ran on a somewhat simple rhythmic cource, alternating between the family bosom and the battle field, and in the interval in search of worldly goods within the country and abroad. No heavenly doubts troubled their carefree hearts, such as did the contemporary Upanishad thinkers in the north. The Tamils of the Sangam Age were realists by and large.

Then came Buddhism, and in its wake Jainism, into Tamil land. The slumber of thought was stirred. Ethics and concern with the other world began to change life; and with the State patronage given to these religions, they began to take an increasing hold on every department of people's lives. The Vedic religion, too, had its influence, but there is no evidence to show that its deeper truths and metaphysical subtleties as yet made that impression on the day-to-day life and conduct of the people that the two protestant religions of Buddhism and Jainism did. The Vedic religion was ever seeking to assimilate and coalesce with the earlier beliefs and culture, whatever they were, and its influence was largely silent and slow. At this time it came mostly in the form of legends and myths, the epics, Ramayana and Mahabharata, leading the way and working themselves into the beliefs of the people. The thought process they engendered, although permeating a wider layer of humanity, was nevertheless imperceptible. But not so with the two protestant religions. They were highly organised faiths. A host of monks and nuns spread themselves all over the country, worked their way to the seats of power and, with the zeal of neophytes, soon began to change the very thought-pattern of the Tamils. In this endeavour the proselytizers forgot the element of 'golden mean' in the teachings of their founders. The middle path became the extreme path. Religion and denominational ethics dominated the scene. Love bcame an object of disgust, and war an act of despisal. Physical

valour and indulgence in material pleasures were looked down upon. Begging became a laudable objective, and accumulation an act of sin. Non-violence was carried to fantastic extremes. Such was the democratic influence of the new ethics, that it assumed the character of *pervasive negation*. From a *predominantly* rationalistic attitude towards life leavened by a simple ethics of good conduct, the life of the Tamils of Sangam Age passed into a systematic disparagement of the whole world as total illusion.

It was in times such as this that Thiruvalluvar must have lived. He must have seen the dangers of the situation, the ruin that extreme emphasis on asceticism was spelling to the vitality of a people and to their simple joy of living. He must have been anxious to introduce a balance and restore sanity into life. Yet this could not be done by extolling the virtues of the old to the exclusion of the new. The new gospels had much to teach that was of lasting value. They had taken root in the hearts of men. All that was good in them must be retained, preserved and fostered in the interest of truth and the good of humanity. But they must be placed in their proper perspective and in correct proportions. The vigour of earthly living must be re-enthroned in the hearts of the Tamils, the values of the new teachings receiving their due emphasis. A synthesis of the old and the new was called for. A lesser man than Valluvar, a Neitzche, would have ended up by preaching a message of hatred and doctrines of an anti-God character.

But the sage and seer that Valluvar was, a poet and a scholar, an Idealist and Realist at once, he produced a body of doctrines that is not only matchless as a work of synthesis in the entire world of literature, but has also acquired a position, unique in transcending time and space. For, the problems he set out to solve are problems eternally recurring—life affirmation and life negation; and the *Kural* that he produced had to be a philosophy as a way of living, and a way of living according to a philosophy. Hence today, the ephemeral in his work is unseen; only the permanent abides. But undoubtedly there must have been an immediate purpose. That must have been achieved either in his own time, or a little later, as great doctrines in those days of slow communication took time to percolate into mass thinking. If it was in the first or second century A. D. that Valluvar, lived it is

obvious that his warnings were not taken due note of, and the Tamils had let the holocaust of Kalabhra Interregnum overtake them in the 3rd and 4th century A. D., or, if as some scholars of South Indian History have done, he is placed either during this Dark Age of Tamil History or immediately after, his teachings had largely fulfilled themselves in the restoration of the joy of living for the Tamils during the Pallava ascendancy. Most likely that he lived prior to the Kalabhra invasion, probably he intended his work as a note of warning and an appeal to his countrymen to stir betimes and be up and doing. And the inevitable time lag between postulation of great teachings and their percolation into collective thinking and action had rendered the intervention of the Dark Age possible.

For, it must be remembered, Valluvar's work was intended as an appeal to a wide public. He was not merely a scholar talking to a scholar, but a prophet exhorting his people to a course of action which he considered the most sane for a glorious life. His was a poetry, not written for poetry's sake, nor to extol the virtues and largesses of a patron chieftain in any expectant emotion, as was the fashion in the Sangam Age, and even after, but a poetry with a purpose, a theme with a moral to tell. If in the process, he succeeded in the role of the Ancient Mariner and held 'his wedding-guest with the glittering eye of poetry' and 'made him stand still and listen like a three-year child' it was simply that Valluvar 'had his will.' It was the acme of supreme art. And so, it was no accident that he chose the couplet verse as the medium of communication. Valluvar was a democrat in thought and form. Democratic thought had to assume a democratic form. And so was the *Kural* metre chosen. It was a choice, deliberate and purposive. It meant a signal departure from all that had gone before in Tamil poetry. Yet it was the aptest medium of communication for the achievement of the poet's purpose In that age when literacy by ear was as important as literacy by the eye, memorising played a vital role in the imparting of education; and nothing could aid this audio-education better than a simple couplet, almost as easy to get currency as a housewife's aphorism, and as likely to be effective in the guidance of day-to-day conduct in life. Ten was the number beyond which counting was difficult for the masses, and imprisoning all essential thoughts on a subject within ten couplets was to ensure that nothing worth-

while was missed. The *uniformity* this form spelt meant some risk to the freedom and exellence of poetical expression. Lesser men who attempted to handle it have later failed. But Valluvar had the supreme confidence of the born poet. He knew what he was about. The medium was but the means to the end. He could choose what medium he willed, and yet make a success of it. The wonder is not that he chose the medium but that he succeeded so well with it. Even the most imaginative poetic thoughts and poetic imageries found no obstruction or hesitation in their free expression. Thought was not sacrificed to Form, neither Form to Thought. The right thought in the right form—an achievement unique in the history of poetry down the ages. Not once does the form flag or begin to stale. In fact, as the work moves on to the themes of love and War, which ordinarily might have been better expressed in freer and spacious meters, the tiny couplet rises to the occasion and performs ever imaginative feats—a sheer miracle which only a Master Poet could have achieved.

This lecture is intended to serve mainly as the background for an understanding of the lectures that follow. I shall, therefore, re-state briefly its main ideas:

1. For Valluvar, life is an integrated whole. *Thirukkural* is the postulation of philosophy as a way of life and a way of living according to a philosophy: It is Pragmatic Idealism.

2. In justifying the demands of the Ideal to the needs of the Pragmatic, Thiruvalluvar knew no contradictions or inconsistencies. The contradictions and inconsistencies are more appearances than real. In this he is in company of the greatest world teachers like Jesus Christ, Ramakrishna Paramahamsa and Mahatma Gandhi.

3. *Thirukkural* is a work of synthesis. Thiruvalluvar sought to synthesise the two eternal tendencies in human history, life affirmation and life negation.

4. As these two tendencies are eternally recurring in a rhythm all through history, and among all nations and peoples, the synthesis acquires a permanent and pervasive significance.

5. Yet the work must have had an immediate purpose; to lead his people back to a positive way of life, without losing the values that the negative way of life had to teach.

6. His was a democratic mission. *Kural* was not intended merely for the chosen few. Valluvar was a democrat in life and thought; and *Kural* is democratic in form, content and appeal.

7. The choice of form was deliberate and purposive. It was the one that could best serve the democratic purpose. But it has great limitations as a vehicle of poetical expression, Valluvar risked it in the interest of his democratic cause. But the success he made of it is a miracle in the history of poetical expression. Even the subtlest nuances of emotion and shades of thought and poetical conceits were successfully expressed. A genius alone could do this.

II

The key to the understanding of an author lies in the Introduction. So much was the importance attached to this part of a work by the later Tamil writers that *Nannul*, the Tamil grammar, laid down that without Introduction, a book is no book.[1] In fact, in modern times, some writers like Bernard Shaw invested their Prefaces with such great importance that these were invariably much longer than their works. The main theme of their works did not permit them to express all their basic thoughts on the suject on hand, and so the authors had perforce to seek the elbow room that a Preface provided for a full and free expression of their central thesis. Thiruvalluvar, however, was the master of epitomic expression, and he could contain his basic ideas in the first four chapters of Thirukkural which form the *Payiram* or Introduction.

The first chapter is entitled 'Invocation to God' and commences with the argument that God is the beginning of the World. The argument is in the nature of an analogy, and cosmological in character. How else could the existence of God as the beginning of all things be demonstrated? Not by any empirical evidence that is universal. Not certainly by an appeal to authority, for no one is acceptable to all. Not by metaphysics. That relies on intuition that cannot be postulated for every one. But the strange thing about Valluvar's argument is it seems to have been addressed

1. *ஆயிர முகத்தால் அகன்ற தாயினும்*
பாயிர மில்லது பனுவ லன்றே.

—*Nannul* : Payiram

to the litteratiur and the learned. His analogy begins with a philological argument. 'A' is the first sound in all alphabets; even so God is the beginning of all the worlds.[2] And again, of what ovails all learning, if it does not lead one to the worship of the Supreme Intelligence?[3] Perhaps, Vulluvar was trying to counter the argument of a school of intellectuals that then existed and who denied God. The common man, then and now, needed no argument for the existence of God. It was ingrained in him as part of a simple traditional belief. These are speculations in which I shall not indulge, however tempting they are. They will distract me away from the immediate purpose of my lectures. Suffice it to say that Tiruvalluvar adopted the belief in the existence of God as a basic postulate of his system of ethics.

Next, Valluvar proceeds to sing of the glories of rain. Why immediately after God? Valluvar is a fundamental thinker. Rains lend the basic support to material life. Without it no vegetation, no life, no prosperity. Rains symbolised the substraitum of material life; and unless that is assumed, all ethics, right living, good life and ordered existence are impossible. History would be at a standstill; man to man would be a wolf. Water is life-giving and so spirit-giving. Rain is the compendious expression of all the economic factors that make for material life. It is the single and most visible element known for life-affirmation. In a sense, this is an acceptance of economic determinism in history but with Thiruvalluvar economics is not the exclusive determinant, as it was with Marx and other Materialist Dialectists. Economics comes only after the spiritual—or the religious, if we want to have it that way—in his scheme of values. Or at best, it is a conjoint determinant. Nevertheless with Valluvar economics is a basic determinant.

Food is the basis of life. Rain brings food, and itself, as water, forms food.[4] The world is sustained by it; so is it verily

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2. *அகர முதல எழுத்தெல்லாம் ஆதி*
பகவன் முதற்றே உலகு. (1)

3. *கற்றதனால் ஆய பயனென்கொல் வாலறிவன்*
நற்றாள் தொழாஅர் எனின். (2)

4. *துப்பார்க்குத் துப்பாய துப்பாக்கி, துப்பார்க்குத்*
துப்பாய தூஉம் மழை. (12)

ambrosia.[5] The consequences of a failure of rain are terrible to contemplate. It would spell disaster and ruin to all economic life. Hunger would stalk the land and torment this wide sea-girt world.[6] The ploughmen will not plough.[7] Even a pastoral nomadic existence will be impossible. Not even a blade of grass will grow.[8] Neither can you exist on sea food; for "even the wealth of the wide sea will be diminished, if the cloud that has drawn its waters up gives them not back again.[9] Will there be any religion left? Neither will there be festivals nor daily worship of the gods.[10] There will be no charity, no generosity. The milk of human kindness will dry up when the rains dry up. Life cannot exist without water; neither can right conduct.[11]

It is not without purpose that the Poet dwells at length on the gruesome consequence of a world in which the rains fail. The picture is vividly drawn to bring home to the reader the importance of a stable economic structure for the peace and progress of the world. As long as hunger gnaws at the door of men, such peace and progress would be impossible to achieve. Peace and progress are ideas with a spiritual content in them; men cannot be led to the spiritual waters and to drink deep at them, when the waters of economic life dry up at the springs. There is a modicum of economic life, on which alone individual morality, as well as social morality, can take root and thrive. Those who preach peace and

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5. வானின் றுலகம் வழங்கி வருதலால்
தான்அமிழ்தம் என்றுணரற் பாற்று. (11)

6. விண்ணின்று பொய்ப்பின் விரிநீர் வியன்உலகத்து
உண்ணின்று உடற்றும் பசி. (13)

7. ஏரின் உழாஅர் உழவர் புயல்என்னும்
வாரி வளம்குன்றிக் கால். (14)

8. விசும்பின் துளிவீழின் அல்லால்மற் றாங்கே
பசும்புல் தலைகாண் பரிது. (16)

9. நெடுங்கடலும் தன்னீர்மை குன்றும் தடிந்தெழிலி
தான்நல்கா தாகி விடின். (17)

10. சிறப்பொடு பூசனை செல்லாது வானம்
வறக்குமேல் வானோர்க்கும் ஈண்டு. (18)

11. நீரின்று அமையாது உலகெனின் யார்யார்க்கும்
வானின்று அமையா தொழுக்கு. (20)

progress, good conduct and orderly social behaviour to empty stomach may as well preach to the winds. Peace like prosperity is basically economic.

From these basic ideas follow certain important economic tenets. The basis of a stable economic life is rain, because rain furnishes food. Hence, agriculture is the most fundamental economic activity; and lest there should by any doubt on this, Valluvar elaborates it later in the chapter on agriculture. If agriculture is the basic economic activity for all times and climes, that depends on rain, a God's gift as Valluvar might have implied, or a natural resource as economists now term it. On the abundance of this natural resource, therefore, all economic life depends. Natural resources, in Valluvar's economic system, thus take the primacy. But among the natural resources, land is given the pride of place in modern economics. For, land is defined to include, not only the soil and the sub-soil, but also the minerals that are found hidden under it, the atmosphere above that embraces the climate and rainfall. This is achieved only by an extension of definition. Valluvar, on the other hand, held water to be the primary natural resource. The abundance and timeliness of water determine even the character of land as a factor of production. There can be a soilless agriculture, but no moistureless agriculture. And this natural resource has an economy of proportions about it. Excess may spell ruin as timeliness and proper proportion may bring prosperity. "It is rain that both ruins and aids the ruined to rise."[12]

This resource picture of Valluvar may not be satisfying to the economic planners of today. There is great concern among them now with the mineral resources of a State. That country is considered potentially rich which has a wealth of coal, iron, copper and industrial minerals. Economic growth depends on their rate of exploitation and utilisation. But mineral resources are a part of the Land Resources by very definition; and with Valluvar, Land Resources are a part of the Water Resources by definition. So Valluvar has not excluded the importance of mineral resources. It is there, by implication. The question is only of emphasis. In

12. கெடுப்பதூஉம் கெட்டார்க்குச் சார்வாய்மற் றாங்கே
எடுப்பதூஉம் எல்லாம் மழை. (15)

the ultimate, it is water that matters, for that alone gives food. A stable economy is built on an adequate production of food, not merely its supply. If the supplies have to come from elsewhere, there comes in an element of dependence and instability. It is well-known that some of the Latin American countries and countries like Saudi Arabia, whose wealth consists chiefly in mineral resources, have experienced the most unstable Governments that the world has witnessed. Revolutions have followed revolutions in quick succession, and Governments have become a hotbed of intrigue, internecine warfare and foreign intervention. Therefore, a self-sufficiency of food is the *sine qua non* of *basic* stability, strategy and plenty. If this is accepted, as with every new Plan this country's planners themselves increasingly realise, Valluvar's peculiar emphasis on rains as the greatest single natural resource will be appreciated in all its significance.

The third chapter in the Introduction is entitled 'The Greatness of the Ascetics'. One Commentator—Parithiyar—interprets it as the 'Triumph of the Renunciate'. How is this a topic fundamental to a treatise on Social Ethics? And why does it follow a discussion on the importance of material support to life under the title of 'In praise of rain?' Even the astute Commentator, Parimelazhagar, who usually takes elaborate pains in explaining the sequence of topics and justifying their context, is silent here. His unusual silence demands all the greater reflection on our part.

Next to an adequate economic substratum, what a socity requires for its stability, continuity and progress is Spiritual Leadership. These leaders are the elect few. They are not the Philosopher-Kings that Plato in his Republic dreamt of. They are men who have given up, what Bentham calls, their 'self-regarding' interests and have given themselves up to 'other-regarding' pursuits, who have renounced all and stand true to their rule of conduct in scorn of consequences.[13] The leadership such souls provide is a spiritual leadership. They are the best—the salt of the earth. Theirs is not a self-abnegation born of an impulse in an odd moment. It is renunciation in a spirit of

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13. *ஒழுக்கத்து நீத்தார் பெருமை விழுப்பத்து*
வேண்டும் பனுவற் றுணிவு. (21)

sacrifice, after having tasted the ways of life according to codes of life prescribed, and after having contemplated and deliberated upon it in the most rational manner. Such renunciation is not a negative act. It belongs to the realm of positive sacrifice. There were men who renounced the worldly ways for other ends. In fact, one commentator, Manakkudavar, proceeds to explain that there were works which extolled the greatness of renunciation, if only to cloak their falsehoods, otherwise rampant. Of such is not the spiritual leadership of the world fashioned. They are men whose sacrifice comes as a mellowed fruit of life's duty done. At the commencement of a well regulated life, they seek to control, canalise and sublimate the cravings of the senses into purposeful activity for nobler purposes, for the good of the entire humanity. They withdraw into themselves, so that they may better serve the humanity when occasion demands. They are introverts, so that they may be better extroverts. They are contemplative individually, so that they may be more active socially. They love themselves less so that they may love humanity more. Their love knows no distinctions of class, creed, time or place. Nay, they love the whole of creation and possess universal tenderness.[14] These men of sacrifice, the Leaders of the Spirit, in time become a store-house of power, with which they can make even the heaven's king tremble.[15] Their speeches take the character of prophetic utterances. Their words work like *mantra* and can rouse the people to great emotions. They can shape the destinies of men. They shall perform miracles; achieve the impossible.[16] Their wrath, when roused, would be volcanic; impossible to risist.[17] They alone are the mighty, for they perform mighty deeds. All else in comparison are pygmies, for what these can do are but trifles.[18] Their greatness is beyond measure; as well try and

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14. *அந்தணர் என்போர் அறவோர்மற் றெவ்வுயிர்க்கும்*
செந்தண்மை பூண்டொழுக லான். (30)

15. *ஐந்தவித்தான் ஆற்றல் அகல்விசும்பு ளார்கோமான்*
இந்திரனே சாலும் கரி. (25)

16. *நிறைமொழி மாந்தர் பெருமை நிலத்து*
மறைமொழி காட்டி விடும். (28)

17. *குணமென்னும் குன்றேறி நின்றார் வெகுளி*
கணமேயுங் காத்த லரிது. (29)

18. *செயற்கரிய செய்வார் பெரியர் ; சிறியர்*
செயற்கரிய செய்கலா தார். (26)

count all the dead since creation's beginning.[19] They stand aloft, towering above all, on the majestic peaks of virtue.[20]

The Old Testament is full of such Leaders of the Spirit. They are the Prophets who have tried to stir the Jewish nation from time to time, led them away from captivity, and roused them to great achievements even in arid desert surroundings. The Epics and the Puranas are replete with the Rishis of old, before whom pelf and power lay prostrate in obeisance. Their influence lasts long after they had left their scene of action. But are these days ended? Have they no place in this scientific age? In our own times, in our own country, Gandhiji was a Rishi of this type. His sense of truth, spirit of sacrifice, and acts of self-abnegation were all of a positive character, calculated to stir the apathy of the Indian masses and lead them on to purposeful activity. His writ ran through the length and breadth of the land, even when the sceptre was held by other hands. His words acted like magic to rouse a mass of people who lay dazed with power, and paralysed by fear, to heroic acts of valour. He performed the greatest miracle, perhaps of all times, when he led three hundred million of his countrymen back to freedom. He made men of them. Nay, more. Such was the chain reaction that his achievement through the vehicle of Spirit started, that in about ten years, over fifty more countries were liberated from the yoke of colonialism to join the ranks of the United Nations as equal members of a great world confederation. The impact of Gandhian spiritual teachings had its reverberation, not only in the countries of Far East Asia, but also on the entire African Continent. Had Valluvar lived today and sought an illustration for his chapter on Greatness of Self-Abnegation, he would have readily seized on the life of the Mahatma. Ultimately, it is the spirit that moves.

The fourth pillar of ordered social life, according to Valluvar, is a code of individual and social conduct that has abiding values. It is compendiously referred to as *Aram* by Valluvar and could be equated in a sense with 'Dharma' in Sanskrit

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19. *துறந்தார் பெருமை துணைக்கூறின் வையத்து*
இறந்தாரை எண்ணிக்கொண் டற்று. (22)

20. *குணமென்னும் குன்றேறி நின்றார் வெகுளி*
கணமேயும் காத்தல் அரிது. (29)

Dharma has three aspects—one, a moral code of a permanent and universal validity; two, a code which was to be practised in social relations, the social laws, the society's customs, and conventions; and three, the State or Governmental Laws which determine the relationship of man to man in the context of society as a political organism. Valluvar is concerned only with the first of these. The other two are changeable and changing. They have no universal validity. They vary with time and place. But not so the Moral Law. That is permanent and of *universal* applicability. It is this which Valluvar calls *Aram*.

All *Aram* can be epitomised in the single commandment, "Be spotlessly pure of heart."[21] This supreme commandment of the code can be spelt out as follows: Avoid envy, lust, wrath and harsh word.[22] The observance of this Moral Law—*Aram*—or what the translators have called Virtue and Righteousness is not only a means to an other-worldly end, but to this world also. "It opens the gates of heaven and unlocks the treasures of the earth; then what else does profit more than Righteousness?"[23] It is as much important for life-affirmation as for life-negation. True joy of life flows only from walking in the path of *Aram*. "All else is sorrow and merits no praise."[24] *Aram* alone is worthy of practising. Anything else brings infamy and deserves to be avoided.[25] It is true that there are moments when the inherent weakness in man tempts him to run away from it. There has to be a struggle within; but the poet understandingly persuades: "Do not postpone practising it. Commence it now and here. Make a resolve. It will be your never failing friend."[26] Again, "Do it when there is still breath in

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21. மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல்; அனைத்தறன்;
ஆகுல நீர பிற. (34)

22. அழுக்காறு, அவா,வெகுளி, இன்னாச்சொல் நான்கும்
இழுக்கா இயன்றது அறம். (35)

23. சிறப்பீனும் செல்வமும் ஈனும் அறத்தினூஉங்கு
ஆக்கம் எவனோ உயிர்க்கு? (31)

24. அறத்தான் வருவதே இன்பம் ;மற் றெல்லாம்
புறத்த; புகழும் இல. (39)

25. செயற்பால தோரும் அறனே; ஒருவற்கு
உயர்பால தோரும் பழி. (40)

26. அன்றறிவா மென்னா தறஞ்செய்க; மற்றது
பொன்றுங்கால் பொன்றாத் துணை. (36)

you";[27] and "Do it as much as possible, and in every way.'[28] Keep the goal always before you. Pursue its spirit wheresoever it guides you.[29] Incessant practice will help you in your struggle.

These then are the four cardinal elements of an ordered society: (1) Belief in God, (2) Economic resources, (3) Spiritual leadership, (4) Observance of the Moral Law. There is perhaps no order of priority in these four values. They are to coexist and conjointly move as the four wheels of an automobile. Life would be at a standstill when any one wheel gets a flat tyre, and then will follow confusion, anxiety and anarchy.

I have dwelt at some length on these four cardinal postulates of Valluvar because they pervade his entire thought-pattern. All his economic ideas could be understood in their proper significance only in their background. They embody his permanent values, and whatever he says subsequently have meaning only with relevance to them. They are the key to the understanding of the rest of the *Kural.* The introduction is not to be skipped over. It holds the master key to the unlocking of the treasures in the 129 Chapters that follow. It is no accident that a contemporary poet exhorted the reader to learn all the 1330 *Kural* stanzas, but in the context of the introduction.[30]

What strange assortment of values—God, Economics, Sacrifice and Morals! Yet they are the inevitable products that an attempt at a synthesis of matter and spirit, of life-negation and life-affirmation, bring about. May be there are those who differ from Vallu-

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27. *வீழ்நாள் படாஅமை நன்றாற்றின் அஃதொருவன்*
வாழ்நாள் வழியடைக்கும் கல். (38)

28. *ஒல்லும் வகையான் அறவினை ஓவாதே*
செல்லும்வாய் எல்லாம் செயல். (33)

29. *கலங்காது கண்ட வினைக்கண் துளங்காது*
தூக்கங் கடிந்து செயல். (668)

30. *ஆயிரத்து முந்நூற்று முப்ப தருங்குறளும்*
பாயிரத்தி னோடு பகர்ந்ததற்பின் — போயொருத்தர்
வாய்க்கேட்க நூலுளவோ? மன்னு தமிழ்ப்புலவ
ராய்க்கேட்க வீற்றிருக்க லாம். (16)

(Nattathanar in *Thiruvalluva Malai*)

var; maybe there are pilhosopers who could work out a better synthesis and work out other value patterns. But let them see to it that they have universality and timelessness. Valluvar is no dogmatist. In all humility, he says: "Whatsoever spoken, by whomsoever spoken, discern the truth in it. That is Wisdom."[31]

III

ECONOMICS OF PERMANENCE

Some years back, my late lamented friend, Dr. J. C. Kumarappa, wrote a book on the 'Economics of Permanence.' In it he assailed much that is ephemeral in Keynesian economics in particular, and Western economic thought in general. His main thesis was that modern industrialisation spelt ruin and disaster to human civilisation, and so proceeded to work out a system on the lines of Gandhian economic thought, by which production is decentralised and problems of distribution automatically taken care of. By Economics of Permanence, it is not to this system I refer here. There are certain abiding permanent economic values that deserve to be maintained, whatever the economic system is, whatever the nature and objective of the economic process is, in any country and at any point of time Thiruvalluvar has set them out in unmistakable terms. It is to this body of economic doctrines, or rather values, to which I refer mainly in this lecture.

Valluvar's economic ideas are mostly to be found in the Second part of Thirukkural, the *Porutpal*, or the part dealing with Wealth. By *Porutpal*, Valluvar meant all that Kautilya meant by the word *Arthasastra*. *Porul* literally means "thing, substance, object, value, wealth, etc." It comprises the whole range of tangible objects that can be possessed, enjoyed and lost, and which we require in daily life for the upkeep of a household, raising of a family, and virtuous fulfilment of life's obligations. It embraces all consumer and producer goods. The arts that serve the possession of these material goods are of economics and politics, the techniques of surviving in the struggle for existence. In a sense, it comprehends the entire science of economic sociology.

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31. எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும், அப்பொருள்
மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு. (423)

In Valluvar's time, economics was not yet a differntiated discipline. It was a part and parcel of politics, or the science of statecraft. It was more political economy than economics. Even in the West, economics did not become a distinct discipline until after the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. Even then it was only Political Economy, and a part of Moral Philosophy. It is relevant to remember that Adam Smith wrote his classic on Political Economy when he was holding the Chair of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. It was not until the days of Alfred Marshall, a century later, that economics became a separate science. But, in our own days, his pupil, Lord Keynes, has begun to question the wisdom of this step and has indicated his preference for going back to the term Political Economy.

As a basic thinker, Valluvar has few peers. He postulates three fundamental freedoms for the individual citizen :

(i) Freedom from hunger, (ii) Freedom from disease, and (iii) Freedom from fear—arising out of aggression from within and without. Out of these three freedoms, flow all his ideas and ideals of an economic society. "Blessed is the realm that knows no famine or pestilence and is free from aggression."[1]

"The destruction of the poor is their poverty"—thus began Alfred Marshall, the doyen of classical economists when he set out to lay down his "Principles of Economics." It is the starting-point of modern Economics. 'The study of poverty is the study of the causes of a degradation of a large part of mankind." Valluvar's ideas on poverty are an elaborate poetical anticipation of Marshall's ideas. With equal emphasis does Thiruvalluvar condemn the evils of poverty. His was not a philosophy that extolled the virtues of poverty, as many schools of asceticism have done in their attempt to vindicate a life of negation. In ten graphic stanzas, he delineates the horrors of poverty in a manner that makes no mistaking of his faith in the philosophy of life–affirmation. 'Nothing is more dreadfully painful than poverty."[2] "Infernal poverty blasts the joys of

1. உறுபசியும் ஓவாப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேரா தியல்வது நாடு. (734)

2. இன்மையின் இன்னாதது யாதெனின் இன்மையின்
இன்மையே இன்னா தது. (1041)

the earth and of heaven."[3] "Gripping poverty robs a man of the lofty nobility of his descent and the golden eloquence of his tongue."[4] "Chill penury benumbs one's noble feelings and makes one speak the language of a slave."[5] "Cursed poverty is a nest of evils."[6] "The deliverance of the poor is only in total renunciation. Far better that, than they batten on other men's salt and soup."[7]

If poverty is an unmixed evil, begging is no remedy for it. "It is the height of folly to redress the ills of poverty by begging."[8] Those who hold that begging is inevitable or decreed by fate are wrong. If so, "may the Creator of the Universe who has decreed so, go a begging and perish."[9] Indignation at the very thought that disparities are God-made reaches its climax. Valluvar could not tolerate such doctrines—attempts at laying the doors of God what man has done. For, begging is a denial of the dignity in man, the God in man. "Thou shalt earn thy bread in the sweat of thy brow"—that is what God has ordained, not by begging. 'The thin gruel tastes as sweet as ambrosia to him who has earned it in the sweat of his brow.'[10] It is most heinous to beg for a bucketful of water even to quench the feverish thirst of a sinking cow."[11] "The noble dignity

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3. இன்மை யெனவொரு பாவி மறுமையும்
இம்மையும் இன்றி வரும். (1042)

4. தொல்வரவும் தோலும் கெடுக்கும் தொகையாக
நல்குரவு என்னும் நசை. (1043)

5. இற்பிறந்தார் கண்ணேயும் இன்மை இளிவந்த
சொற்பிறக்கும் சோர்வு தரும். (1044)

6. நல்குரவு என்னும் இடும்பையுள் பல்குரைத்
துன்பங்கள் சென்று படும். (1045)

7. துப்புரவு இல்லார் துவரத் துறவாமை
உப்பிற்கும் காடிக்கும் கூற்று. (1050)

8. இன்மை இடும்பை இரந்துதீர் வாம்என்னும்
வன்மையின் வன்பாட்டது இல். (1063

9. இரந்தும் உயிர்வாழ்தல் வேண்டின் பரந்து
கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான். (1062)

10. தெண்ணீர் அடுபுற்கை யாயினும் தாள்தந்தது
உண்ணலின் ஊங்கினியது இல். (1065)

11. ஆவிற்கு நீரென்று இரப்பினும் நாவிற்கு
இரவின் இளிவந்தது இல். (1066)

that stoops not to base beggary, even in dire want, surpasses the glory and loveliness of the earth."[12]

Although Valluvar has painted in these lurid colours the 'Dread of Begging,' he was aware that the realities of life sometimes forced this indignity on some unfortunate few; and Valluvar relies on the social conscience of the more fortunate fellow-beings to mitigate the evil. There are circumstances which may make begging permissible; he mentions these; but what he really wishes to emphasise is the social responsibility of the community at large to the problem of beggary. "Knock at rich men's doors. If they relieve not your wretchedness, the sin is theirs, and not thine."[13] "Even the beautiful earth becomes an empty puppet show, if the mendicancy that stirs all the springs of pity dies out and is for ever banished."[14] With gentle sarcasm, the Poet says, "Scowl not at them who give no charity; for who knows they may be as poor and helpless as you."[15] Those who have no social conscience are as poverty-stricken as the beggars themselves.

But to this social responsibility for begging, Valluvar comes through the individual. He does not spell out the need for any anti-begging legislation, such as might have been thought of in our own days. Not that he excludes legislative action. The fact that he places the theme in the Division which is intended for the instruction of Kings has its own significance for State action. But Valluvar feels that it is the individual values and individul sanctions that ultimately matter, and it is through individual thought and action that the social conscience is really touched. Like Alfred Marshall, he makes a great appeal to the social possibilities of 'economic chivalry'.

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12. *இடமெல்லாம் கொள்ளாத் தகைத்தே இடம்இல்லாக்*
காலும் இரவுஒல்லாச் சால்பு. (1064)

13. *இரக்க இரத்தக்கார்க் காணின் கரப்பின்*
அவர்பழி தம்பழி அன்று. (1051)

14. *இரப்பாரை இல்லாயின் ஈர்ங்கண்மா ஞாலம்*
மரப்பாவை சென்றுவந் தற்று. (1058)

15. *இரப்பான் வெகுளாமை வேண்டும் நிரப்பிடும்பை*
தானேயும் சாலும் கரி. (1060)

Having condemned poverty and begging as the greatest curses of a society, Valluvar proceeds to affirm the importance of accumulation of wealth in a positive manner. "The poor are for ever held in contempt, the rich are always belauded;" for, the wealthy man is like one "who in joy and security witnesses an elephant fight from a secure hill-top, far away from the turmoil."[16] But it is noteworthy that typical of his integrated philosophy of life, Thiruvalluvar lays equal emphasis on the means of acquiring wealth. Like all economists he holds that wealth is only a means, and not an end. But he insists that the means of acquiring wealth should be not merely legally correct, but also morally proper. Out of a fortune built up by fair means, flow the joys or earthly felicities and the fulfilment of a virtuous code of conduct."[17] The emphasis here is on the words 'fair means'. Again he says, "Acquire a great fortune by noble and honourable means." This applies even to Governments. There is no compartmental morality in his code. "Let wealth be accumulated by the King on the bedrock of everlasting love and mercy."[18] Indeed, we are reminded of Alfred Marshall's words again :

"And very often the influence exerted on a person's character by the amount of his income is hardly less, if it is less than that exerted by the way in which it is earned."

While great store is laid on accumulation of wealth, Valluvar, ever intent on the message that wealth is only a means to an end, condemns excessive parsimony and hoarding of riches. "Behold a niggard who, in pursuit of gold as an end in, itself, is forgetful of all the blessings that flow from it. He is a very monster born."[19]

பொருள் செயல் வகை

16. *குன்றேறி யானைப்போர் கண்டற்றால் தன்கைத்தொன்று*
உண்டாகச் செய்வான் வினை. (758)

17. *அறனீனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து*
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள். (754)

18. *அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்*
புல்லார் புரள விடல். (753)

19. *பொருளானும் எல்லாமென்று ஈயாது இவறும்*
மருளானும் மாணாப் பிறப்பு. (1002)

"A hoarder is a burden to the earth."[20] Such hoards, he designates as 'Profitless Riches'. "He whose wealth is neither for himself nor for others drinks the cup of misery."[21] He compares hoarded wealth to the fading gloom on the cheeks of a fair lonely maid.[22] Nay, more. Hoarded wealth can be a source of positive harm. It may work against the common good even as "the fruits of a poisonous tree in the heart of a village."[23] "A miser is one among the dead; no good comes of him."

An economic society which despises poverty, begging and hoarding and encourages accumulation, consumption, and better distribution must have on the part of its citizens certain moral and spiritual qualities. Valluvar therefore thoughtfully lays his hand on these and elaborates them, one by one, with great poetical power.

First and foremost, Valluvar places the spirit of industry in the individual. He calls it the 'unflagging energy'. It is this, according to him, that marks out the prosperous from the poor. The idle rich are, indeed, the really poor from a social and spiritual point of view.[24] Industry is real wealth; for the wealth that flows from the restless energy of the soul is the only possession that is lasting. All else fade and crumble away.[25] Even in the

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20. ஈட்டம் இவறி இசைவேண்டா ஆடவர்
தோற்றம் நிலக்குப் பொறை. (1003)

நன்றியில் செல்வம்

21. ஏதம் பெருஞ்செல்வம் தான்துவ்வான் தக்கார்க்கொன்று
ஈதல் இயல்பிலா தான். (1006)

22. அற்றார்க்கொன்று ஆற்றாதான் செல்வம் மிகநலம்
பெற்றாள் தமியள்மூத் தற்று. (1007)

23. நச்சப் படாதவன் செல்வம் நடுவூருள்
நச்சு மரம்பழுத் தற்று. (1008)

ஊக்கமுடைமை

24. உடைய ரெனப்படுவது ஊக்கம்அஃ தில்லார்
உடையது உடையரோ மற்று? (591)

25. உள்ளம் உடைமை உடைமை; பொருளுடைமை;
நில்லாது நீங்கி விடும். (592)

midst of a setback in fortune, despair does not seize the heart of such men.[26] There is a touch of grandeur in a man of ambition, even when all his projects are shattered to ruins.[27] Indolent ease can never bring forth great achievements. Inexhaustible fund of energy is man's strength. Lacking it, he is one with stick and stone.[28] "The stem of the lotus plant is the measure of the water's depth. The energy of an individual is the measure of his achievement."[29]

So much is Valluvar convinced of the supreme importance of the spirit of industry as the dynamic force behind economic society that he proceeds to work it out in all its implications and shades in three more chapters under the headings "Abstention from Sloth", "Manly Effort" and "Courage in Crisis". Again and again, he cries "Despair not". Industry brings wealth; sloth, poverty. The Goddess of Wealth runs after the man of energy and enterprise, and smiles on his home. For the lazy and the indolent there is a different visitor—the she-devil of poverty.[30] Leave no work unfinished. The world will not forgive you. It will turn its back on you.[31] Scorn delights and live laborious days. You shall become a tower of strength to society.[32] To

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26. ஆக்கம் இழந்தேமென் றல்லாவார் ஊக்கம்
ஒருவந்தம் கைத்துடை யார். (593)

27. உள்ளுவ தெல்லாம் உயர்வுள்ளல்; மற்றது;
தள்ளினும் தள்ளாமை நீர்த்து. (596)

28. உரம்ஒருவற்கு உள்ள வெறுக்கை; அஃதில்லார்
மரம்; மக்க ளாதலே வேறு. (600)

29. வெள்ளத் தனைய மலர் நீட்டம்; மாந்தர்தம்
உள்ளத் தனையது உயர்வு. (595)

மடியின்மை

30. மடியுளான் மாமுகடி யென்ப மடியிலான்
தாளுளாள் தாமரையி னாள். (617)

31. வினைக்கண் வினைகெடல் ஓம்பல் வினைக்குறை
தீர்ந்தாரின் தீர்ந்தன் றுலகு. (612)

32. இன்பம் விழையான் வினைவிழைவான் தன்கேளிர்
துன்பம் துடைத்தூன்றும் தூண். (615)

lack resources is no disgrace; but to sit idle is a vile reproach.[33] Labour is the greatest resource.[34] The plans and programmes of one who lacks the will to translate them are but day-dreams. They are as ineffectual as the sword in the hands of a coward.[35] To him is not given the noble pride of a benevolent heart.[36] "Yield not to despair," he again exhorts. Cry not in distress—'The task is beyond me'. Put forth your manly efforts. They will rouse your slumbering courage, and you shall achieve the most arduous tasks of life.[37] Forgetfulness, procrastination, sloth and lazy sleep are frail canoes. Man voyaging in them gets wrecked in trackless waters.[38] Idleness is a viper. Out of it spring the ruins of the society.[39]

Life, Valluvar realises, is an unceasing struggle, and for that struggle, the individual requires to be fully equipped. Temporary setbacks should not be allowed to paralyse human effort. What is needed is a "well-bred bull's energy." Even as it struggles its way through the ups and downs of the rugged terrain, so do you pull through thick and thin, come hail, come storm.[40] Smile scornfully at the frowns of fortune. That is the only way to

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33. பொறியின்மை யார்க்கும் பழியன்று ; அறிவறிந்து
ஆள்வினை இன்மை பழி. (618)

34. தெய்வத்தான் ஆகா தெனினும் முயற்சிதன்
மெய்வருத்தக் கூலி தரும். (619)

35. தாளாண்மை இல்லாதான் வேளாண்மை பேடிகை
வாளாண்மை போலக் கெடும். (614)

36. தாளாண்மை என்னும் தகைமைக்கண் தங்கிற்றே
வேளாண்மை என்னும் செருக்கு. (613)

37. அருமை உடைத்தென்று அசாவாமை வேண்டும்
பெருமை முயற்சி தரும். (611)

38. நெடுநீர் மறவி மடிதுயில் நான்கும்
கெடுநீரார் காமக் கலன். (605)

39. மடிமடிக் கொண்டொழுகும் பேதை பிறந்த
குடிமடியும் தன்னினும் முந்து. (603)

40. மடுத்தவாய் எல்லாம் பகடுஅன்னான் உற்ற
இடுக்கண் இடர்ப்பாடு உடைத்து. (624)

chase leaden-eyed despair.[41] Against the shores of iron will and unflagging courage, the never-ending waves beat in vain.[42] Find joy in the very stress and strain of work. You shall vanquish all opposition.[43]

All these remind us so much of the words of one of the greatest economists of our own times, the late Lord Keynes, on energy versus prudence as the driving force behind development of wealth : "Most probably, many of our decisions to do something positive, the full consequences of which will be drawn out over many years to come, can only be taken as a result of animal spirits—of a spontaneous urge to action rather than inaction......... Thus if the animal spirits are dimmed and the spontaneous optimism falters......enterprise will soon fade and die."

These are some broad hints we have of Valluvar's economic philosophy. Valluvar himself never worked out an economic system in all its elaboration. He was no system builder. A work of synthesis is bound to be somewhat electric in approach and general in treatment. But we have sufficient evidence to catch a glimpse of the constituents of an ideal economic society as Valluvar saw it.

The most important economic activity, according to Thiruvalluvar, is agriculture. This was not because the poet was living in a predominantly agricultural society, but because it is the most fundamental activity for all time. Food is the basis of life ; and raising food is the primary occupation of mankind. "Husbandmen are the axle-pin of the world ; for on their prosperity revolves

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41. இடுக்கண் வருங்கால் நகுக ; அதனை
அடுத்தூர்வது அஃதொப்ப தில். (621)

42. வெள்ளத் தனைய இடும்பை அறிவுடையான்
உள்ளத்தின் உள்ளக் கெடும். (622)

43. அடுக்கி வரினும் அழிவிலான் உற்ற
இடுக்கண் இடுக்கண் படும். (625)

44. இடும்பைக்கு இடும்பை படுப்பர் இடும்பைக்கு
இடும்பை படாஅ தவர். (623)

the prosperity of the other sectors of the economy."[44] Even saints who have forsaken the world needs must cease from spiritual pursuits, were farmers to sit idle with folded arms.[45] "You may pursue other walks of life; but ultimately you must be back to the plough; for that alone is the primary occupation."[46] "That country which has a peasantry whose fields restle with thick waves of corn becomes the refuge of several other countries."[47]

In thus stating the primacy of agriculture, it will be recalled, Valluvar is only particularising and illustrating the second of the four foundation ideas he postulated in the chapter on "Rains" in the Payiram or Introduction. He was concerned to establish that material support is essential for a life of positive living and that under the ultimate 'principle of rain,' agriculture assumes a basal character. All this he has done even at the start. Here, however, Valluvar introduces one further argument in favour of the importance of the agricultural sector. Agriculture alone is the most independent vocation. "The ploughmen alone", he says, "live as the freemen of the soil; the rest are mere slaves that batten on their toil."[48] It may be, under various forms of State Trading and controls, this is not true of many economies of the world today. It certainly is not true of the economies where the ploughmen have become tractor-men and with it the wage-slaves of the State. But Thiruvalluvar's ideal, —and perhaps that was the actual position in his days—appears to be an agricultural sector untrammelled by state intervention. In other words, Valluvar was for free enterprise in agriculture, and he valued highly the economic freedom it confers. "A peasant, who toils in

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44. உழுவார் உலகத்தார்க்கு ஆணி; அஃதாற்றாது
எழுவாரை எல்லாம் பொறுத்து. (1032)

45. உழவினார் கைம்மடங்கின் இல்லை விழைவதூஉம்
விட்டேமென் பார்க்கும் நிலை. (1036)

46. சுழன்றும்ஏர்ப் பின்னது உலகம்; அதனால்
உழந்தும் உழவே தலை. (1031)

47. பல்குடை நீழலும் தங்குடைக்கீழ்க் காண்பர்
அலகுடை நீழ லவர். (1034)

48. உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார்; மற் றெல்லாம்
தொழுதுண்டு பின்செல் பவர். (1033)

the sweat of his brow, begs not at other men's doors, but ungrudgingly shares his bread with those that beg for alms."[49]

Such was his concern for a well developed agriculture, that Valluvar deviates here from his practice of formulating only the broad general truths. He proceeds to lay down certain detailed agricultural techniques and cultural practices, which he considers highly important for a successful agriculture. Valluvar considers that the preparation of the soil is the first and foremost step. Land should be so ploughed and then exposed to the sun that the soil is completely aerated. The idea seems to be that it will then be in a position to receive and absorb the nitrogen and other organic elements from the atmosphere. Also, the weeds will have been destroyed at the roots. This can be done by intense and repeated ploughing. "Behold the land that is allowed to dry, until an ounce of earth crumbles into a quarter ounce of dust. She needs no manure and her harvest would be rich and abundant."[50]

He then proceeds to set out other important cultural practices in some order of importance. Ploughing is no doubt important, but even more so is manuring, and having manured, weeding assumes importance, and then irrigation, and above all, guarding the crop.[51] Land is a natural resource, which responds in proportion to the efforts put into it. The size and combination of inputs can overcome the inherent soil limitations. There is no such thing as a land unfit for cultivation. "Dame Earth seems to smile regretfully at the idle sons of the soil who put in no efforts and plead poverty."[52] He also recognises the importance of measures for control of floods, pests, and diseases, hail and storm and other natural calamities.

It is evident that the type of land tenure that Valluvar visualised was one of peasant proprietorship. That accorded with his

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49. இரவார் இரப்பார்க் கொன்றீவர் கரவாது
கைசெய்தூண் மாலை யவர். (1035)

50. தொடிப்புழுதி கஃசா உணக்கின் பிடித்தெருவும்
வேண்டாது சாலப் படும். (1037)

51. ஏரினும் நன்றால் எருஇடுதல் ; கட்டபின்
நீரினும் நன்றதன் காப்பு. (1038)

52. இலமென்று அசைஇ இருப்பாரைக் காணின்
நிலமென்னும் நல்லாள் நகும். (1040)

basic demand for economic liberty of the individual, and the qualities of industry and enterprise demanded of every citizen. He was not in favour of absentee landlordism. "As sulky and sullen as a woman abandoned of her lord is the land abandoned of her owner."[53]

Could it be that Valluvar was an anticipator of the Physiocrats of the eighteenth-century France? The Physiocrats held that land alone produced a net product, and agriculturists alone were the productive class. The artificers, manufacturers and merchants were, according to this school, an unproductive class. Explaining their theory, Adam Smith wrote:

> "The unproductive class, that of merchants, artificers and manufacturers is maintained and employed, altogether at the expense of the two other classes, of that of proprietors, and of that of cultivators. They furnish both with the materials of its work and with the fund of its subsistence, with the corn and cattle which it consumes while it is employed about the work. The proprietors and cultivators finally pay both the wages of all the workmen of the unproductive class, and the profits of all their employers."

There is more than one stanza in Valluvar's chapter on Agriculture which seem to anticipate the Physiocratic sentiments above quoted. The chapter opens with the statement that agriculture is superior to all other avocations. "Whirl as the world will, it must after all rely on the plough. Therefore agriculture is the most important of all industries."[54] Again in the next couplet he says "Husbandmen are the lynch-pin of society, for they support all those that take to other work, not having the strength to plough."[55] These two stanzas can be interpreted as attempts to establish the primacy and superiority of agriculture over other professions. But it is when we come to the third verse that we see something very close to the Physiocratic doctrine. Valluvar

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53. செல்லான் கிழவன் இருப்பின் நிலம்புலந்து
இல்லாளின் ஊடி விடும். (1039)

54. சுழன்றும்ஏர்ப் பின்னது உலகம் ; அதனால்
உழந்தும் உழவே தலை. (1031)

55. உழுவார் உலகத்தார்க்கு ஆணி ; அஃ தாற்றாது
எழுவாரை எல்லாம் பொறுத்து. (1032)

says, "Who ploughing eat their food, they truly live. The rest to others bend subservient, eating what they give."[56] Is this the same as what Adam Smith said of the Physiocratic doctrine above?

"Those workmen and their employers are properly the servants of the proprietors and the cultivators. They are only servants who work without doors, as menial servants work within. Both the one and the other, however, are equally maintained at the expense of the same master. The labour of both is equally unproductive."

We should be careful in reading too much of latter day thoughts into Valluvar. The Physiocrats, it should be remembered, were removed about 18 centuries from Valluvar's stream of economic thought. It is true both describe those engaged in non-agricultural pursuits as 'servile or servants'. But to me it appears that they mean quite different things. The Physiocrats held that agriculture alone was the 'productive' occupation and so compared the people engaged as artificers, manufacturers and merchants to 'servants' who in their concept did not produce anything 'tangible' in value. The concept of value as embracing both goods and service had not entered into economic thought yet. Even Adam Smith who enters into a caveat with the Physiocrats at this point does not refute their main value thesis. The other sectors are still 'unproductive'. "The industry of merchants, artificers and manufacturers, though in its own nature altogether unproductive, yet contributes in this manner indirectly to increase the produce of the land." Therefore, "The unproductive class, however, is not only useful, but greatly useful to the other two classes (proprietors and cultivators of land)".

This, however, does not appear to be the sense in which Valluvar was employing the word 'servant' or 'servile' or 'subservient' (in whatever terms it is translated) as applied to those who are engaged in avocations other than agriculture. There is no suggestion that what these produced had no value, or that their pursuits are 'unproductive'. All Valluvar meant to convey, it appears to me, was the basic on dependence of all on agriculture

56. உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார்; மற் றெல்லாம்
தொழுதுண்டு பின்செல் பவர். (1033

for their food requirements and hence the supreme importance of investing it with primacy among the human activities, and fostering it with care. The others are 'subservient' in the sense that they all have to depend on growers of food in the ultimate analysis. The economic freedom of the grower of food is basic; that of others only derived. For, Valluvar was not living in a primitive or pastoral society. In his days, Tamil land had reached a high degree of material civilisation—a developed agriculture, a variety of arts and manufactures, and a brisk foreign trade with distant Greece and Rome. The Sangam literature, in particular the works like *Pattinappalai* and *Purananuru*, bear ample references to the advanced stage of the arts and crafts. It is with all these advances in the arts and technique of industry and trade that Valluvar held that agriculture has the pride of place among economic activities.

Why was this? Historically, the Physiocratic doctrine of the elevation of agriculture as the only source of 'net product' arose as a reaction to Colbert's excessive encouragement to trade and manufacture to the neglect of land. Was there such a reaction in Valluvar's days? That would be assuming that history should repeat itself and produce unerring parallels—a thesis which is not warranted. But perhaps there was a period when the neglect of agriculture in Tamilnad was serious, the taxes on land extortionate, and the oppression of the peasantry severe. There are references in the Sangam literature to farmer-poets exhorting the kings to keep their oppressive hands off the peasantry.[57] There might have been recurrent famines, floods and pestilence and periodical

57 *நளியிரு முந்நீர் ......*
வெளிற்றுப்பனந் துணியின் வீற்றுவீற்றுக் கிடப்பக்
களிற்றுக்கணம் பொருத கண்ணகன் பறந்தலை
வருபடை தாங்கிப் பெயர்புறத் தார்த்துப்
பொருபடை தரூஉங் கொற்றமும் உழுபடை
ஊன்றுசால் மருங்கின் ஈன்றதன் பயனே;
மாரி பொய்ப்பினும் வாரி குன்றினும்
இயற்கை அல்லன செயற்கையில் தோன்றினும்
காவலர்ப் பழிக்கும்இக் கண்ணகல் ஞாலம்;
அதுநன் கறிந்தனை யாயின் நீயும்
நொதும லாளர் பொதுமொழி கொள்ளாது
பகடுபுறந் தருநர் பாரம் ஓம்பிக்

food shortages. It was in times such as these that Valluvar might have lived; and it is likely that the great achievements of the Chola Emperor Karikala who was either contemporaneous with Valluvar, or might have immediately followed him,—this Tamil Emperor's achievements in the field of land reclamation, colonisation, construction of dams, and other far-reaching works of agricultural development felt the impact of Valluvar's thoughts. This, however, is for the historian of South India. All that I can say is, we shall beware of labelling fundamental thinkers like Valluvar, who start from first principles, as Physiocrats and Agricultural Fundamentalists. The Physiocrats of France set agriculture against industry; the Agricultural Fundamentalists in the United States pitted the rural against urban society. Valluvar, we shall ever remember, came to reconcile, harmonise and synthesise. Schools he had none, systems he did not build, and sentiments few. He was a philosopher who went down to the grass roots and spanned his thoughts over the arc of eternity.

The self-same spirit of caution should inform the critic in interpreting Valluvar's indictment of hoarding and excessive parsimony elaborated under the rubric 'Profitless riches'. It is easy to fall into the temptation of finding a kinship between Valluvar's ideas and the over-saving and under-investment theories of latter day economists like Rev. Malthus, J. A. Robson and John Maynard Keynes, and exclaim how very modern Valluvar is! Such temptations must be resisted. For, the contexts are entirely different. The modern theories of over-saving and under-investment are born of the analysis of a particular economic situation and at a particular point of time. There is nothing of the moral flavour about these theories when they are offered as solutions to the unclogging of the economic mechanism. Valluvar, on the other hand, had all along the moral values in the background. When he condemns hoarding miserliness, the doctrine assumes the attributes of seminality and timelessness about it. It is always wrong to hoard; and that because it clogs the springs of charity.

குடிபுறந் தருகுவை யாயினின்
அடிபுறந் தருகுவர் அடங்கா தோரே. (புறம். 35)

(வெள்ளைக்குடி நாகனார் சோழன் குளமுற்றத்துத்
துஞ்சிய கிள்ளிவளவனை நோக்கிப்பாடியது.)

Perhaps ultimately the doctrines of both, Valluvar and the neo-classical economists arrive at the same point and same goal, namely, through better consumption and better production. And in the case of men like J. A. Hobson the social purpose so much dominated the purely objective economic analysis, that for a long time he was not taken seriously by the professional economists. In a social science like economics, it is impossible to distinguish in its theories what is purely a social goal and what is purely an economic goal. They do not conflict with each other. They inter-mingle like milk and water, difficult to separate. Good ethics is also good economics. In Valluvar it is so. All that we have to see is that the standpoints are different, the thinking process different, the tools too; but not the goal.

Not that Valluvar does not encourage thrift, or that he sings the paean of praise of extravagance. Ever intent on striking a golden mean, Valluvar warns, "Give; always give; but let your giving be governed by your resources. Be thrifty, but not to verge on miserliness." "Let your charity be proportionate to your wealth. That is the way to preserve it."[58] Again, "Behold the man who lavishes his wealth beyond his resources; he appears to be prosperous, but he only treads the downward path to destruction."[59] And finally, 'Generosity, which is blind to its resources, perishes of its own accord.'[60] If it were permissible to translate his ideas in modern economic language, we should say, Valluvar was neither for over-saving, nor for under-saving; neither for over-spending, nor for under-spending. He was for a balance in all things. In the ultimate analysis this alone can partake of the perennial values of a stable economic principle.

Land, labour and capital—these were the three agents of production according to classical economics. Alfred Marshall at the end of the nineteenth century, added a fourth factor, organisa-

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58. ஆற்றின் அளவறிந்து ஈக; அதுபொருள்
போற்றி வழங்கும் நெறி. (477)

59. அளவறிந்து வாழாதான் வாழ்க்கை உளபோல
இல்லாகித் தோன்றாக் கெடும். (479)

60. உளவரை தூக்காத ஒப்புர வாண்மை
வளவரை வல்லைக் கெடும். (480)

tion or knowledge to include the activities of the entrepreneurs who had come to play a crucial role in an industrially advancing free enterprise economy. Valluvar classifies the agents of production in a somewhat different manner. An unfailing harvest, a competent body of men and a group of men whose wealth knows no dimunition—these there he considers to be the important ingredient of an economic society.[61]

It is significant to note that Valluvar's emphasis is on the end-product of land rather than on land itself. There are other elements required to make land yield a harvest : rain or water to which he has given so much prominence even at the outset of his work, other inputs like ploughing, manuring, weeding, watching etc., all of which he works out in detail in his chapter on Agriculture. He is not obviously thinking of the mineral wealth that lies buried in the land and of its exploitation. In a simple economic society, they were obviously secondary. The greatest natural resource he repeats is water, the rain, the surface flow in rivers and brooks, and the subsoil water that can be tapped through wells. He was concerned to point out the ultimate base of an economic society, and that is the raising of food. That activity depends on an interaction of a variety of agents, of which land is one, though an important one. In fact the phrase 'தள்ளா விளையுள்' meaning 'never-failing harvest' has been interpreted by some commentators as referring to a class of ever persevering peasantry.[62] If this is accepted, Valluvar was thinking more in terms of the human agents of production, rather than the natural agents; for, the other two agents of economic activity are referred to only in terms of the human factor, namely, "a body of competent men, and a group of wealthy men". In the last analysis, organised economic socity is a product of human endeavour. This is what distinguishes it from primitive societies in a 'state of nature'. This Human Factor is resolvable into three important classes in the population. These are the vital agents

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61. தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு. (731)

62. மற்றை உயர்திணைப்பொருள்களோடும் சேர்தல்
தொழிலோடும் இயையாமையின் விளையுள் என்பது
உழவர்மேல் நின்றது. (பரிமேலழகர் உரை)

of economic activity—those who raise food, the body of competent men, and the men of wealth.

Who are these "body of competent men?" The translation of தக்கார் as "a body of competent men" is my own. The traditional commentators have interpreted it variously. Parimelazhagar identifies them with the sages or ascetics, the chosen few practising self-negation.[63] This no doubt accords with Valluvar's hypothesis postulated at the outset in the introduction under the title of "Greatness of men of renunciation". The men of sacrifice and spirit are a crucial element to the stability of a society. Lest there should be any doubt on this, the acute commentator thoughtfully adds: "இதனால் அழிவின்மை பெறப்பட்டது." That is, by postulating this class the continuity of the society is assumed.

Other commentators, however, give the word தக்கார் a more direct signification. Manakkudavar simply says, the 'men of competence'. Paripperumal construes it as 'those of power, family and character'. Kalingar, as 'men with a fitting education and knowledge'. Perhaps it includes all these ideas, for the men of renunciation and self-abnegation are also men of character, learning and wisdom. In a purely economic sense, however, the modern term 'knowledge' which is a recent substitute for the earlier word 'organisation' of the classical economists can connote this, but there is a difference. By 'knowledge' what economists of the present day largely mean is the technological and organisational knowledge required for the production activities of a modern society. Valluvar's 'men of knowledge' தக்கார் were something more than this. They were men who by diverse ways—knowledge and character, wisdom and sacrifice—worked for the stability and continuation of the society. That is a more fundamental concept.

Valluvar again does not refer to Capital in the abstract as a creative agent in an economic society. Rather, he refers to the men of wealth—the capitalists as such—if we may so call them.

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63. அறவோர், துறந்தோர், அந்தணர் முதலாயினோர் ......இதனால் அழிவின்மை பெறப்பட்டது.

(பரிமேலழகர், 731)

Some commentators would have this to mean the rich merchant princes who acquire wealth through internal and external commerce. Others would put a more qualitative construction and would have it as the rich who never relax in their acts of giving and yet whose wealth remains undiminished, and so on. Whatever be the interpretation, Valluvar was again thinking in terms of the human element in the accumulation of capital. The classes for him were basic, the class of agriculturists, the class of men of knowledge and character and the class of capital owners. These were three distinct and separate elements of his economic society. It is obvious that the economic society of Valluvar's time had already reached a certain degree of complexity in which division of labour and specialisation of functions had attained a stratification in terms of classes, who, for short, may be called 'The Agriculturists', 'The Intellectuals' and 'The Capitalists.' Indeed this *identification* of the factors of production with the human agents responsible for activating these is a practice that has been adopted by the classical economists, including Karl Marx until the advent of Marginal school of economists. In Marx's hands this identification became a powerful tool for the postulation of clan way doctrine; and it was a realisation of the dangers of this that made the Marginalists dissociate the human aspect from the factors of production and think in terms of disembodied land, labour and capital.

What about Labour as a factor of production? To me it appears the term தக்கார் interpreted severally as a body of competent men, men of knowledge, character and family, men of sacrifice and learning, etc. may well have been used in a comprehensive sense to include both 'labour' and 'organisation' or 'knowledge'. The notion that labour is a separate category was born only since the advent of the Industrial Revolution when the producers of goods were divorced from the means of production. In a comparatively simple economic society such as that in which Valluvar lived, the workers were also the entrepreneurs or the men of 'knowledge' in the economic sense. The word தக்கார் interpreted as an economic category can then be identified with two factors of production—labour and organisation—rolled into one.

In the fiscal sphere Valluvar assigns to the State the essential functions of Public Finance, namely, creation of revenues, collec-

tion of revenues, management (guarding) of revenues, and public expenditure.[64] In modern Public Finance these four functions may be equated with the three categories : Public Income, Financial Administration, and Public Expenditure, the functions of collections and 'guarding' of revenues being now comprehended under the single title of Financial Administration.

Valluvar lists three main heads of Public Revenues (i) உறுபொருள் ; (ii) உல்குபொருள் ; (iii) தெறுபொருள்.[65] Commentators differ widely on their meaning. Parimelazhagar interprets உறுபொருள் as the wealth of heirless estates.[66] Both Manakkudavar and Parip-perumal first give merely the literary meaning, 'Wealth that comes by itself'. But by way of further explanation, Manakkudavar gives the meaning காவற்பொருள், that is fee or tax levied for defence. (This, however, is not found in one of the palm leaf manuscripts) ; and Paripperumal goes back to Parimelazhagar's rendering of escheats. Parithiyar and Kalingar, however, deviate from these three. The former would have it as the ' taxes from the subjects', and the latter 'the just dues the subjects pay'.

Apparently there was a conflict among some of the commentators—all of whom are much later to Valluvar—as to whether the Ruler is really the heir to escheasts, and they seized the occasion to give vent to their own ideas on the subject ; for, it is doubtful if escheats by themselves can ever form a major head of State revenues. Parimelazhagar, conscious of this objection as it were, adds another category, namely, treasures hidden under the earth and discovered long after the owner has passed away. But even this addition cannot constitute a source of revenue that can rank as a major head. Both these are quite minor and irregular source of State income. The major source of income for States in India has always been the land revenue, the traditional one-sixth of the produce. This

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64. இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்லது அரசு. (385)

65. உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும்தன் ஒன்னார்த்
தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள். (756)

66. வைத்தாரிறந்துபோக நெடுங்காலம் நிலத்தின்கட்கிடந்து
பின் கண்டெடுத்ததூஉம் தாயத்தார் பொருததூஉமாம்.
(பரிமேலழகர்; 756)

has been so well established in the minds and beliefs of the Indian peoples by successive law givers from time immemorial, that its payment became a part of the normal duties of every citizen—in fact it has been called a *kadamai* or duty. The psychology of the taxpayer has been so conditioned by tradition that it had lost all touches of compulsoriness about it. It had become an involuntary payment. Custom did the work of law Manakkudavar seems to explain that this was so, because land revenue was in the nature of a payment for the security that the State confers on them. So it was ungrudgingly, voluntarily paid. Hence was it உறுபொருள் the wealth that comes of its own accord. The expression also conveys the sense of legitimacy உறு or உற்ற that which is due.

For, Valluvar was against any undue compulsion in taxation. His famous dictum in this context is worth repeating. "The king who extorts money at the point of the bayonet is like a highway man, who waylays the benighted traveller with his threatening cry —'Stand and deliver.'[67] It is significant that Valluvar did not refer to the traditional one-sixth or lay down any other unvarying proportion of the producer as land tax. There were times when the state of harvest did not permit of the one-sixth. Even so, some payment was voluntarily made. If Parimelazhagar were allowed to have his own way in this context, he would not only have denied the State of an important source of revenue that has been the mainstay of the State fisc for ages, but would also have ignored the built-in voluntary concept of Valluvar in matters of taxation. It must, however, be said in fairness to this acute commentator that he takes care to add, 'the one-sixth share of produce being taken for granted, only the additional sources are mentioned etc.'[68] Thus he knew land revenue could not be ignored.

The next major head of State's resources is உல்கு or Customs This term உல்கு seems to be the same as the Sanskrit word சுல்கு or சுல்கம். The latter Tamil word சுங்கம் seems to be a curruption of சுல்கம். This tax head, the commentators say, refers to the duties levied on commerce both by water and road—import and export

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67. வேலொடு நின்றான் இடுவென் றதுபோலும்
கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு. (552)

68. ஆறிலொன்று ஒழியவும் உரியன கூறியவாறு.
(பரிமேலழகர், 736)

duties as well as internal customs duties. Obviously, in Tamilnad at the time of Valluvar, trade and commerce were important activities and they yielded considerable revenues by way of customs. The Chola kings at the port of Kavirippumpattinam had their merchandise stamped with their tiger insignia to make sure that the goods did not escape duty.

The third source of revenue to the State was the tribute paid by the vanquished enemies. This again has been considered a legitimate source of revenue all through history. In modern times this is represented by 'reparations'.

The term 'creation of public revenues' has been interpreted by some in a modern sense. They hold that Valluvar had in mind the concept of State engaging directly in productive activities or what is now known as State or Public Enterprises. Although there is no direct evidence for such inference, it is possible that the ruler in those days had his demesne or Crown lands and the proper management and husbanding of its resources was laid down as an important duty of the state. The expression 'creation' however, carries a different signification. By 'creation', Valluvar presumably meant that the State should constantly be doing all that is necessary to 'create' those conditions by which the yield from the major heads of revenue increases naturally and automatically. The nurturing and fostering of the taxable capacity of the population was laid down as a prime concern of the sovereign in the sphere of Public Finance. It is this which Valluvar must have had in his mind rather than starting and running of Public Enterprises, although the latter is not to be excluded. The creation of taxable capacity, indeed, is the hall-mark of any progressive economy.

The modern theory of Public Expenditure makes a distinction between Government and a private person. A Government, it is contended, need not at all times equate its expenditure with the revenues. The expenditure may well exceed the revenues, for the State is an entity with a time continuum. Not so the private person. And there are economists who even advocate a continuous deficit budgeting year after year—a course of action which they shall not permit for the individual.

What are Valluvar's ideas on this ? Valluvar had for his ideal a society that generated current surplus and had built up a size-

able reserve. If such a surplus were not possible, let income and expenditure at least equal. "It is not a great misfortune for a State if its revenues are limited, provided the expenditure is kept within bounds". He seems to accord with Dickens: "Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure nineteen, nineteen six, result happiness. Annual income twenty pounds, annual expenditure twenty pounds ought and six, result misery". Again, he warns, "Behold the monarch who lavishes his wealth beyond his resources ; he appears prosperous, but he only treads the downward path to destruction." Valluvar, no doubt, considers balancing of the budget as important for the State as for the individual. His guiding principles of a sound budgetary policy appear to be these : "Budget for a surplus, if possible ; balance the budget at other times ; but never budget for a deficit."

Modern budgetary theory may not accept such a rigid stand. There is one school which holds that while the budget need not be balanced in any particular year, there should be a balancing over a period of years. On this principle, there are those who advocate balancing the budget over the period of a trade cycle. Whatever the position, it is undeniable that no State can for ever go on running into large deficits. Sooner or later, the reckoning will come. Enormous public debt accumulates. Some then face the situation by a repudiation of debts, others by change of Government, still others by losing their economic, and eventually even political independence. The abandonment of the traditional concept of a balanced budget as a goal in itself, and the use of fiscal instruments of public expenditure and taxation to achieve economic stability are not the products so much of virtue as of necessity. The complexity of the modern economic phenomena, and the cyclical movements in a capitalist economy have been responsible for this change in attitude. Even so, it is admitted that when business is at a relatively high level and prices are stable a balanced budget is satisfactory and may even be preferred. This is the ideal which Valluvar was looking for.

The use of the term வகுத்தல் by Valluvar in the context of Public Expenditure has again given rise to speculations. Some read into Valluvar the modern notion that the task of Distribution is a basic function of the State. While it is true that all Public Expenditure results in distribution, it is not clear whether Vallu-

var held any theories about it, except that public funds must flow into useful channels, according to his over-all concept of ethics. Parimelazhagar goes into some detail pursuing his own ideas on the subject. He divides Public expenditure into three parts, (vide commentary on *kural* 385) one part to be expended according to the ethical code or *Aram*, that is the expenditure to be incurred on Gods, holy men and the poor, as well as on the acquisition of a name and glory; the second part to be spent on the basic needs of the polity such as on the army, the fort, and other items of defence, as well as on diplomacy such as what may be called aid funds are included in this as keeping away certain groups from joining the enemy or tempting certain other groups to secede from the enemy; the third part to be spent on items of what Parimelazhagar calls 'Pleasure' or 'those which cater to the senses' such as, building of public halls and shelters, provision of water supply and irrigation works, building of parks and artificial hillocks. In short, according to this commentator, public expenditure broadly falls into (1) Defence, (2) Public Works, (3) Social Services.

Both Manakkudavar and Paripperumal, however, restrict the scope of Public Expenditure to defence and military purposes. Kalingar, although he does not give details, holds that Puplic Expenditure must comprehend the expenditure to be incurred both within and without the country. On the whole, however, it appears that Parimelazhagar's three-fold divisions of Public Expenditure appears satisfactory, although the contents and details of each of the divisions may vary from time to time in an economy. It is much more than a laissez faire notion of the State's rôle and quite unlike the views of Manakkudavar and Paripperumal who would reduce the State to a grand Policeman. On the other hand, in commenting on another couplet, both these commentators go further to extend State's activities. They consider that when in need the peasantry should be given assistance in kind by way of seed, manure, plough etc. They advocate moratorium and reduction of taxes. Parimelazhagar advocates permanent remission of taxes.

By all accounts, therefore, from an economic point of view, Valluvar's concept is nearer that of a Welfare State, if not of a Paternalistic one. Where the just king is equated with the very

gods[69] it is a far far cry from the state of laissez fair. Such is the importance Valluvar attaches to good Government as a precondition for economic progress that he opens his book on *'Porutpal'* or 'Economics' with a statement of the cardinal features of sound administration.

Next to a sound administration, Valluvar looks upon education as basic to a progressive economy. In fact, both Manakkuḍavar and Paripperumal proceed to explain Valluvar's chapter-sequence thus: "Valluvar proceeds to examine the various factors that promote economic progress and so places education in the forefront."[70] This seems to fit in with Valluvar's own ideas, when he says "Learning is an imperishable and flawless wealth; the rest is mere dross."[71] Valluvar undoubtedly knew the importance of knowledge as an essential factor of production—an infra structure as we now call it. Education has universal value and utility. "Behold a scholar who is a mine of wisdom; there is not a land which is not his own; there is not a country which it not his own; wherefore ye men should abandon learning unto the last close of life's taper?" he asks. Knowledge is a limitless ocean and education an unending process.[72] Not only does he emphasise the positive importance of acquiring knowledge, but he also warns in a whole chapter the negative results arising from uninstructed possession of wealth. "The wealth in the hands of the ignorate brings more ills in its trail than the poverty of the wise."[73] He sees in education a great force for social levelling up. "Men of learning, though born of low descent, command more reverance

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69. அஃதாவது ஆறிலொன்றாய பொருள் தன்னையும்
வறுமை நீங்கியவழிக் கொள்ளல் வேண்டின்
அவ்வாறு கோடலும், இழத்தல் வேண்டின்
இழத்தலுமாம். (பரிமேலழகர், 390)

70. முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும். (388)

71. கேடில் விழுச்செல்வம் கல்வி ஒருவற்கு
மாடல்ல மற்றை யவை. (400)

72. யாதானும் நாடாமால் ஊராமால் என்னொருவன்
சாந்துணையும் கல்லாத வாறு? (397)

73. நல்லார்கட் பட்ட வறுமையின் இன்னாதே
கல்லார்கட் பட்ட திரு. (408)

than a high born fool."[74] It is in education alone that he sees the driving force that makes for progress; for, "it is that which distinguishes man from the beast."[75]

Next to education, Valluvar sets a great store by a proper system of public health services as a part of his socio-economic policy. It has been seen that 'freedom from diseases' is ranked by him as one of the basic freedoms of man and that next only to freedom from hunger. He would not let his ideal state to fall a prey to epidemic diseases; and such was his concern for a society with a sound public health that Valluvar devotes a whole chapter to 'medicine'. In this he lays emphasis on the preventive and nutrition aspects of health. "Foods, excessive or deficient, brings about disease." [76] "The secret of longevity is to eat with moderation, after what you ate had been well digested."[77] "Incompatible diet is the root of many diseases."[78] "Always wait for a keen appetite before you proceed to sit for a dinner."[79] These and other practical rules of guidance are set out by him with great earnestness. The science of medicine in his days was apparently a comprehensive discipline dealing with the patient, physician, the medicine and the male nurse. Valluvar fully recognises the importance of proper diagnosis in his system of medical treatment, the individual condition of the patient, and the appropriate timing of medication.

Other evils that do harm to the socio-economic life of a society according to Valluvar are drinking, gambling and prosti-

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74. மேற்பிறந்தா ராயினும் கல்லாதார் கீழ்ப்பிறந்தும்
கற்றார் அனைத்திலர் பாடு. (409)

75. விலங்கொடு மக்க ளனையர் இலங்குநூல்
கற்றாரொடு ஏனை யவர். (410)

76. மிகினும் குறையினும் நோய்செய்யும் நூலோர்
வளிமுதலா எண்ணிய மூன்று. (941)

77. அற்றால் அளவறிந்து உண்க; அஃதுஉடம்பு
பெற்றான் நெடிதுய்க்கும் ஆறு. (942)

78. தீயளவு அன்றித் தெரியான் பெரிதுண்ணின்
நோயள வின்றிப் படும். (943)

79. அற்றது அறிந்து கடைப்பிடித்து மாறல்ல
துய்க்க துவரப் பசித்து. (944)

tution. These have been regulated and legislated upon to varying degrees by the Governments of the world at different periods in history. In the Gandhian era, prohibition as a socio-economic policy has been written into the very Constitution of our Government. There is little doubt whatever that it would have gladdened Valluvar's heart.

An economic society which can guarantee the three basic freedom of Valluvar comes very near to what Prof. Gailbraith calls the 'Affluent Society'. Such a society should have ample accumulation or enormous surplus reserves. Currently also it must produce a surplus adequate to absorb the shocks of all temporary losses arising from failure of rains or attack of pests. It should have the staying power to stand up to a sudden inrush of demand on its resources, and even then be in a position to raise all the resources needed from current income. The secret of a sound defence lies in its impregnable economic foundations, says Valluvar. It should be so strong that it repels all thoughts of foreign aggression; and even if a country's security is shaken for a while, it should possess the potential for a quick revival. "That alone is a country which has not to seek external resources. That is no country which has to depend on external resources."[80] In modern economic parlance, what Valluvar sought as the ideal was a self-sufficient, self-generating and self-propelling economy. (The expression நாடா வளத்தன has been interpreted traditionally as "not having to work for;" rather, it should mean "that which does not depend on external aids"; "that which is self-generating)."

Such an economic society is distinguished by five prominent features-immunity from diseases, ample wealth, adequate food resources, a high standard of living, and an unfailing defence.[81] There are three things that he banishes from his economic society for ever: gnawing hunger, chronic diseases, and perpetual insecurity. "A kingdom is that which continues to be free from

80. நாடென்ப நாடா வளத்தன ; நாடல்ல
நாட வளந்தரும் நாடு. (739)

81. பிணியின்மை, செல்வம், விளைவு, இன்பம், ஏமம்
அணியென்ப நாட்டிற்கிவ் வைந்து. (738)

excessive starvation, irremediable epidemic and destructive foes."[82] Internal security is no less important than the external. "It should be free from warring sects, internal dissensions and murderous traitors." Above all, there should be amity and concord between the ruler and the ruled. "Though blessed with all the varied gifts" a land gains nought that is not with its king at peace."[83] For Valluvar as with Adam Smith, defence was more important than opulence.

It is obvious that the Economic Society which Thiruvalluvar visualised was one based on faith in earthly possessions and the will to acquire them. It was a virile dynamic society with its roots deep in industry, enterprise and the perseverance of its citizens, with a love of riches and consumption of worldly goods, hatred of poverty, begging, hoarding and indolence. While the need for a perpetual struggle in the face of odds as the *sine qua non* for the success receives great emphasis, what Valluvar delineates is not a society where every one is for himself and the devil takes the hindmost, such as was pictured by some economists, about the capitalism of the early 19th century, and which brought it into contempt by men like Ruskin and earned for it the odium of the Science of Mammon. The Economic Society of Valluvar's choice is to be informed by a vigilant social consciousness, a code of basic moral values and sound welfare principles. It is too much to read into Valluvar all that in modern times is meant by the Welfare Society. Valluvar seems to have relied on the individual values more than on State action for the translation of the welfare principles into programmes of action; for, it is the ideas and aspirations, sanction and participation of the individual that ultimately count for the emergence and success of corporate State action. Without these conditions obtaining on the part of individuals, no welfare society could lost long. It is on this perennial aspect that Thiruvalluvar laid real stress.

In this concluding lecture, I shall attempt at an estimate of Valluvar as a fundamental economic thinker. Indeed he has often

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82. உறுபசியும் ஓவாப் பிணியும் செறுபகையும்
சேராது இயல்வது நாடு. (734)

83. ஆங்குஅமைவு எய்தியக் கண்ணும் பயமின்றே
வேந்துஅமை வில்லாத நாடு. (740)

been compared with the *Buddha* and *Christ*, but that is relevant only in the sphere of the spirit, in his role as a teacher of perennial ethical values. For both Buddha and Christ were primarily concerned with things of the other world—Nirvana and the Kingdom of God, and the ordering of the individual way of life to achieve this goal. They came to teach the autonomy of the spirit from worldly events, and the burden of their message was the elevation of souls, not on the organization of society. Economics, if any, in their teachings was largely incidental. With Christ it even appears to be neutral. " Render unto Ceasar what is Ceasar's and unto God what is God's ". For a true appreciation of the contribution of Valluvar in the field of economics, therefore, we should turn to those teachers who had devoted their attention to the earthly aspect of man's well-being.

I have taken for comparison three representative schools of thought: the Greek, the Sanskrit and the Modern schools. The representatives of the Greek Scholars are Plato and Aristotle, whose writings and thinking set the pattern of western economic thought for over 20 centuries till the dawn of Industrial Revolution. Although Aristotle was the pupil of Plato, it is well-known that the differences between the master's *Republic* and the pupil's works on *Ethics* and *Politics* were so great that they deserve separate treatment. Among the Sanskrit writers. the name that comes uppermost is that of Kautilya or Chanakya, the celebrated author of the *Arthasastra,* and among the moderns, the claim for comparison may well be given to Adam Smith, the author of *The Wealth of Nations.*

In thus attempting an evaluation, I have kept in mind one basic principle of analysis, namely, that in economics as elsewhere, most statements of fundamental facts acquire importance only by the superstructure they are made to bear and are commonplace in the absence of such superstructure. I have looked upon the ideas of the ancient writers as mostly basic in character, as at best 'scientific splinters of economic thought' and any comparison is valid only when looked at from this point of view. Above all, I have tried my best not to fall into the error of hailing as a discovery everything in Valluvar's ideas that suggests later developments or of making comparisons without relevance to the times and environments in which the different thinkers lived and had

their being. With these brief remarks to serve as a defensive mechanism, I shall now turn to Plato first.

Plato's vision of an ideal state is given in his *Politeia* or the *Republic*. This is usually classed among the utopias or imaginative works embodying certain ideals. The Germans class them as 'State Novels'. Plato's was the first of these State Novels. It is a vision or an artistic creation of a Perfect State, not at all based on empirical experience or economic analysis. This Perfect State, not at all based on empirical experience or economic analysis. This Perfect State was small in size, something of the City-State, stationary in population and wealth. Life in it was strictly regulated by a caste system permanently and rigidly organised. In it wealth is limited and freedom of speech restricted. It has been described by some as the prototype of a corporate or fascist State. The ideal State pictured by Plato and Valluvar are as different as chalk is from cheese.

As for Aristotle, he no doubt paradied and criticised his master's ideal *Republic*, but what he gave in its place was even far removed from that of Valluvar. For Aristotle slavery was essential. Inequality was natural; inferiority congenital; democracy only for the Greek born. Unlike Valluvar who wrote predominantly for the common man, Aristotle wrote for a leisure class, which held work and business pursuits in contempt. Nor is there an integration of ethics and economics in Aristotle as has been achieved by Thiruvalluvar.

Attempts have, however, been made to draw a parallel between the economic ideas of Valluvar and those of Kautilya. Some hold that the *Kural* borrowed some of its economic doctrines from the *Arthasastra*. Others again, like late Prof. Ramachandra Dikshitar, held that since Kautilya was a South Indian who went to the Mauryan Court, he carried with him some of Valluvar's economic ideas and embodied them in the *Arthasastra*. In an article which I contributed to the Silver Jubilee Number of the Thiruvalluvar Kazhagam in 1952. I have had occasion to examine the implications of these views, and it was my conclusion that there was no evidence whatever, internal or external, for this influnce of one upon the other. I shall, however, recapitulate some of the arguments here.

Firstly, the traditional legend that Kautilya lived in the 4th Century B. C. as a minister in the Court of Chandra Gupta Maurya has been seriously questioned. In the Volume entitled, *'The Age of Imperial Unity'* published by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, six arguments are advanced against this theory, and all of them point out to a much later date for Kautilya—according to Barridale Keith, 4th Century A. D. and not 4th Century B. C. Owing to pressure of time, I would refer the reader to that learned volume for this chronological controversy.

More important than the external evidence is the internal. There is no resemblance whatever between the basic economic ideas of Valluvar and Chanakya. Valluvar invests agriculture and agriculturists with a primacy that is denied totally in the *Arthasastra.* Chanakya lays down detailed devices by which the maximum revenue can be raised from land through fear and persuation. A long list of taxes is framed for the purpose. Again, concept of caste on which the *Arthasastra* raises its edifice is conspicuous by its absence in the *Kural.* The ethical foundation on which the economics of the *Kural* are raised is missing in the *Arthasastra.* The principles of taxation set out by the two writers are poles apart. Taxation by consent is the dominant canon in Valluvar's thesis. Taxation by fear and intimidation is the central teaching in that of Chankya. Chanakya does not hesitate to exploit the superstition, credulity, religious beliefs, and even innocence of the subjects for enriching the coffers of the sovereign. So thorough going was he in his objective that even drink and prostitution came in handy for State encouragement, if only they could yield revenue. This was something totally abhorrent to the author of the *Kural.*

Perhaps the man whose economic ideas are nearest to Valluvar is Adam Smith - in fundamentals, though not in details. The feudalistic society of England and the Continent was held in the frame of a rigid class structure. Adam Smith helped unshackle the individual from the bonds of petrifying economic traditions, unleash the spirit of individual enterprise, and thus prepared the way for the epoch of Industrial Revolution. In his own way Valluvar, by postulating the democratic basis of society, and the economic freedom of man to follow the pursuit that suited his aptitude best irrespective of caste or class laid the foundations of a new life for the Tamils. With Smith as with Valluvar human beings were made alike by birth, differences being mainly due to differences in training and

differences in environment. For both, Political Economy is a collection of recipes for the Statesman, aiming at 'enriching of both the people and the Sovereign' (Introduction to *The Wealth of Nations*). Above all, both arrived at economics through the difficult path of ethics. Francis Hutcheson, the teacher of Adam Smith, was Professor of Moral Philosophy at the University of Glasgow and so was Adam Smith. Before writing his monumental work, *The Wealth of Nations,* Adam Smith had written the treatise on *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, not so well known as the classic on economics. But it is in this work that Smith's philosophy of riches and of economic activity, and the ethical basis of *The Wealth of Nations* can be found. Smith made his ethical foundations sure in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* before he raised his economic superstructure in *The Wealth of Nations.* Valluvar too postulated his division on Ethics or '*Arathuppal*' before he went on to write his '*Porutpal*'.

All this may look strange, for measured in the temporal scale, Valluvar and Smith stand removed by about 15 or 20 centuries and yet the ideas of the dignity of man, the economic freedom of the individual, the concept of a dynamic society and the essential qualities needed of the individuals constituting such a society—were all ideas that were hotly canvassed by both. The greatness of Valluvar is that he has done them twenty centuries earlier.

What was the secret of this primal originality of Valluvar's thoughts? Earlier in these lectures, I characterised the work of Valluvar as a great synthesis—a harmonious blending of the ethical and the economical. Two major influences were at work in this process. The stream of economic ideas was that of the Tamils of the Sangam Age—idigenous. The stream of ethical ideas was from the protestant religions of Buddhism and Jainism—then foreign to Tamil land. The insistence on the importance of economic activity, the glorification of effort, enterprise, and what Lord Keynes in modern times called the 'animal spirit', the sanctity of love and war as the norms of life—all came from the virile life of the Tamils of the Sangam Age. The egalitarian ideas, the democratic concept of a society, that man to man is equal, that everyone is free to pursue the avocation that suits him best, that ethics should inform all his activity, the divinity that hedgeth the spirit of sacrifice, the moral responsibility of the individual to society—

these received emphasis from the invading religions of the north. In Valluvar's alchemic poetry these two streams commingled into one, for ever obliterating the traces of dichotomy that is posed between ethics and economics. The resulting amalgam became a third product, distinct from the two, all original in its own, a supreme achievement in the art of synthetic creation. Was it symbolic of these twin influences that his poetry was couched in couplets? What a fantasy!

It is important to realise the converging influences of these two streams of thought, not only for a true understanding of Valluvar's ideas, but also to appreciate the originality of the creat-tive genius, and the grand purpose his work was to serve. Valluvar was standing at the watershed of two great epochs in the history of the Tamils—the olden past of the Sangam Age and glorious future of the Pallava and Chola expansion. In between the twilight had descended on the life of the Tamils. The excessive materialism and earthly achievements of the Sangam Age had resulted in a hang-over, as it were, and the Tamils welcomed the new spiritual awakening as a life saving antidote. But within two or three centuries of this, the Tamils had become soft. Valluvar saw the need to redress the balance, and so forged his path of the golden mean. The momentum that his great work gave sustained them for another thousand years until the last days of the mediaeval Chola power. Then, once again, the Tamils were enveloped in other-worldly ideas that came from a different stream, lost their zeal and vigour for material achievements, their social system got ossified, and so they went into a deep slumber for another spell of thousand years. All these thousand years, Valluvar's teachings indeed remained alive, only to support and authenticate the purely other-worldly direction of Tamilian life. Their equally potent influence for good in the material sphere of life went under. The balancing force of the *Kural* was lost sight of. Small wonder, therefore, that the Tamils, once again on the threshold of a great renaissance have now gone back to Valluvar for inspiration and revival of their native vigour, lost in the mazes of ten centuries of other-worldly preoccupation.

In the course of an attempt at an evaluation of Aristotle's Ethics, Bertrand Russel says that there are three questions we can ask about his ethics or that of any philosophy: (1) Is it internally self-consistent? (2) Is it consistent with the remainder of

the author's news? (3) Does it give answers to ethical problems that are consonant to our own ethical feelings? He then adds, "If the answer to either the first or the second question is in the negative, the philosopher in question has been guilty of some intellectual error. But if the answer to the third question is in the negative, we have no right to say that he is mistaken. We have only the right to say that we do not like him."

It is now for the student of *Thirukkural* to say whether Thiruvalluvar had made any intellectual slip and whether he likes the philosopher or not.

"Go behind the veil of whatever things you may come across in life and track the spirit of truth to its subtlest retreats. Therein lies wisdom."—Valluvar.

THIRUKKURAL - KAMATHUPPAL

BY

RAO SAHEB K. KOTHANDAPANI PILLAI

LECTURE I

THE CULTURAL HERITAGE
INTRODUCTION

I deem it a great privilege to be called upon to deliver the Sornammal Lectures this year before this august assembly of great scholars.

The topics of the lectures this year relate to Kamathuppal, the last and the most delicious part of Thirukkural, the pet book of the modern world. This deals with human love in its ennobling aspects. In this concluding part of his work, Thiruvalluvar is at his best in his poetic thought, form and diction, so much so, this is classed as one of the lyrical masterpieces of world literature on human love. His verses are considered as the 'choicest expression of human thought' on the noblest of passions of mankind. The subtle human emotions and the delicate feelings which love evokes in the human heart are portrayed with master strokes of elegance and charm, imaginative splendour and poetic grandeur which enthral even a fastidious critic.

There are, however, traducers, scholars with ascetic ideals, who consider that this last part of *Thirukkural,* detracts much of the value of a work which is otherwise matchless. To them, sex is an anathema; it is vile and depraved; sex love is untidy; it is a sin of the flesh; it is a fetter and a drag on the human soul and a work which deals with it, however superb, shares its depravity with its subject. They consider that the eminent talents of a great author had been wasted on a vile and unholy subject.

This prejudice is the result of the changes in the outlook of the human aims. and of the cultural value to be attached to the sex impulse and human love, which had spread over the country and which had taken a firm hold of the best minds. This extended its sway even to foreigners. Drew, one of the early translators of Tirukkural into English, thought it infamous to translate this last Part. No better refutation of this prejudice than the weighty

observations of G. U. Pope seems necessary. He states in the introduction to his translation of Tirukkural as follows:

"Of this (the Kamathuppal) Mr. Drew said that 'it could not be translated into any European language without exposing the translator to infamy'. But this is only true in regard to certain of the commentaries upon it, which are simply detestable, I am persuaded that it is perfectly pure in its tendency and in the intention of its wise and high-souled composer. Its title is Kamathuppal—'the division which treats of Kama' and this means Lust or Love.

"Kaman is the Hindu Cupid. Hindu ideas differ from our own. This prejudice kept me from reading the third part of Kural some years, but the idea occured to me very forcibly that he who wrote,

'Spotless be thou in mind!
This only merits virtue's name;
All else mere pomp and idle sound*;
No real worth can claim!' (Kural, 34)

could not have covered himself with the spotted infamy of singing a song of lust. Thus I ventured at length to read and study it, rejecting commentators, when I was able fairly to appreciate its spirit; and as the result, I translate it, believing that I shall be regarded as having done good service in doing so."

G. U. Pope has done, indeed, the greatest service to this last part, in introducing it to the Western World. Kamathuppal is pure in its sentiments, its tendencies and suggestions. In addition, still more pure, refined and decorous in its expression.

We are not sure whether the sex life, as depicted in this part, was only that actually existed at the time of Tiruvalluvar. It is, however, obvious that it is not a mere figment of his imagination, as all the sex habits and behaviour set forth here are well corroborated by Sangam Literature and the traditions recorded in Tolkappiam. It is apparent that as a true poet, conscious of his mission, the author present an ideal sex life, interpreting its significance and aim to his country men for their edification and emulation.

PLAN AND PURPORT

We see in this last portion of Tirukkural the sex life of the ancient Tamilians in its full bloom with an ethical and spiritual fragrance all its own. The splendour and refinement, we notice, are not the spurts of any one epoch in history. They are the products of centuries of well planned sex culture, which preceded the age of the author. Without a knowledge of this cultural heritage, it is well nigh impossible to fathom the deep significance of this love-life portrayed here or to evaluate the sex habits and behaviour described in the various chapters of this part or even to get at their superficial estimate. Hence the first lecture will be devoted to this cultural heritage.

The approach of the author to his theme of love is unique and is of universal interest. His first chapter begins with the deep impression felt in the presence of beauty by the human heart. "தகை அணங்கு உறுத்தல்", "அவள் வனப்பு (அல்லது அழகு) தன்னை வருத்துதல்", is the meaning given by Parimelalagar. The quest of the soul for beauty thus starts and this corresponds to the modern conception of aesthetics. Here is an imaginative perception of a high order which appreciates the beauty of form, grace and their expression, purified by the halo of divinity, அணங்கு, the beauty divine, which brightens them all. The aesthetics of the author is not one of erotics nor is it that of utilitarian beauty nor that of the fleeting fashion type. Here the pleasure felt at the sight of beauty is not that of a desire for carnal pleasure, உண்டார் மகிழ்தல், but that of a super sensual nature கண்டார் மகிழ்தல் *Kandar magilthal* (Kural, 1090) the pure pleasure of artistic impression created by perception which is the essence of aesthetic beauty. "Its esse is percipi"[1] as described by Carritt. The aesthetic experience is classed by him as a spiritual activity. Thus the author takes his aesthetics of love to the realms of the spirit and metaphysics, even at the very start. It was Plato who conceived of a love of beauty and order, temperate and harmonious, free from sensuality and coarseness.[2] We find this concept of beauty exemplified in the very approach of the author to the theme of love. The second lecture will be devoted to the aesthetics of love in Kamathuppal.

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1. *The theory of beauty* by E.F. Carritt, p. 180.
2. *The Republic.*

Quite in consonance with the start, the sex impulse, when it takes shape, is blended by the master artist with ethical and spiritual experience. The author has exploited the sex impulse to the fullest extent to beautify, ennoble and exalt sex life. The physical element of pleasure in sex is transferred to the realm of the psychic and transmuted into that of the spirit. The sex. and love intermingle and bring about an integration of the cognitive and emotional life of love into one of spiritual growth. From each embrace of the lovers, sprouts the tender shoot of the spirit the rudiment of the future leaves, flowers and fruits, "உறுதோறு உயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால்" (Kural 1106). It is not the delighted passion for flesh (*Kamam*) that grows but the immortal spirit, *Uyir*. Even in the supreme moment of pleasure, the heart had felt more, the pleasure of the budding spiritual growth, rather than the pleasure of the sex. The earth and heaven thus meet here. The third lecture will be devoted to these ethical and spiritual elements in Kamathuppal.

AHAM (அகம்) AND PURAM (புறம்)

The main source which furnishes the materials regarding the cultural heritage is Tolkappiam. Porul Atikaram of Tolkappiam (the chapter on subject matter) formulates the human conduct and activities in their fundamental aspects and their whole range is divided and compressed into two—Aham and Puram. This was not a division made by Tolkappiar. Tolkappiar based his division on what already existed in the literature of his time. ('பாடலுள் பயின்றவை'—தொல். பொருள். அகத்திணையியல், 3.) The habit, idea, mode of thought, action and imagination comprised in these two divisions came down to Tolkappiar as a 'Culture-pattern' handed on from generation to generation and which found their legitimate place in the literature of the country.

Aham deals with love and family life, the inner life of men and women and *Puram* with the external life outside the home in the wide world. Aham denotes the home and Puram literally means the outside. What is outside the home, is its environment where starts the struggle for existence.

In the beginning of human life, men had to fight for their very existence with the natural environments—with storms and floods, winds and waves. They had, then, to face venomous reptiles and

ravenous beasts of prey. Further struggles awaited them at every stage of their growth. 'Hunters fought for happy hunting grounds still rich in prey; herders fought for new pasture for their flocks; tillers fought for their virgin soil' and warriors for the state, where it had developed. Human life in *Puram* was thus one of intermittent but endless war, outside the home in its environment far and near. All the modern investigators of the history of civilisation are unanimous that environment or *Puram* plays a vital role in driving the culture and civilisation, whether of an individual or of a race, into 'blind alleys' as Toynbee calls them, or in raising them to the heights of glory. This struggle for existence is that which the relentless law of nature has provided for human progress. War is the natural instrument of selection designed for the survival of the fittest.

Aham or the home and love therein, trained the heart of man and brought out the best of his feelings and emotions, lifted him out of the dark mire of his senses, raised him into the sunshine of the spirit and led him to the supreme bliss. *Puram* or the environment, the struggle for existence or the war therein, developed his muscles, limbs and the brain, made his ability and intellect shine forth, lifted him out of the gloom of fear and insecurity and led him into the realm of material prosperity and boundless inventions which are the highlights of modern civilization. Thus, *Aham* stands at the root of man's emotional and spiritual growth and *Puram* at the root of his intellectual and material prosperity. The integration of the attainments at home and the achievements in the environment, *Puram,* constitute the culture of a race. Ellsworth Huntington defines that "by culture we mean every object, habit, idea, institution and mode of thought or action, which man produces or creates and then passes on to others, especially to the next generation."[3] *Aham* and *Puram*, thus, constitute the essential basis of culture and play their vital part in every phase of human activity. This broad division of human conduct and activities into two—*Aham* and *Puram*—though primitive, seems to have been arrived at, on a scientific study of the factors which constitute culture and go to make up the civilization of a race. This is quite in accordance with the findings of the investigators of the twentieth century.

3. The main springs of civilization, p. 7.

We now pass on to the next stage of the Tamilian culture and civilization. Human society is not static but dynamic. Under the inexorable law of growth, society marches on from progress to progress. At each stage of its growth, there is enlargement of thoughts, ideas and institutions. The division of the factors of culture into *Aham* and *Puram*, is scientific; and objective in its nature. The attitude of men towards their activities now becomes subjective; revaluation takes place and a rearrangement happens. The old division of *Aham* and *Puram* does not accord with the new attitude to life. Human activities are revalued in the light of the benefit which should accrue to men, sexually, morally and spiritually in *Aham*, mentally and materially in *Puram*. The ultimate aims of life to be achieved by these activities are declared as *Inbam*, *Porul*, and *Aram*.

Kalaviyal of *Porulathikaram* starts with the declaration of the aims of life as "இன்பமும் பொருளும் அறமும் என்றாங்கு". The exact meaning of Inbam இன்பம் or the correct sense in which it is used here, as one of the aims of life, has to be derermined, before we could assess its importance or appreciate its significance in the scheme of life planned by the ancient Tamilians, as the basic factors of their culture.

INBAM (இன்பம்)

Divakaram defines Inbam as, இன்பம், as அகமகிழ்ச்சி, *Ahamahilchi*, the inner pleasure. It is generally interpreted as Kāmam—the sex impulse, even though Inbam may denote according to some, the sensual pleasure which is the result of kāmam and the kāmam itself. The impulse and its result are different in their nature. One is physical and the other is psychological and one cannot therefore denote the other. Different authors have used this word in different senses and the commentators have interpreted it as it suited them. Particulars regarding the sense in which this word is used, have to be collected and the exact meaning substantiated. Until these are accomplished, it will be futile to find its equivalent in English.

Tolkappiạm itself contains some of these necessary particulars. *Kalaviyal* opens with the lines :—

"இன்பமும் பொருளும் அறமும் என்றாங்கு
அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த ஐந்திணை மருங்கின்
காமக் கூட்டம் காணுங் காலை"

The context in which 'Inbam' is used here, is of vital importance and renders its use intelligible. Among (in relation to) the three aims of life இன்பம், அறம், பொருள் by the side of (in relation to) the five aspects of love-life, அன்பொடு புணர்ந்த ஐந்திணை மருங்கில், the author presents, காமக்கூட்டம், the sex union. Instead of straightway defining the sex union or explaining its genesis which he does in the next stanza, he hastens to interlink it with the life aims and aspects of love-life. He thereby urges, even at the outset, that the sex union and its ramifications should be viewed and evaluated in relation to the love attitudes they evoked and the ultimate life aims to be achieved.

Kamam is the sex impulse and it induces காமக்கூட்டம், the sex union. This sex union may be with love or altogether without it, for the sole satisfaction of the sex desire. Without love it is a crude animal passion not fit to be cultivated and not worthy of a human being. This is outside the pale of Tamil culture or that of the culture of any civilized nation. The sex union indicated in the text, by the term, 'காமக்கூட்டம்', is the first under the five phases of love (ஐந்திணை மருங்கில்) which starts the course of love, fuelled and well greased to take its onward march.

According to Tolkappiam, the sex life starts with an unconscious attraction between the sexes based on the inner tendencies of each of the partners, which find their level equalised (ஒத்த கிழவனும் கிழத்தியும்). This leads to the decision of attaching oneself to a mate, (ஐயம் தெளிவு) depending upon the response, the attraction evokes, in the heart of each of the would-be partners (குறிப்பறிதல்).

The desire of one for the intimacy of the other stimulates emotional developments, creates psychic disturbances and brings about the transformation of the emotional and mental life of the lovers into one of love—காதல். The other four phases of love-life, make love all pervasive and energises the psycho-physical system of each of the partners. The egoistic tendencies are narrowed down to the point of self effacement, to become அன்பு, the love supreme. The very word அன்பு denotes the state of not being two.[4] There is a progressive integration of the two persona-

4. *Anbu* is a word denoting abstract quality like *Panbu*, '*Nanbu*, *Peipu*, etc. Pu is the suffix (விகுதி) denoting abstract quality. அன், An, is the root denoting அன்மைப் பொருள், the state of not being. The word அன்பு, thus means the state of not being two but one.

alities, in those five phases of love and the sex impulse and the desires for carnal pleasures gradually fall off. The lovers now delight more in the embrace of their souls than in the embrace of their bodies. The love supreme thus thrills the whole life with intensive concentration. It is raised to a state of mutual devotion and ascends the spiritual height of *Inbam*, to take its place of honour, as the first among the life aims of a race. No trace of the sex which started this progressive growth is found in the ultimate produce.

Inbam is thus not Kamam. Nor is it the direct result of Kamam. They are both far apart. In the evolutionary process Kamam has transformed itself into love and love has evolved into Inbam in which neither the sex impulse nor 'காதல்', the love exists. Out of the dirty slime and above the delectable water, emerges a divine lotus. The tuber which gave birth to it has vanished and merged itself beyond recognition into the plant's growth. The stems and leaves have faded away. The Divine flower is picked up, cherished and preserved for posterity.

What we have so far seen is only the configuration of Inbam and not its inner content. We have perceived the distance which keeps them apart and not their innate difference. There is no denying the fact that the sex union or Kamakkuttam under love or outside it, gives pleasure. If this pleasure is not called Inbam, by what name was it designated? We shall again turn to Tolkappiam.

The word Inbam is not used at all in *Kalaviyal* to denote any of the primary or secondary sex acts. Nor is it used to denote the result which ensues from any of them. The pleasure derived from the sex union is described as மகிழ்ச்சி. "பெற்ற வழி மகிழ்ச்சி-யும்." (தொல். களா. 11). Perasiriyar, the commentator, explains this as "சொல்லிய நுகர்ச்சி வல்லே பெற்றுழி அவன் மனம் மகிழும் மகிழ்ச்சி-யும்." Tiruvalluvar also uses this word மகிழ்ச்சி, to denote the pleasure of the sex union. He names it புணர்ச்சி மகிழ்தல் and not புணர்ச்சி இன்பம். It is thus obvious that the word Inbam was reserved to denote a higher state of experience, than that of mere sex pleasure. 'உவகை' is yet another word used in *Kalaviyal*. "ஏமம் சான்ற உவகை" (களவியல், 20). This denotes the joy deriv-

ed when fear, worries and anxieties are banished from the mind. In *Karpiyal*,, the word Inbam is used but once.

> "இழவினை மகடூஉப் புலம்புபெரி தாகலின்
> அலமரல் பெருகிய காமத்துப் பகுதியும்
> இன்பமும் இடும்பையும் ஆகிய இடத்தும்"

Owing to the prolonged absence of the husband, the wife feels the long loneliness, heavy and unbearable. The disturbances created by the sex desire increases. There are situations in which she feels joy and misery. Tolkappiar does not specify the situation which created the joy or that which caused the misery. He leaves them rather vague.

Tiruvalluvar comes to our rescue. Here is a verse in the chapter on 'படர் மெலிந்து இரங்கல்' in his Kamathuppal, which refers to Inbam. "இன்பம் கடல் மற்றுக் காமம் அஃதடுங்கால் துன்பம் அதனின் பெரிது." (1166)

This verse looks rather simple but it will be an arduous task to fathom its full meaning and understand the nature of the Inbam mentioned here. Though arduous, we have to undertaket his task; otherwise Inbam will elude our search.

The verse quoted, is the soliloquy of a lady in her increasing distress which wears her down, due to the long absence of her husband from home. She feels an ocean of joy, but the sex impulse attacks it and converts it into one of misery, far greater than that of joy. The demon which caused her misery, we are able to spot as Kamam, but that which created the joy is hidden in the verse. The lady does not take us into her confidence to disclose the cause of her joy. We wonder, how a virtuous lady, as the one we see here, could have felt any joy at all in the absence of her husband. This is rather puzzling. The poet leaves the thought elliptical or incomplete and wants us to trace the missing link. The commentators, as usual, have confounded the meaning and leave us bewildered. We have, therefore, to analyse the thought and dig deep into it to detect the lurking cause of her joy.

The word-meaning of this verse is simple indeed. இன்பம் கடல் : Joy is an ocean ; மற்றுக் காமம், அஃதடுங்கால், துன்பம் அதனின் பெரிது : but when the sex impulse attacks it, the misery is far

greater than that of joy. The poet arranges his words in his verse in a certain order. The best method of interpretation will be to take them as they are in the environment in which the poet placed them, analyse and find out their meaning. We shall examine the words in the order in which they are set by the poet.

காமம், அஃதடுங்கால்

'அஃதடுங்கால்' means when attacking it'. அடு means 'attack' or fight and its derivative meanings are, kill or give trouble. (அடுதொழும்—பொருந்தொழும், பதிற்றுப்பத்து, 47) Between காமம் and அடுங்கால், there is a demonstrative pronoun, அஃது. It is used as an object here. Its use in the objective case is common in Tirukkural. As a demonstrative, it points to the thought that was expressed before, i.e., 'இன்பம் கடல்' and also represents it here, as a pronoun. 'காமம், அஃதடுங்கால்' thus means that kamam when it attacks the ocean of joy. Why should kamam attack இன்பம், the joy at all? When does one attack the other? Friends do not attack, kill or give trouble to each other. It is, therefore, apparent இன்பம் the joy, which kamam attacks, is opposed to it, or that joy belongs to that which is opposed to kamam. Otherwise, there could be no attack. Kamam is related to the flesh, and that which is related to the soul or spirit, is its natural opponent. It is well known that the flesh and the spirit are the natural opponents in the human system. Kamam, therefore, attacks its enemy, the joy, which belongs to the spirit or the spiritual joy. Kamam would never have attacked it, if it belonged to it or if it was its own progeny. Thus, by logical reasoning, we get at the thought, left out by the author. This omitted thought, when added to the verse, gives the meaning: "The joy of the spirit or the Soul, is an ocean of joy but when Kamam attacks it, it is an ocean of misery far greater than that of joy."

The use of the disjunctive மற்று in this verse by the poet, strengthens this interpretation. There are two distinct thought-groups in this verse, one of them is இன்பம் கடல், and the other is காமம் அஃதடுங்கால் etc. These two are separated by the disjunctive மற்று. மற்று is used here in the sense of மறுதலை or variance. "முன்சொல்கின்றது ஒழிய, இனிவேறொன்று" is the definition of மறுதலை given by Nachinarkiniyar. Two thought-groups, separated by a disjunctive, மற்று, are necessarily at variance with each other.

'Inbam Kadal' is thus one that is at variance with *Kamam adunkal* etc. and vice-versa,

We have now to analyse the details of the variance in each group. The author has expressly stated in the verse some of the details of the variance and left out some of them. இன்பம் in one group is the variant of துன்பம் in the other group. கடல் in one group is the varient of அதனின் பெரிது in the other group. The poet has not given us the variants of காமம் and அடுங்கால். He has, obviously, provided a hint by his use of the disjunctive, that we should apply the principle of மறுதலை, trace out the variants of காமம் and அடுங்கால் and complete the thoughts, left elliptic by him. This is the grammatical logical and scientific method of filling up the ellipsis.

We have already found that the variant of காமம் is the spirit or உயிர். The flesh and the spirit are always at variance. We have to find out that which is at variance with அடுங்கால். அடு means 'to fight' and its variant is 'to unite', ஒன்று சேர். The variant or மறுதலை of அடுங்கால் (when fighting) is ஒன்றுங்கால் which means 'when united'. If these variants are carried over to their legitimate places in the ellipsis, the full thought conveyed by the verse may be expressed as : "When the souls unite, it is an ocean of joy, but when Kamam attacks it, it is a misery far greater than that of the ocean of joy". The variance on each side of the disjunctive, is now full and balanced.

Of course, this interpretation is at variance with that given by Parimelalagar, the greatest of the classical commentators. His interpretation is that Kamam when enjoyed (புணர்வால்), is an ocean of joy, but when it gives trouble due to separation, அடுங்கால், it is a misery. He has taken Kamam out of the setting in which the author placed it, because it was not intelligible to him, in that setting.

The great commentator was born, nearly a thousand years after the author. The customs and manners, the habits of life and the very mode of thought, of the time of the author, had changed, during the long centuries that intervened. New thoughts and new ways of life had taken their places. The commentator was brought up and educated in an environment which equated

இன்பம், *Inbam*, the first aim of life of the Tamil culture with that of *Kama*, the third of the Aryan culture, Dharma, Artha, Kama and Moksha. He could not, evidently, conceive that sex union can rise above sex or yield anything beyond sex pleasure.

To get at his meaning, that the இன்பம் *Inbam* referred to in the verse, was *Kama Inbam*, sex pleasure only, the disjunctive மற்று stood in his way, as it directly qualifies Kamam. He had therefore to get Kamam out of this disjunctive. He uprooted Kamam out of the environment in which the author placed it and transplanted it into the alien soil. As a result of this the words stand transposed, as 'காமம் இன்பம் கடல், மற்று அஃதடுங்கால் etc.' The demonstrative pronoun அஃது is not now the object of அடுங்கால், but represents the subject and points to Kamam, instead of Inbam.

If this was the meaning, the author wanted to convey, he would have very easily done it by shifting off the disjunctive மற்று, beyond Kamam, as இன்பம் கடல் காமம்; மற்றஃதடுங்காலை etc. and this மற்று directly qualifying only அஃதடுங்காலை. He would then have composed the couplet as :—"இன்பம் கடல்காமம்; மற்றஃ தடுங் காலைத் துன்பம் கடலிற் பெரிது." This would give exactly the meaning wanted by the commentator. This shifting does not, now, offend the rules of prosody either. The author did not adopt this arrangement of words or this form of verse, but specifically brought Kamam within the grip of மறுதலை, denoted by மற்று. This is proof positive of the fact, that the author did not mean at all, that the Inbam in his verse, was one, related to Kamam but was one which was at variance with it.

Further materials are not wanting to convince, that the joy expressed by the lady, related to the realm of the spirit and not to that of Kamam. It was referred to in the introduction, that the spiritual growth commenced at the very spot of the supreme moment of the union of the sexes (உறுதோறு உயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால்). Each congress brings with it, the growth of the soul or the spirit and not the growth of the desire for the flesh. The separation had disciplined and encouraged the longing for the union of the souls; and had completely engulfed the lady of the verse.

In the solitude of her lonely chamber, at the dark midnight hour, (யாமத்தும் யானே உளேன். கு. 1167,) when all the sentient world were laid asleep (மன்னுயிர் எல்லாம் துயிற்றி, கு. 1168), the souls of the couple meet in celestial embrace of silent communion, defying the barriers of time and space, and float in an ocean of divine bliss. Alas! Kamam, the sex impulse, attacks it and drowns the lady in an ocean of misery. What a lovely picture of the inner conflict between the flesh and spirit of a love-laden soul, which, a master artist has painted in vivid colours!

There is yet another couplet in the same chapter to which the verse under study belongs, which supports this interpretation. This time, the lady finds fault with her eyes and not with Kamam.

> 'உள்ளம்போன் றுள்வழிச் செல்கிற்பின் வெள்ளநீர்
> நீந்தல மன்னோஎன் கண்' (1170)

" If these eyes of mine " she says, "would go forth to him as my heart does, (Pope translated *Ullam* as soul) they would not swim in the flood of their own tears." Her heart had already gone to him as disclosed in this verse, and their souls in union are now floating in the ocean of celestial bliss. The longing for a visual perception—a sense pleasure of a pure nature—has called into action the desire for the pleasure of the other coarse senses as well. As a result, the turbulent sex impulse has been aroused to take the field and it is leading the attack.

Here is an imagery of poetic grandeur, of a battle field, where the two belligerents, the sex impulse and the spirit, are on opposite side. The sex impulse had lost its ground and the lady is under the reign of the spirit. The eyes raises the banner of revolt, which the other senses join in. Reinforced by the revolters, the daring sex impulse Kamam, begins the attack. The spirit succumbs and the lady is now in the grip of Kamam. We have also a pretty piece of psycho-analysis here. The inmost recesses of the human heart, have been laid bare by a relentless analyst. We have, in addition, a supreme touch of feminine grace, delicacy, decorum and ineffable beauty, in her not disclosing to us, the fact of the union of her soul. It is a feminine secret and no lady of culture will disclose it. She treasures it as a divine secret not to be exposed

to the vulgar gaze of the masses. What wonderful results, the poetic ellipsis (பொருள் எச்சம்) has yielded in the hands of a master poet!

Tiruvalluvar has displayed a profound knowledge of sex psychology in this tiny verse which we have now examined. According to him, இன்பம் is above sensual pleasure. It is an experience of the soul. He has, here, furnished us a commentary of the line "இன்பமும் இடும்பையும் ஆகிய இடத்தும்" of Tolkappiam. He has indicated, when and where the happiness embraces the souls and how the sex impulse spoils it and brings in இடும்பை, the grief. He has enabled us to comprehend the nature of Inbam as conceived by the ancient Tamilians.

We have now arrived at a stage, when we can formulate a definition of Inbam which has long been misinterpreted and misunderstood. There are four important words in the Tamil language to denote pleasure and they are களிப்பு, மகிழ்ச்சி, உவகை and இன்பம். They have been generally treated as synonyms ஒரு பொருள் குறித்த பலசொல். Degeneration of Tamil culture evidently commenced when the individual significance of these words was lost sight of. These words contain meanings of different shades denoting different grades of pleasure. They are based on an intimate analytical study of the psychology of pleasure. களிப்பு denotes boisterous pleasure, equal to that of a drunkard, a coarse pleasure of unbalanced state. களிப்பு is derived from கள் an intoxicating drink. மகிழ்ச்சி means the pleasure obtained by the gratification of senses or fulfilment of desires. உவகை is a pleasure which one feels when he is freed from fear, bondage, worry or anxiety, 'அல்லல் நீத்த உவகை '(மெய்ப்பாட்டியல், 11). These are different states of experience acting under different kinds of stimuli. What a profound study of psychology, these very words display!

இன்பம் is far different from them all. It is neither a pleasure derived from the stimulant of a drink nor one equal to that. It is not a pleasure obtained by the gratification of senses or of one's desires. It is not a pleasure due to freedom from fear or bondage. It is not a pleasure compounded of all these different kinds. It is a pleasure, where no trace of any of these exists and far transcends them all. It is a pleasure felt by the union of souls, where

ego vanishes and the souls lose their individuality, unite into one and experience a divine happiness, Ananda, இன்பம், Bliss. Advaitham (not being two—oneness) is Anandam indeed.

Whether in the world of metaphysics or in the concreate world, Advaitham, oneness, is really Anantham, the supreme bliss or இன்பம், if it is actually realised and not merely talked of or argued. This oneness, when it wipes off the taint of sex passion, develops into oneness with the humanity and oneness with the supreme self. Radha Kamal Mukerjee observes, "Love is the supreme confirmation of the university, immortality and infinitude of self. In love, free from the taint of all-two-human passion and ego centricism, God and man become to each other in an eternal playful reciprocity that constitutes the meaning of life and the world."[5]

It is this meaning of life and the world which the word இன்பம் conveys and sets as the first and foremost of the aims of life of the race. இன்பம் is thus metaphysical in its nature and spiritual in its content, which was conveyed to the door of each home of the Tamil land and not left to be sought for in the depths of forests or in the solitudes of caves. The weighty observation of Dr. M. Varadarajanar that Kamathuppal should form the first chapter of Tirukkural, lends support to this view and emphasises the fact that it occupies the first and foremost place in the culture of the ancient Tamilians.

We shall now pass on to Porul or material wealth, the second aim of life of Tamil culture.

PORUL (பொருள்)

The basic needs of human beings are connected with hunger and mating. Man shares these in common with the animal kingdom. But nature endowed him with far greater faculties than the animals to transform the cravings for sex into love and those of hunger into economic prosperity. The western scholars consider that the economic factors have been more dynamic than those of the sex in promoting human culture and civilization. Will Durant

5. Preface to the 'Horizon of Marriage' by Radha Kamal Mukerjee, page XI, published by the Asia Publishing House, Bombay.

observes "without that the *Sine qua non* of culture, a continuity of food (the prime economic factor), its intelligence will be lavished on the perils of the hunt and the tricks of the trade and nothing will remain for the laces and frills, the courtesies, the arts and comforts of civilization."[6]

The ancient Tamilians view this differently. To them the amenities, arts, comforts and the material prosperity were not the be all and end all of civilization. Man has a-higher purpose to fulfil in his life. The development of human personality was the *sine qua non* of human civilization. The factors which contributed to the inner development of man and the integration of his personality with the peace and harmony of the family, of the society and of the world at large, were of far greater importance to them, than the laces and frills, arts and crafts. The sex carried with it the seeds of this higher growth and its synthetic and progressive integration. They thus selected and fostered the five aspects of love-life, அன்பின் ஐந் திணை, whose profound consummation, led man to realise the first of the aims of life as explained already.

They did not neglect பொருள், the material prosperity, either. They knew well that no home was worth living in, without wealth or material prosperity, Wealth, no doubt, carried with it its own impurities and evil, as did the sex. As sex was purified of its dross to make it yield the maximum good, the wealth should also be purified of its impurities. Otherwise, it will be productive of more evil than good. It was to effect this purification, the economic factors were subordinated to the first aim of life இன்பம் and assigned the second rank among the factors that promoted culture and civilization.

It was already pointed out that Tolkappiar interlinked the love-life with the aims of life இன்பம், பொருள் and அறம் and thereby emphasised the fact that sex life should not be considered as a solitary factor, each aloof from the other aims of life, all of which are inseparably bound together.

The relationship between the sex or the home life and the material prosperity, is one of vital importance. The stability of a comfortable home life, depends upon the stability of its economic

6. The History of Civilization, Vol., 1. page LC.

prosperity. The pursuit of wealth is for the comforts of the home. If there had been no home, wealth would not have been pursued in all vigour and enthusiasm. The relationship between the home life and the material prosperity is one of mutual indispensability.

Home and wealth are thus bound up *together*, indissolubly. When two factors are so bound together, tightly and inseparably, to goal to which one marches, has to be the goal of the other as well. If the two do not march together towards a common goal but try to pull each other in its opposite direction, there will be stalemate. There will be no progress whatever. If the life is to march on the progress, the goal of the one has to be the goal of the other. We have already seen that the goal of home life was இன்பம் the divine happiness of the realm of the spirit: the aim of wealth should also be the same.

How could this be? Sex and wealth are by their very nature, heterogeneous. Sex of our own flesh and blood and thrills with life. Wealth is not one such, but is related to inert matter. How could one with life and another without life march together towards a common goal?

We have seen, that sex life began with the self gratification of sense desire, but ascended to a height far transcending it. The pursuit of wealth also begins with the object of self gratification and its aim should be to attain the higher reaches, far beyond self gratification. We have seen, that sex through the process of cleansing or the proper use of love-life, loses its selfishness or the thought of self itself. So also, by the proper use of wealth, selfishness should vanish. The wealth should be used in such a way as to banish the thought of self or result in self effacement. In sex life, each of the partners sacrifices his or her own comforts and pleasures for the sake of the other, willingly and without the knowledge of the other, and attains the spiritual height of self-sacrifice. The use of wealth should, similarly, lead to the sacrifice of one's own comforts and pleasures for the sake of humanity at large. Home life led to the divine joy of oneness with another human being far transcending sex pleasure. Likewise, the life of riches should lead to the joy of oneness with other human beings or the humanity at large.

By the opportunities which wealth alone can afford, the ethical and spiritual achievements in sex life, now deepen to reach the depths of humanity and broaden to embrace the whole universe. Without wealth or the economic factors which constitute wealth, this deepening and broadening of human personality cannot assume a tangible form. "Love your neighbour as you love yourself," proclaims the moralist. This is, no doubt, a noble maxim but it is an abstract idea. Mere belief in a maxim or an abstract idea, however grand it may be, will not confer any concrete good on any one, unless it is translated into action. Wealth provides the best means of translating one's own beliefs or achievements in the moral and spiritual plane, into direction and concrete good. Love of others, compassion and altruism are mere abstract ideas, slogans or dogmas, unless they take concrete shape. The economic factors help them to assume a definite form and become dynamic in their action. Thus, riches afford the best opportunity for the integration of human personality developed at home progressively, first with social surroundings and then with the world at large. The interlinking of the triad with the love life, means all these and much more.

These can be proved by yet another method of classical interpretation, adopted by the commentators. We have now a modern triad in a reversed form, as அறம், பொருள், இன்பம். Here, அறம் leads the other two, பொருள் and இன்பம். பொருள் or the material prosperity which is not led by அறம், is an evil, so also இன்பம் which is not led by அறம், is an evil. அறம் is thus the leader. In the ancient concept, it was the other way about. இன்பம் human happiness led the way. The goal of Porul should be the attainment of இன்பம், 'ஈத்துவக்கும் இன்பம்' says, the sage, Tiruvalluvar. The material help conferred upon others, make them happy. The happiness they feel, makes the bestower, happy all the more. According to the ancient concept, அறம் which does not have இன்பம், the human happiness, as its goal is also an evil. 'அறத்தான் வருவதே இன்பம்' says the sage again. In the old Tamil concept, the promotion of the happiness of humanity, was the sole aim of life: in the other concept, the preservation of Dharma was the sole aim of life, and that is why the Dharma, lead the other two Artha (பொருள்) and Kama (காமம்). Thus, the triad, இன்பம், பொருள் and அறம், is not one of a mere superficial change in the order of the names, but denotes a deep basic

difference and fundamental alteration in the outlook on human life. This is the vital difference between the ancient and the modern concepts of the aims of life. We shall see more of them as we proceed further on.

I shall, now, illustrate these, from the literature of the land and show, how இன்பம், the human happiness, was the aim of the life of the ancient Tamilians.

Here is a dialogue, between a lady and her confidante. The lady discloses some details of her happy wedded life and the sudden departure of her husband in pursuit of wealth.

"அறியாய்! வாழி தோழி! நெறிகுரற்
சாந்தார் கூந்தல் உளரிப் போதணிந்து
தேங்கமழ் திருநுதல் திலகம் தைஇயும்
* * * *
பல்பூஞ் சேக்கையிற் பகலும் நீங்கார்
மனைவயின் இருப்பவர் மன்னே துணைதந்து
இரப்போர் ஏந்துகை நிறையப் புரப்போர்
புலம்பில் உள்ளமொடு புதுவதந் துவக்கும்
அரும்பொருள் வேட்டம் எண்ணிக் கறுத்தோர்
சிறுபுன் கிளவிச் செல்லல் பாழ்பட
நல்லிசை தம்வயின் நிறுமார்
* * *
படுமழை உருமின் முழங்கும்
நெடுமர மருக்கின் மலையிறந் தோரே." ! (அகம். 389)

"Know thou not my dear!", says she; "My husband used to dress my hair, arrange my curls, 'நெறிகுரற்சாந்தார் கூந்தல் உளரி', adron me with flowers, போதணிந்து, beautify my forehead with Tilakam திலகம் தைஇ, and will not quit his bed even during the day, பல்பூஞ் சேக்கையிற் பகலும் நீங்கார். Lo! What a transformation! (மன்னே-பிறிதொன்றாகைக் குறிப்பு). He is now in pursuit of wealth to secure all help (to humanity) துணை தந்து, to fill to the brim the outstretched hands of those who look to him for help, to delight in procuring new riches, புதுவதந் துவக்கும், to feel at heart that he is not aloof in the vast humanity, புலம்பிலுள்ளமொடு, and to refute the petty cavils of polluted minds, கறுத்தோர் சிறுபுன் கிளவிச் செல்லல் பாழ்பட."

It is here, the love-life and the life for wealth shake hands. The love-life made him one with his wife and a wealthy life is to

make him one with the humanity at large. He has already developed the heart for it (புலம்பில் உள்ளம்). It is strange, that the lady does not feel even the slightest pinch of the pang of separation. She simply wonders at the transformation which has come over her husband. She has risen far above sex and sensuality. We have to exclaim with the lady, 'What a wonderful transformation from intense love to intense humanity!' This is what the poet wishes to bring out by the sharp contrast of a life of love and a life in pursuit of wealth:

Here is another piece in which the lady wishes godspeed to her husband's transformation.

"தந்நயந் துறைவோர்த் தாங்கித் தாம்நயந்து
இன்னமர் கேளிரொடு ஏமுறக் கெழீஇ
நகுதல் ஆற்றார் நல்கூர்ந் தோரென
மிகுபொருள் நினையும் நெஞ்சமொ டருள்பிறிது
ஆபமன் வாழி
* * * *
கணிவாய்ப் பல்லிய காடிறந் தோரே!" (அகம். 151)

Men, who could not support those who love them and those who could not make their fellowmen happy and rejoice with them in their happiness, தாம்நயந்து இன்னமர் கேளிரொடு ஏமுறக் கெழீஇ, நகுதல் ஆற்றார், are those who are really poor, and therefore, says this lady her husband has gone beyond the forests to amass enormous wealth மிகுபொருள் நினையும் நெஞ்சமொடு and with his benevolence, he will now be transformed into a different person. (அருள் பிறிது ஆப-வேறுபட்ட அருளுடையவராவர். முன்பு தம்பால் செறிந்திருந்த அருள் இப்பொழுது உலகின்மாட்டுப் பரந்ததென்பது கருத்து.)

The word, அருள், benevolence, deserves careful consideration. அருள் is not காதல் or அன்பு, which are different grades of love. Tiruvalluvar describes அருள், the benevolence, as the offspring of love, அன்பின் குழவி. Love has far ascended the sex impulse to the height of benevolence, அருள், where there is no attachment, where it expects no return but is one with the humanity at large. The lady wishes him வாழி-Godspeed, success in his mission and success in his transformation. The transformations we have noticed in these two poems, are not confined to men who go about earning, but it embraces the ladies as well. They well appreciate

the deep significance of the mission of their husbands and one of them wishes her husband well. Their personalities have attained their full growth to match with those of their husbands. The joyous couples are now ready to jump into world to accept the sufferings with pleasure and to serve humanity, even as Albert Sweitzer leapt into the depth of African forests, dedicating himself to the service of humanity.

All are not gifted to earn மிகுபொருள், enormous wealth. It requires special qualities, capacities and habits to become a great capitalist. It was considered as a national disgrace if those endowed with the capacity to earn, neglected it. They were laughed at by the society.

> "எள்ளல் நோனாப் பொருள்தரல் விருப்பொடு
> நாணுத்தளை யாக வைகி மாண்வினைக்கு
> உடம்பாண் டொழிந்தமை யல்லதை
> மடங்கெழு நெஞ்சம் நின்னுழை யதுவே!" (அகம். 29)

There are many more passages which illustrate these aspects of wealth and the social conscience was developed to such an extent, as to induce young men, to cut asunder the home attachment, however deep it might be, and goaded them on to run after wealth. They felt it a disgrace to remain at home to eat out of the riches of their forefathers. In the first of the stanzas examined we have already seen the effort of one who delighted in securing ever new wealth-புதுவ தந்து உவக்கும். The combined effect of love-life at home and the social aspect of the wealth sought for, have been well explained in the brilliant lectures of Dr. M. V. published under the caption ஓவச் செய்தி.

This was the national ideal to which the very education of the people was directed.

> "தாமின் புறுவ துலகின் புறக்கண்டு
> காமுறுவர் கற்றறிந் தார்." (குறள், 399)

The learned, rejoice when they see the world enjoying what they enjoy. This is not merely for arts and literature but comprises all that which constituted and serve for enjoyment. It should not be forgotten that this is referred to in that part of Tirukkural which deals with economic prosperity பொருளியல், and can by no

means exclude the enjoyment of wealth out of its scope. This was the motto for their life which the learned carried with them as கற்றறிந்தோர், the finished product of Tamilian culture and education. This put the object of the pursuit of wealth clean and tidy, brought in a new sense of values and ennobled the career of young men of the land.

Tiruvalluvar emphasises this aspect of wealth more than any one else in three beautiful similes:

"ஊருணி நீர்நிறைந் தற்றே உலகவாம்
பேரறி வாளன் திரு!" (குறள்.215)

is one of these similes into which profound thoughts have been compressed. The simple meaning of this couplet is: This wealth of men who love the world and are wise, is like ஊருணி filled with water. To understand the full force of the simile it is necessary to know what exactly an *Uruni* (ஊருணி) is. G. U. Pope translated it as a lake. Parimelalagar gave its meaning as tank, குளம்; Manakkudavar gave the meaning as a well; Parithi (பரி தி) as a great lake: (Kalingar combined both lake and tank (பேரேரியும் பெருங்குளமும்). It will be apparent from these divergent interpretations, that the commentators were groping in the dark, as to what exactly ஊருணி meant. Uruni is far different from what they have all described. There are five different words in the Tamil language குளம், ஏரி, குட்டை, கண்மாய், ஊருணி to denote different kinds of water reservoirs. குளம் *Kulam* is that which is used for bathing purposes from the root *Kuli*-குளி or from -குள் which means to dive in, குள்ளக்குடைதல் (அகம். 63); ஏரி *Eri* means the water source which is used for agriculture or irrigation from the root ஏர், the plough. குட்டை, *Kuttai* means a small pond from குட்டை short in size. கண்மாய் or கம்மாய் Kammoi is derived from கம்வாய் sluices—நீர்வழி, கம்—நீர் and denotes that which is provided with sluices. ஊருணி *Uruni* is that which is used for drinking by the village. ஊர் *Ur* means village; உணி *Uni* from the root உண் means that which is used for drinking. *Uruni* ஊருணி, as its very name indicates, is a special kind of drinking water pond, in which the drinking-water for the village is collected and preserved. These drinking-water ponds still exist with the same name in the remote villages of Mathurai and Ramnad districts. In these villages there is no other source of drinking water as they are far removed

from rivers, mountain streams, lakes or other irrigation sources. No well could be sunk in these villages, as hard rock lies below the earth or the underground water is either saline metallic, unfit for human consumption.

A catchment area sloping towards the pond, is selected and the rain which falls therein, is collected into the pond. The water so collected will be sufficient for the village till the next rain. The catchment area, in many cases, is protected from pollution and in some cases, watchmen are appointed to look after the water so that it may not be defiled by improper use or by the village cattle. All the villagers use the water in common and the conditions in some villages are, that the hands and pots that take the water out, should be clean. This kind of selection, protection and preservation of drinking water sources was evidently in common vogue during the time of Tiruvalluvar, throughout the country. Even in the eastern district of Tanjore, flooded by the Cauvery, we find the name of a village Peravuruni பேராவூருணி. This indicates that there should have been a large ஊருணி which lent its name to the village itself. As this kind of drinking water reservoirs was commonly in use in the country, the author has drawn a simile from them to convey his precious thoughts.

Let us handle the simile. Three different aspects of the *uruni* are here taken for comparison. (1) ஊருணி' the pond itself (2) நிறைதல், the filling of the pond and (3) நீர், the water. (1) *Uruni* is the possessor of the water and the wise man, who loves humanity, is the possessor of wealth. (2) Even as the *uruni* gets its water supply, he gets his wealth. (3) The water in the uruni is compared to the wealth of the benefactor. Uruni water is the common property of all the humanity which comes in contact with the *uruni* and the wealth of the wise man also, becomes the common property of the humanity he loves. Not only the water therein, but the uruni itself is the common property of the villagers, so also the benefactor is no longer one who belongs to his family ; he belongs to the humanity at large.

The uruni gets its water supply from sources unpolluted ; otherwise, the water collected from a contaminated source, will be unfit for human consumption. Similarly, the benefactor gets his wealth through untainted sources not by fraud, extortion or

exploitation. The wealth ill-got results in illness. The ideal is not 'to rob Peter and pay Paul'; The person who amasses wealth is one who loves humanity. (உலகு அவாம்; உலகை அவாவும் பேராறி வாளன்.) As he is the lover of உலகு, humanity, he cannot, by nature, rob one and pay another. It is to emphasise this aspect, the author mentions நிறைதல், getting filled, otherwise he would have composed his verse differently.

Wealth is as vital as water is for human porgress. A more apt simile cannot be thought of, to convey the importance of wealth or economic prosperity. Tiruvalluvar is not a philosopher who derided the acquisition or possession of material wealth. There can be no benefit to humanity from one who himself begs others for help or depends upon others for help. When the aim is the happiness of the humanity at large, there is no other go but to seek wealth to relieve their distress.

The comparison between wealth and water goes far deeper than what appears on the surface. No doubt each of the villagers can use the water without let or hindrance, but each can use it only as far as he needs it, nothing more, nothing less. To take in more, will cause illness and taking less, will produce the same evil. Nor can one store the water for many days in advance. The water, if so stored, will become rotten when kept beyond a day of two. 'Each man has his vital needs,' is the natural law which water enforces. The benefactor or the benefitted has, therefore, to use wealth only as far as the vital needs require, nothing more or nothing less, if the body politic is to remain healthy. This is the philosophy of wealth preached by *uruni* which is as deep as the thought of the author and its water as pure as it could naturally be.

Another simile deals with the human ailments:

"மருந்தாகித் தப்பா மரத்தற்றால் செல்வம்
பெருந்தகை யான்கட் படின்!" (குறள், 217).

The riches should never fail to cure the afflictions of the flesh

மருந்தாகித் தப்பா மரத்தற்றால்.

The third simile deals with luxuries:

*"பயன்மரம் உள்ளூர்ப் பழுத்தற்றால் செல்வம்
நயனுடை யான்கட் படின்!"* (குறள், 216)

When the fruits from the fruit-trees of the village-common, drop down, the more vigilant and the active get them. The rest of the fruits, if any, which do not fall off, are collected and equally divided among the villagers. This custom still prevails in some of the remote villages, far removed from the influence of modern civilization. Fruit is a luxury, not a vital need as water or the remedy for ailments.

The three similes do not repeat one and the same idea but emphasise the three different social aspects of wealth. Here we find a happy blending of socialism and capitalism deprived of their evil. It is not for the proletariat to claim relief but it is for the capital to come down and share the benefits of the wealth with others. Tiruvalluvar calls this *ஒப்புரவு* equality, equalising all the wealth which one earns, *தாளாற்றித் தந்த பொருளெல்லாம்,* with others or attaining oneness with humanity at large. *ஒப்பு* means equality or oneness. *உரவு* means strength. It is this strength on which a great race of mankind in a tiny corner of the world, grew to its full stature. It is the triumph of sex love which transformed man and helped him to develop his full personality to such dimensions as to embrace the humanity as a whole.

*"அன்புற் றமர்ந்த வழக்கென்ப வையகத்து
இன்புற்றார் எய்துஞ் சிறப்பு!"* (குறள், 75)

says the sage Valluvar. The distinction of divine happiness or bliss conferred in this world, is a result of the tranquil life, which loves all beings. Through the means of *ஒப்புரவு* the tranquil life of love, feels the oneness with other human souls. *ஒப்புரவு* is the outward expression of the inner realisation of the oneness with all human beings. The oneness with the beloved, which we noticed earlier, has thus paved the way for the oneness with all human beings. This oneness was not a mere belief of a religion or the abstract idea of a speculative philosophy, but a concrete fact realised by a definite deed of human endeavour—*ஒப்புரவு.*

Here is a quotation from Rabindranath Tagore which is relevant to this Oneness attained by ஒப்புரவு: "That I become more in union with others, is not a simple fact of arithmetic. We have known that when different personalities combine in love, which is the complete union, then it is not like adding to the horsepower of efficiency, but it is what was imperfect, finding its full meaning in relationship. This perfection is not a thing of measurement or analysis it is a whole which transcends all its parts. It leads us into a mystery which is in the heart of things, yet beyond it like the beauty of a flower which is infinitely more than botanical facts; like the sense of humanity itself which cannot be contained in mere gregariousness."

"This feeling of perfection in love with is the feeling of the perfect oneness, opens for us the gates of the world of the Infinite One who is revealed in the unity of all personalities."[7]

The strength உரவு, found in oneness, ஒப்பு which all human beings and the joy it yields, are well defined and confirmed by Tagore, a poet-philosopher of universal repute. ஒப்புரவு is not an abstract idea for contemplation, meditation, or nirvikalpa samadhi, where oneness is sought to be established with an unseen God or an inferential Infinite. It is a living oneness with a living humanity attained by mental, moral, spiritual and metaphysical factors, in combination with economic prosperity. With the ancient Tamilians it was religion of love and a life of reality, not one of rituals or doctrines or of abstract metaphysics. It was similar to the 'human-heartedness' or the humanism of Confucius among the ancients and the humanitarianism of Comte among the moderns. Comte held on the basis of positivistic science, that there was nothing greater than humanity for worship.

Nearly, two thousands of years—at a very modest estimate—before the 'League of Nations' or the charter of the 'United Nations' came into being, this philosophy of life, of wealth, of humanism and of humanitarianism, helped the Tamil race to think of one world and one brotherhood, 'யாதும் ஊரே; யாவரும் கேளிர்'[8] "All the countries are yours and the people all over the world are your kith

7. Personality—Lectures by Tagore in America, page, 83. Indian edition, Macmillan & Co.

8, Puram. 192.

and kin." The significance of Tolkappiar interlinking love life with இன்பம் and பொருள் will now be quite apparent and can be fully appreciated. Let us now proceed to examine அறம், the third of the aims of life, which yet remains.

ARAM (அறம்)

அறம் from the root அறு to cut, denotes that which is cut out. Cut out of what? We should find the answer.

Before the aims of human activities were decleared as இன்பம் and பொருள் the life of the race grew on the bed-rock of natural habits and activities, which constituted the culture of the race. No attention was paid to the direction or goal to which the growth should be tended. Any growth which is left to itself tends to grow wild or diffuse and develops in itself elements which are detrimental to a healthy growth. With the declaration of the aims of life, pruning of the unwanted growth, which does not promote those human aims, becomes necessary. The human activities in *Aham* and *Puram* which had grown wild, are tested and those found to be detrimental to the achievements of the aims, are cut off and only those which are conducive to their growth are conserved. These constitute the அறம் of Tamil culture. Aram is, thus, one of natural growth, congenial to the soil, purified and held aloft to guide the future human conduct to achieve the ultimate aims of life.

Far different seems to be the origin of the concept of Sanskrit Dharma. The definition of Dharma given by *Rabindranath Tagore*, the great scholar and exponent of Sanskrit culture, admirably explains this concept of Dharma. He states that: "The specific meaning of Dharma is that principle which holds us firm together and leads us to our best welfare. The general meaning of this word is the essential quality of a thing."[9] This definition accords with the root meaning of the word Dharma from the root *Dhr*. which means, hold together. Holding up firm, indicates an apparent basic lack of cohesion and the Dharma conceived was obviously necessary to bind together firm, diverse groups and

9. *CIVILISATION AND PROGRESS*—a lecture delivered by Rabindranath Tagore in China in 1924. Lectures and Addresses selected by Anthony X. Soares, page, 43, published by Macmillan and Co., Limited London, 1955.

interests into a homogeneous whole. It contained, apparently, element which were super imposed—not one of natural growth—to rectify the lack of cohesion, necessitated by the changing order of society. The code of laws of human conduct based on the principles of holding together heterogeneous elements, the Dharma, lead the other aims of life pushing them into its background. The ancient Tamilians never allowed this to happen. They preserved the இன்பம் of one-ness, the royal high way to the happiness of the world, as the first and foremost of the human aims of life. *Aram* was not allowed to develop to a state of fixity or individuality of its own, to claim a separate chapter in Tolkappiam. It was a subordinate of the first and the second aims of life and was therefore tagged on to them. This rank assigned to *Aram,* is of paramount importance.

Let us remember, that human life is never static but dynamic. Human conduct has to change to suit the altered circumstances of life, inevitable in the human progress. The code of human conduct, அறம், has to be pruned to be suitable to the altered progress or changing circumstances. Thus Inbam, the human happiness, was the aim with reference to which, the pruning had to be done, so that அறம் may lead to Inbam, the human happiness, and nothing else. இன்பம் thus controlled அறம் and shaped it from time to time. "அறம் may change from time to time; but the aims of life should never change," was the principle which guided the ancients. Thus, *Aram* and *Dharma* differ not only in the very basis of their concept, but differ widely in their nature their contents and the results they yielded. அறம் as the ancient Tamilians conceived it, was thus a growing tree, the undergrowth beneath, if any, could be uprooted and the extraneous and harmful growth above, could be pruned off from time to time. It was a flexible system and was a growing one but Aryan *Dharma* was rigid and immovable. Dharma is an elastic term. It has been used in different meanings in different times and in different contexts. The Aryan Dharma Sastras were apparently designed for the binding force they imposed. Again this is what *Rabindranath Tagore* has to say about the binding force which Dharma—the rules and prohibitions imposed—purported to exert.

"And if any society, on the cessation of its growth, should come to pride itself on being, not like a growing tree, but like a

temple of which its securely established immovableness is its glory, it will inevitably feel the moving of a single one of its bricks to be a loss. Nevertheless it is not possible to keep all the members of any society uniformly bound in such unalternative fixity—that is against the nature of man and destructive of the principle of life itself. So that, as long as any people is vigorously alive, they or some of them cannot but keep breaking through the rules and prohibitions imposed by their society. Both in its biological and sociological phases, these opposing forces of conservation and experimentation are characteristic of life."[10]

Based on these biological and sociological truths, the Tamilians made their ancient அறம் movable and adjustable so as to allow free scope for the fullest development of the individual.

When the ancient culture was languishing, alien culture and alien system of thought 'broke through her embankments' and got mixed up inextricably with the old. A synthetic culture composed of some traces of the old and the new, grew up and the ancient culture vanished. 'Old order changeth giving place to new.' says the poet. This too happens according to the natural law of progress. When there is a fusion of races and admixture of cultures, a synthetic growth is but inevitable. We are not here to exalt the old or despise the new. Each has its own innate value. Past is past for ever. It will never live again, however much we appreciate it and long for it. We have to know the past, know the ideals which ruled supreme in those days, to understand the ancient literature correctly and to appreciate its value. We have, so far, analysed and tried to grasp the ancient aims of life, இன்பம், பொருள் and அறம். We see across the long centuries the chief motive forces behind the activities of our ancestors, and the ideals which inspired them. These formed the subject matter of Sangam literature and Tirukkural. Kamathuppal or any other part of Tirukkural can never be understood or evaluated properly, unless this great cultural heritage which underlies them all. is well comprehended. Before we pass on to the other aspects of this ancient heritage, we have to take note of another concurrent culture which Tolkappiar had thought fit to mention in his very first stanza of Kalaviyal.

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10. 'The Indian Ideal of Marriage' by Rabindranath Tagore, contributed to 'The Book of Marriage' by Count Hermann Keyserling. page, 107.

A CONCURRENT CULTURE

Establishing a vital relationship between the sex union, love and the ultimate aims of life, Tolkappiar proceeds to find a parallel. The sex life of the ancient Tamilians was one of courtship and love, a parallel for which we find in Europe rather than in Asia. It is strange, an ancient custom, a vital behaviour of life, which was in the tip of one of the peninsulas in Asia, finds its resemblance in Europe. Research in Social Anthropology and history is not sufficiently advanced yet, to unravel this mysterious connection. Tolkappiar, in addition to his being a great grammarian, here, steps into the field of historical research. He states:

> "காமக் கூட்டம் காணும் காலை
> மறையோர் தேஎத்து மன்றல் எட்டனுள்
> துறையமை நல்யாழ்த் துணைமையோர் இயல்பே."

This means that among the eight kinds of marriages prevalent in the country of the Vedic Aryans, this mode of sex life corresponds to the natural sex life of the great musicians who are our comrades. (நல்யாழ்த் துணைமையோர்—நல்லயாழையுடைய துணைமையோர்.) The word துணைமையோர் should receive our attention. Its correct meaning is 'comrades.' Comrades who were proficient in the scientific music of Yazh யாழ். யாழ், referred to here, is the national instrument of music, the harp, developed and perfected in the Tamil land, and denotes the highly scientific music produced therefrom. Sangam literature abounds in allusions to the various kinds of harps and the advanced types of musical modes produced from those harps. There was a professional class of minstrels in the Tamil land who used this harp and specialised in the harp music. A similar class of minstrels in the north were called Gandharvas. As the special instrument they had was Yazh, the instrument of music of the Tamil country, they were known in the Tamil land as யாழோர்.

Social Anthropology and sociology prove that eight kinds of marriages were prevalent in North India, and they were included in the code of Manu. They were not all special to Aryans nor Aryan in their origin. This is what Rabindranath Tagore says about them: "Therefore Manu had to recognise, in his treatise,

other different forms of marriage such as the Gandharva (by mutual choice), Rakshasa (by conquest), Paishacha (by taking advantage of helplessness). In none of these is the social will manifest, but only the desire of the individual; for force, whether of arms, or money or circumstances, is arrogant and passion refuses to submit to extraneous considerations. But while recording these forms, Manu censured them." [11]

"Manu gives the name of Gandharva to marriage by mutual choice, and signifies his disapprobation by stigmatizing it 'as born of desire'. The way to marriage which is shown by the torchlight of passion has not for its goal the welfare of society, but the satisfaction of desire." [12] The approved form of marriage was the Brahma form according to which the bride was given as a gift to a person who had not solicited her.

The description given by Tolkappiar about the systems of marriage as marriages prevalent in the country occupied by the Aryans 'மறையோர் தேஎத்து மன்றல்' and not those of the Aryans-not as மறையோர் மன்றல் (as the author of இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் calls them) and his calling the Gandharvas as comrades 'துணைமையோர்' are very significant. They were comrades in a concurrent culture of music and sex. Ra. Raghava Iyengar, the late professor of Tamil Research, Annamalai University, in his 'History of Tamil' 'தமிழ் வரலாறு' identifies the Tamil race as a branch of the Gandharvas because of the similarity between them and the Tamilians in their sex life, music, arts and crafts. But Tolkappiar not only calls them comrades in sex and music culture but claims them later as a branch of the parental stock of the Tamilians.

"முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பின் ஐந்நிலம் பெறுமே."

--தொல். பொருள். 1052.

This means that the famous, five aspects of love-life called after the five lands are found with the Gandharvas who stick to their

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11. 'The Indian Ideal of Marriage', an article contributed by Rabindranath Tagore to 'the Book of Marriage' by Count H. Keyserling, p. 105.

12. Ibid, page-108.

parent stock in their practice (முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன);[13] This gives room for the inference, that at the time of Tolkappiar, among the Gandharvas there were those who followed their parent stock in their sex life and those who did not follow it strictly or changed over to other modes of sex life.

Whenever Tolkappiar quotes the opinion of or the facts stated by others, he always says என்ப, என்மனார், மொழிப etc. but here he makes his own statement as 'துணைமையோர் இயல்பே' and 'ஐந்நிலம் பெறுமே' and not as இயல்பென மொழிப, பெறுமென மொழிப. These are evidently facts which were found out by him by his own investigation. From the introduction to Tolkappiam written by Panamparanar it is obvious that the author travelled far and wide, all through the Tamil country to get at facts, to know, to verify and to record the exact phonemic structure or the accoustic form of the phonemes of the language from the speech sounds, actually in use, in the different parts of the country and that this work was the work of a life time as explained in my book, 'முதற்குறள் உவமை'. Taking into consideration, this mode of scientific research adopted by the author, we may be sure that the valuable information furnished by him here about the Gandharvas, was neither based on any mythology, nor was it a product of his own imagination or guess but was based on proper facts ascertained and verified by him. This contribution of Tolkappiar o historical research is of immense value.

These Gandharvas were not of Aryan stock. They were considered as foreigners and this is what O. Goswami says about the music of the Aryans and the music of the Gandharvas :—"Though much cannot be said definitely about the state of the musical culture of the early Aryan, from the scanty resources at our disposal, yet it can be fairly assumed that the Dravidian and the other pre-Aryan races of India, at the time of the Aryan influx, were much superior in respect of Arts. The excavations at Mohenjadaro and Harappa have revealed beyond doubt, the advanced state of the civilization and culture of the pre-Aryans. Moreover, the words 'Shilpa' (craft)

13. முதற்பொருளாகிய நிலத்தை 'ஐந்நிலம்' எனப் பின்னடி குறித்தலின் முதலடியிற் காணும் முதல், யாழோரின் மேன முதற்குடியாகிய பழந்தமிழ் மக்களை உணர்த்தும் எனக் கொள்ளப்பெற்றது.

'புணர்ந்தவை, மேன, பெறுமே.'

and 'Kala' (fine arts), we are told, are of Dravidian origin and that they entered into the Sanskrit language later." [14]

"With the passage of time, a class of people called Gandharvas (professional minstrels) who specialised in the Marga music, came to the fore and popularised it. Hence it came to be equated with the music of these people and acquired the label of 'Gandharva'. Kalinatha affirms this, when he says, 'Gandharva is Marga', that is, classical and sacred and 'Gana is Deshi', that is regional or folk music."

"Gandharva music is also so-called because it became popular by the efforts of the people of the Gandhara country (modern Kandahar and its outlying regions). The scraftsmen from the same region gave India, at a later date, her culptural art known as the Gandhara Art; However their music, perhaps semi-hellenistic or foreign in character, did not survive long like their sculpture, being too weak in its new environment to maintain its individuality. Yet strong enough to interrupt and enervate the Indian music that was in the making."[15]

According to Kalinatha "Marga is so called because it was searched for (margitha) by Brahma and others."[16] Without convert ing Marga into Margitha to find out its derivation, the direct meaning of Marga furnishes a clue to its correct derivation. According to the Sanskrit Dictionary of Monier M. Williams and that of McDon. nell, the word *Marga* denotes *correct path.* It is a very strange coincidence that in the ancient Tamil land a popular melody called செவ்வழி, Sevvazhi, in Tamil which means the correct path, was widely in use. There are numerous references to this melody in Sangam classics. In the heptatonic modes, the melody with gandhara (கைக்கிளை) as the tonic in the Sadja grāma was called செவ் வழிப்பாலை the heptatone of the correct path. The people who specialised in gandhara grama, செவ்வழி music were perhaps, called Gandharas or Gandharvas, their country was Gandhara and their art was known as Gandhara art.

Goswami further states:

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14. 'The story of Indian Music' by O. Goswamy, page,12.
15. Ibid. page, 24.
16- Ibid. page, 19.

"As to the form of Gandharva music, Bharatha tells us that it was based on notes, had time-measures and compositions. Another point of considerable importance is that according to Bharatha, the Gandharva music had its origin in the *veena* (Lyre) and we know that the people of Hellas used the lyre in their music and Vansa (flute) was the basis of indigenous music." [17]

It is a pity that the numerous historical particulars buried in the ancient works in Tamil, receive scanty attention and is little known outside the Tamil country. Had Mr. Goswamy known the facts furnished by Tolkappiar and the ancient system of music and musical instruments which were in use in this country before the advent of the Aryans, he would never have searched for the origin of the Gandharva music in the Hellas. It may also be noted that the modern Kandahar and the outlying regions identified as Gandhara, lie near about the region where Brahui, one ofthe dialects of the Dravidian languages, still exists. '*துறையமை நல்யாழ்*' of Tolkappiar is confirmed by the statement of Bharatha of Natyasastra fame, the earliest musicologist, whose works are now available, that the music of the Gandharvas was based on notes, had time measure and compositions.

Why should Tolkappiar refer to a concurrent culture outside the Tamil country? It is, certainly, not for elucidation of any obscure point in his thesis. The references to the Gandharvas are too scanty to serve as any means of elucidation or enlightenment. On the other hand, it is the sex life of Gandharvas, which is often misunderstood 'as born of desire', gets clarified by the connection which it gains with a well established love-life in the Tamil land. Ties of race, history, beliefs, common aims of life and customs, bind men together. Obviously, the author looked upon *யாழோர்* the Gandharvas, as forming part of the Tamil race with a continuity of Tamil culture as a historical sequence of the events of the past, though they lived geographically far apart. There seems to have been similar colony of *யாழோர்* in the South which went by the name of *யாழ்ப்பாணம்*, Jaffna in Ceylon as the very name suggests. Probably this colony arose after the time of Tolkappiar.

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17. 'The Story of Indian Music' by O. Goswamy, page, 24.

By a proper study of Tolkappiam, we learn a good deal. Nothing is written by the author without authority and nothing in his work is irrelevant. There is no distortion or adornment or exaggeration. He is always accurate, scholarly and purely objective, whether in dealing with the fundamentals of human speech or those wnich govern sex behaviour or those which relate to the life aims of the ancient Tamilians. This is the noble heritage of hoary antiquity, heritage of love, of philosophy of wealth, of natural ethics, which Tolkappiar has left us and it is this which shaped the great work of Tiruvalluvar.

LECTURE II

AESTHETICS OF LOVE IN KAMATHUPPAL

We saw, briefly, in the last lecture, how the base animal passion for sex union developed into love and ultimately ascended the spiritual heights. This was not accomplished in a century or two. It took millions of years of gradual evolution for love to make its appearance in sex relations and to mature as a deciding factor in the selection of a mate. This selection became entwined with the highest and subtlest human emotions, refined by the principles of beauty or aesthetics. The application of the principles of aesthetics in love, becomes the inspiring stimulation to energise artistic, moral and spiritual activities of the mind.

For a proper evaluation of this highest advancement in sex-life, it is helpful to begin from the very bottom and to have, as a preliminary, a knowledge of the genesis and growth of sex life. If facts based on empirical study, could furnish us this knowledge, it will be the scientific mode of approach. This is what we find in the second stanza of Kalaviyal:

"ஒன்றே வேறே என்றிரு பால்வயின்
ஒன்றி யுயர்ந்த பாலது ஆணையின்
ஒத்த கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியுங் காண்ப;
மிக்கோ னாயினுங் கடிவரை யின்றே."

SEX LIFE

Sex life, primarily, falls into two divisions. (இருபால்வயின். பால் here means பகுதி or division). They are: (1) the sexes, man and woman, living together as a single unit 'ஒன்றே', and (2) living different from it 'வேறே'. This living differently, does not relate to any monastic ideal. What is dealt with here, relates to sex life, களவியல், and not to the life in general to which the monastic ideal may relate. Living differently—different from the sexes living as one unit—relates to the primitive stage of human life and marks the genesis of sex life.

According to Mathilde Von Kimnitz the selective amalgamation in sex life "made its appearance in the stage, preceding the first cell of the colloid crystal, and had dwelt since those early creative phases in all higher individuals upto man."[18] Even in the stages preceding the colloid crystal, the principle of selective amalgamation holds good. On this vital principle, has progressed, the cosmic evolution from energy to matter, from matter to life, from life to mammals and from mammals to human beings. Every atom of the primordial elements glows with the urge for mysterious and creative amalgamation. Certain atoms unite with certain others, not indiscriminately. but in certain order and under certain conditions. Some mysterious force leads them to a selective amalgamation. The very world which we live in, is the result of such selective amalgamation of the elements.

> "நிலம்தீ நீர்வளி விசும்பொடு ஐந்தும்
> கலந்த மயக்கம் உலகம்." (தொல்-பொருள்—1589)

says Tolkappiam. Let us note the words, 'கலந்த மயக்கம்.' It is not mere மயக்கம் or union but கலந்த மயக்கம் selective union. Whatever may be the name given by the scientists to this union of elements, there is no denying the fact, that there is attraction between them resulting in their unification and creation, which almost resembles the attraction between the sexes and their creative union. The religious concept of 'Siva and Sakthi' illustrates this principle.

What we call love, was unknown in the primitive or beginning stage of human culture. When man was under the sex urge, he behaved in no better way than the animal. Whenever there was the desire for mating, he visited his mate, wherever she was, as most of the animals do; and had not learnt to live together with his mate as husband and wife. If we are to understand the full significance of the division 'வேறே', different from the living together of man and woman, we have to go to the conclusions arrived at by the researches in sex anthropology.

Bachofen, the great German pioneer, found by his researches that in the beginning, humanity lived in a state of sexual

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18. 'Marriage as fulfilment'—by Mathilde Von Kemnitz, 'Book of marriages' edited by Count Hermann Keyserling.

promiscuity; woman did not live with one man; the father was unknown, and that mother-right with a high degree of respect for woman, was the order of the day, in antiquity. According to him, the transition to monogamy, where the woman belongs to one man and lives with him happened at a later stage. Morgan and his colleagues arrived at still primitive stage, at which promiscuous intercourse prevailed within a tribe. Every man belonged to every woman and similarly every woman belonged to every man. There are other anthropologists, who hold that group marriages were in vogue, in which whole group of men and group of women belonged to one another and that such promiscuous intercourse was between certain endagamous or exagamous groups.

Will Durant points out that there are still, here and there over the earth, tribes in which there is no visible family life. The men live apart from women and visit them only now and then and even meals are taken separately. In northern Papua, it is not considered right for a man to be associating socially with a woman even if she is the mother of his children.[19]

"In Futuna and Hawaii, the majority of people did not marry at all; the Lubus mated freely and indiscriminately, and had no conception of marriage; certain tribes of Borneo lived in marriageless association, freer than the birds; and among some peoples of primitive Russia, the men utilised the women without distinction, so that no woman had her appointed husband. African pygmies have been described as having no marriage institution but as following their animal instincts wholly without restraint."[20]

On the whole, we find from the researches of even the modern anthropologist, that utmost possible diversity in the grouping of male and female prevailed and that various forms of sex life, except living as husband and wife in one unit, existed during those primitive and prehistoric times.

We are, now, in a position to appreciate, why Tolkappiar made two broad divisions placing the united life of man and

19. 'Story of Civilization'—'Our Oriental Heritage'—Will Durant, page, 32.
20. Ibid. page, 37.

woman in one division and all the rest of the various kinds of different and contrary sex relations in another group. The other forms were so diverse that he did not think it worthwhile to subdivide them. The evolved single unit of man and woman living united, was sufficient for the exposition of the sex life of his country and there was no need to go further beyond it. He has therefore excluded them all under the category of 'வேறே' or different ones. This division is quite logical in its sequence and resembles dichotomy in modern logic. For the purpose of analysis, comparison and deduction, a class is divided into two sub-classes one different from the other as men divided into brahmins and non-brahmins or whites and non-whites. It is remarkable that Tolkappiar is scientifically modern in his approach to the subject of sex and logically sound in his exposition according to modern standards.

We see, that the author starts with the united life of man and woman living together in monogamy excluding the other kinds of promiscuous living. In the next line, he sets forth the sex life of a higher nature:

'ஒன்றி யுயர்ந்த பாலது ஆணையின்'

As a result of this united living 'ஒன்றி', the author states there is a sex life of a class of exalted nature 'உயர்ந்த பால்'. 'பால்', here also, means class or division. We shall now examine this line so far as it relates to the higher nature produced, examine the remaining lines next and proceed stage by stage.

The living together of man and woman, does not necessarily imply that the sex life between them, was one of a high order transcending mere animality. Besides the mere animal passion, there might have been other causes which necessitated a united living. There were still far away from love as it is understood in the modern sense.

In the hunting stage, man chose a mate who would be of help to a hunter by her capacities. An agriculturist chose a woman who would help him in his operations. "Apparently, primitive woman rolled thread, knew sewing, weaving, basketry, pottery and

also carried on primitive trade."[21] She was chosen to live with a man mainly for the work she would do for him in addition to her satisfying his sexual needs. This is what Will Durant has to say about the sexual culture at this stage:

"The difference in strength which now divides the sexes, hardly existed in those days and are now environmental rather than innate: woman apart from her biological disabilities, was almost the equal of man in stature, endurance, resourcefulness and courage; she was not yet an ornament, a thing of beauty or a sexual toy; she was a robust animal able to perform arduous work for long hours and if necessary, to fight to death for her children or her clan."[22] He cites instances to prove this and points out that throughout Negro Africa, women hardly differed from slaves except that they were expected to provide sexual as well as economic satisfaction. It is obvious, that mere physical desire, did not give rise to the united living of man and woman and powerful economic motives favoured this united life in monogamy. In addition to these, women as economic and sexual mates were obtained by purchase, by capture and as spoils of war.

These factors show, how little individual love, in the modern sense of the word, had to do with the origin of monogamy. Whatever might be the origin, the united living had brought into play new factors not dreamt of before. Propensities of heart deeply and strongly ingrained in the human nature, cannot be hushed up into silence. Unobstrusively and ineffably, mutual attachment grows between the pair living together. Each finds a pleasure and a charm in the company of the other, outside the sexual and economic needs. Each becomes the inspirer and consoler of the other in the daily toils and the struggle for existence. Each becomes indispensable to the other on a new basis. Thus, women came to occupy a position for nobler and respectable than what the initial stages of monogamy allowed them. According to F. Engels, this, for the first time, created the possibility for the greatest moral advance which we derive from and owe to monogamy, in a development taking place within it, parallel with it or in opposition to it, as the case might be, namely modern individual

21. 'The Story of Civilization'—'Our Oriental Heritage,' page, 33.

22. Ibid. page, 35.

sex love, previously unknown to the whole world." [23] This new factor which was in the embryo, when united living in monogamy began, becomes full fledged, asserts itself as love and exerts its influence on sex life from the very start. This is the high sexual life of ஒன்றி உயர்ந்த பாலது, which arises out of living as ஒன்றே, excluding the other form of promiscuous living, ஒன்றே, வேறே, என்றிரு பால்வயின், ஒன்றியுயர்ந்த பாலது. The sex life, based on love, is the exalted nature of life to which we have now arrived.

We have seen three stages of sex life, the different kinds of promiscuous sex relations, the monogamy or sex life of man and woman living united as one unit and lastly the exalted sex life of ஒன்றி உயர்ந்த பாலது. This exalted sex life gives a commandment. 'ஒன்றி உயர்ந்த பாலது ஆணையின்.'

'ஆணையின்'

We shall, now, examine the commandment (ஆணை) of the exalted division of sex life. Adolescence brings with it a complete transformation in man and woman. Organs develop, glandular secretion increase and endocrine activities and stimulation. There are striking changes in the physical build and configuration of the body and the facial expressions change. The maturation of metal activities, brings about a change in the outlook of life and the emotions become eruptive. There is the nature's command for the sexual urge to hold its away. If this urge was merely one for a physical satisfaction, it would be satisfied with any woman who could be caught hold of or any object possessing the female attributes. The urge is no longer at the physical level and it has far transcended. It is now 'ஒன்றி உயர்ந்த பாலது.' It has outgrown the base animality and the promiscuous mating with which it started. No longer it looks for the mere sexual and economic satisfaction. The urge is now born of a higher and improved division of sex life and under its command, it now looks for a mate in whom equal attributes have been developed or in whom bodily and mental poises are equal. ஒத்த கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியும் காண்ப.

Leo Baeck, a modern author, also calls this as a command as if echoing Tolkappiar's 'ஆணை.' He states, "It is the command to

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23. The origin of the family, private property and the state-by E. Engels, pp. 114-115. Foreign language publishing house, Moscow, 1952.

give life and develop life. This was the meaning of one of the old sages of Judea, when he said, 'Man, the image of Eternal; that is, man and woman—not man without the woman and woman without the man and not the two, if God dwelleth not where their dwelling is.'' [24] The man, the image of the Eternal, now seeks the other half to become one, a complete whole and not two. In his search, he finds the other half and is able to recognise it by the equality it establishes in the level of consciousness or by other attributes external and internal which attract him irresistibly towards it. The equal halves recognise each other and become a complete whole and the couple seem to be made for each other. The two halves may not have been geometrically divided into exact equal halves; one may exceed the other but still they are able to recognise each other. 'மிக்கோனாயினும் கடிவரையின்றே.' (காண்ப அறிவர்; காண—அறிந்து கொள்வதற்கு...என எச்சம் அவாய் நிலையால் வருவிக்கப்பட்டது. காண்பதற்குக் கடிவரையின்றே...தடை ஏதும் இன்றே.)

How they recognise each other 'காண்ப' is indeed a mystery. Count Hermann Keyserling poses this question so well that I am tempted to repeat it here.

"The reason ror this cannot, however, be determined by intellectual processes. Is it in accordance with Plato's teaching in the Symposium a dualism arising out of what was originally a single entity? Does some God's eternal decree place in the world simultaneously two new souls intended for one another? Is the doctrine of reincarnation true? Or is what seems to signify a wise providence merely blind chance? No one can answer this question. Each believes what he must. The mystery is a problem beyond our intellectual powers.'' [25]

Echoes of answers to most of the questions posed, ring out of the very word 'பால்'. 'பால்' gives out varied meanings பகுதி, ஊழ், பால் முறை, இயற்கை, உண்மை, தெய்வம் and நியதி. Each of the commentators in Tamil, has adopted one of these meanings which he believed in. According to Nakkirar, the commentator—not the

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24. Marriage as mystery and command by, Leo Baeck; Book of Marriages, edited by C. H. Keyserling, p. 471.

25. Book of Marriages, page, 273,

poet—this meeting of man and woman is due to blind chance.[26] Perasiriar (பேராசிரியர்) states that this is due to the love eternal which clings to and evolves throughout the endless births.[27] Elampuranar (இளம்பூரணர்) interprets it as the command of the Fate 'ஊழினது ஆணையாலே'. Nachinarkiniar indicates that this is due to the command of the God who designs the sex. ('பால் வரை தெய்வத்தின் ஆணையாலே.')

The word, 'பால்', lends itself to an interpretation at an intellectual level and its meaning as division is the most ancient meaning from the root 'பா' to divide—பாத்துண், பாகுபாடு, பகு, பகிர், etc. It has collected around it, other meanings in course of time as its derivatives. This interpretation, however rational, does not help to explain how one recognises even at first sight the one who belongs to him. Tolkappiar has a rational explanation to offer. According to him they are attracted to each other because they are "ஒத்த கிழவனுங்கிழத்தியும்."

'ஒத்த கிழவனுங்கிழத்தியும்'

Man is not attracted to all are any woman he meets. Nor is a woman attracted to any man whom she meets with. A particular mental and emotional atmosphere, is created in the presence of one which is not experienced in the presence of any one else. This is the result of harmony which the soul of one unconsciously feels in

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26. "வடகடலிட்ட ஒரு நுகம் ஒரு துளை, தென்கடலிட்ட ஒரு கழி சென்று கோத்தாற் போலவும்"—இறையனார் அகப்பொருள்—2 உரைக்குறிப்பு. இவனோடிவளிடை உண்டாய அன்பிற்குக் காரணம் விதியல்லாமை ஈண்டுப் பெற்றாம்.'

27. 'விதியாவது செய்யப்படும் வினையினது நியதியன்றே? அதனானே அன்பு தோன்றிப் புணர்ந்தாரெனின், அதுவும் செயற்கைப் புணர்ச்சியாய் முடியும். அது மறுத்தற்பொருட்டன்றே தொல்லோர் இதனை 'இயற்கைப் புணர்ச்சி' என்று குறிப்பிட்டது? அல்லதூஉம் நல்வினை துய்த்தக்கால்முடிவெய்தும்; இவர்களது அன்பு, துய்த்தாலும் முடிவெய்தாது எஞ்ஞான்றும் ஒரு பெற்றித்தாயே நிற்குமென்பது. "பிறப்பானடுப்பினும் பின்னுந்துன்னத்தகும் பெற்றியரே"—என்றவாறு, இவர்கள் அன்பிற்குக் காரணம் விதியன்றென்பது பலபிறப்பினும் ஒத்த அன்பென்றார்.' (கோவையார்,7. உரைக்குறிப்பு.)

the presence of the other which creates the attention. This harmony is brought about by the spiritual factors which are equal and common between the two souls. This is not due to the bedazzlement of the senses, created by the glamour of one of them. There is unity i.e. the unified or the equal level of consciousness in both of them which creates the harmony and attraction. Without unity there is dissonance and repulsion and not harmony and attraction. The author calls the couple in whom this psychic and spiritual unity, the equal level of consciousness and attributes glow forth in harmony as ஒத்த கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியும். (ஒத்த means harmonious or equal.)

Apart from what this ancient author has to say on this question of attraction and recognition of the other half, the western scholars had already taken up the collection of actual statistics to find out what definite individual temperaments attract each other on an empirical basis. This is what Ernest Kretschmer has to say about this as a result of his researches:—"The popular interpretation in this matter is not clear and tend to contradictory views. On one side there is the opinion that old married people often resemble each other in essentials of conduct and in outward appearance and become increasingly more similar; on the other hand that opposites are most attractive to each other in marriage. There is nothing more than momentary impressions. I have consequently collected data on one hundred married couples both parties of which I knew well enough in their true nature and in their outward appearance; the predominant majority belong to the educated class mostly to the academic profession; obvious 'marriages of reason' for the sake of money and of support, were excluded, but for the remainder, there was no selection. I have reviewed and statistically evaluated the whole material from the modern point of view of temperament and constitutional biology."

To obtain a comprehensive view, the married couples were judged by several of their acquaintances, to determine whether they were considered as predominantly similar or dissimilar; the conclusions were then tabulated. The results showed that, of the one hundred married couples, thirteen were considered as predominantly similar, sixty three, as predominantly dissimilar, and twenty four as about equally similar and dissimilar. Without putting too much emphasis on the results of this very cursory survey,

it is at once apparent, that those married couples who, at first sight, are designated by every one who knew them, as dissimilar predominate strongly over very few pairs who are regarded by their closer acquaintances as being essentially uniform. Many of the dissimilar give the direct impression of contrast in their spiritual structure, especially in their temperaments, and appear as tangibly complementing eace other in their personal life and in the transmission of their peculiarities to their children." [28]

The author, in further support of his conclusion, that contrasted temperaments have greater attraction between them and prove very beneficial, cites two classical instances:

"A good many of great geniuses—I recall Goethe and Bismarck—were sons of exceptionally sharply contrasted marriages. The father of Goethe with his dry, pedantic earnestness, and the 'Frau Rat' with her sunny, scintillating humour, are polar contrasts; and it is not difficult with a knowledge of the more complicated connections of individual psychology to follow the two parental lines throughout the poet's whole life; the distinguished classicism, the earnest thorough industry of a scholar and a collector and the somewhat stiff manner of the privy-councillor, on the one side the effervescing unconfined temperament, the warmth of soul and the capacity for love, on the other. Each half of his inheritance partly mingled with the other in his life and works, and partly stood side by side with it, in separate phases, acts, and attitudes. Similarly, in *Bismarck* a sharp contrast is presented by the solid realism and instincts of 'Land Junker,' on the one side, and the lofty intellectual refinement of his mother's highly cultured middle-class family of scientists and her restless nervousness, irritability, and biting coldness, on the other. If one compares other such examples, one finds that for the production of highly endowed men of genius, a sharp contrast in the parental heritages has a double sense. Through the union of two dissimilar dispositions, in such instances, an exceptional width of the intellectual field of vision and of appealing possibilities of emotion

28. 'Physical and Spiritual Harmony' by Ernest Kretschmer, edited by Count Hermann Keyserling, pp. 312—314.

will be engendered. And through the sharp, unadjusted opposition there, then arrives within the man, that problematic inner complication, restlessness, and high intellectual tension which frequently create the pre-requisite for novel and distinguished achievement." [29]

In the face of this potent array of empirical data and the classical instances cited, Tolkappiar's statement of 'ஒத்த கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியும்' becomes antiquated and out of date. But Count Hermann Keyserling comes to the defence of Tolkappiar. This is what he says: "Thus when it is held on the one hand, that like associates with like, and on the other hand that opposites attract one another, both statements are more or less true, according to the qualities required to complement one's nature. Natures whose development has been one-sided are generally attracted by their opposites, as only in this way can they overcome their limitations, whereas, more balanced natures find their most suitable complements in those who are essentially like them, and show only a slight deviation from them in a few particulars." [30]

The view presented by the Count is the scientific modern view of sex Psychology. Tolkappiar does not need his defence at all. He can stand on his own legs and withstand the onslaughts of modern science in the domain of his linguistics on sex. Let us turn to his stanza again, let us understand his statement 'மிக்கோ னாயினுங் கடிவரை யின்றே.' He was well aware of the excessive one sided development in human nature and brought even this excessive development மிக்கோனாயினும் within the ambit of his exploration and made suitable provision for such excessive growth which resulted in contrasts. He stated 'மிக்கோனாயினுங் கடிவரையின்றே.' Such contrast or excess development, is no bar to the recognition of the other half. This means that in addition to similarity ஒத்தல், there is also மிகுதல் over and above the similarity. [31] The use of a masculine noun மிக்கோன் indicates that

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29. 'Physical and Spiritual Hormony', pp. 318—319.

30. 'The proper choice of partners' by Count Hermann Keyserling, in The Book of Marriages, page 281.

31. உள்ளதன் மேற்பட்டது மிகுதி அல்லது மிக்கது ஆகும். ஈண்டு உள்ளது ஒப்பு அல்லது ஒத்தல்; அதனுடன் அதற்கு மேற்பட்டதும் சேர, மிக்கோன் ஆக்கும்.

such one sided development was more in the sphere of the male sex than in that of its opposite. During those ancient times the culture of woman was more balanced than that of man as we see from the classics. The emphasis, here, is on the dissimilarities or excess and not on the sex itself. Dissimilarity rooted in similarity stood creating a bi-polar tension.

We have seen the splendid exposition of sex life by Tolkappiar. We have seen its origin, growth and transformation into an unifying force. The investigation by the author, has been thorough neither lopsided nor inadequate. But his style has been too brief almost enigmatic. This is rather due to the age in which he lived, than to the author himself. In those ancient times, when paper and printing were not invented, brevity was a primium and privilege of the writers. Not to be brief, was a disqualification. Authors seem to have vied with one another, sedulously cultivating brevity as a mark of poetic excellence. Brevity was thus achieved almost to the point of fullest saturation as we see it from Tolkappiam. Tirukkural and Sangam classics. The author has displayed a profound knowledge of sex anthropology, sex psychology and sex sociology in these few lines. That he has long fore-stalled the conclusions of modern research is indeed surprising !

KALAVU (களவு)

The fact, that two hearts of an equal level of consciousness had met each other, does not mean that love had commenced. The author is very guarded in his expression. He has merely stated 'காண்பு'. He has not given any indication that love has begun. The relation between them is still fluid. This may be the beginning of a great opportunity for the development of emotional and bodily intimacy which is to take shape and mature thereafter or it may turn to be otherwise. They have been attracted to each other by some invisible psychic forces which they themselves are unaware. They have not yet reasoned out or fathomed the oppressive feeling which each feels in the presence of the other. One of them may yet turn out to be indifferent and instead of fruition, it may lead to torments of unrequited response and disappointment—கைக்கிளை—or result in bitterness, reproach, repentance, and courting of death (மடல்). Doubts may arise and

vacillation hamper. 'சிறந்துழி ஐயம் சிறந்த தென்ப'- (தொல்.களவு. 3.) Doubts are not banished but are welcomed as necessary and productive of good.

Nevertheless, two hearts have been smitten simultaneously. An oppression and an attraction had stolen over their hearts unconsciously. The relationship between the couple from their first meet, extending over the stages of doubt, response, etc. to their ultimate union in wedlock, is termed as களவு; and the chapter which deals with it, is named as 'களவியல்' in Tolkappiam as well as in Kamathuppal of Tirukkural.

The ordinary meaning of களவு is theft. The sex life of the ancient Tamilians, did not recognise the securing of women by theft or by capture as a legitimate or valid union, and therefore களவு here should mean something else. Various interpretations have been given for this word by commentators and translators. களவு has been translated as Gandharva marriage. This amounts to explaining the unknown by another unknown medium. Nakkirar the commentator, interprets it as fraud, வஞ்சித்துக்கொண்டு, to beguile the couple for a higher purpose.[32] Schopenhauer, the great philosopher, also saw in the happiness of young couple, a sort of delusion and fraud of Nature, which make it appear as individual happiness to fulfil its own purpose of propagation; but Nakkirar thought that it led them to renunciation, an end different from that envisaged by Schopenhauer. Fraud is, however, different from theft. களவு does not mean fraud, களவு or வஞ்சம், at all. Perasiriar (பேராசிரியர்) held that the chapter is named as களவியல் because it deals with sex matter as a result of love.[33] It is also interpreted as clandestine love, clandestine meeting or union. Clandestine means hidden or secret. Secret love is not theft. Theft is quite

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32. "ஒத்த அன்பினராய் இன்பத்துறையில் நின்று இல்லறம் புரிந்தாரைப் பின்னர் வீடுபேற்றின்பம் உறுமாறு வஞ்சித்துக் கொண்டு சென்று நன்னெறிக்கண் நிறீஇயினமையின், 'களவியல்' என்னும் பெயர்த்து."— இறையனார் அகப்பொருள் உரை.

33. 'களவொழுக்கம்' என்னும் பெயர் பெற்று வீடுபேற்றின் பயத்ததாய் அன்பினனிகழ்ந்த காமப்பொருள் நுதலியது. (கோவையார், செய். 1. பேராசிரியர் உரை.)

different from any of these interpretations. The essential ingredient of theft is loss—loss of something without the consent or the knowledge of the owner. It is Kamban, the great poet, who gives a rational interpretation of the enigmatic use of this simple word. In his epic, he takes the heroine Sita (though not authorised by the original of Valmiki) through the different stages of this களவு, and this is his interpretation in that connection :

"பெண்வழி நலனொடும் பிறந்த நாணொடும்
எண்வழி யுணர்வுநா னெங்குங் காண்கிலேன் ;
மண்வழி நடந்தடி வருந்தப் போனவன்
கண்வழி நுழையுமோர் கள்வ னேகொலாம் !"

(மிதிலைக்காட்சி. 55)

Here is the introspection of a virgin heart tossed out of its moorings by the storm which the sight of her would-be-partner had raised. Her good womanly heart with its attributes of equanimity, self possession நிறை and resoluteness திண்மை which she has inherited as one coming in the long line of cultured womanhood (பெண்வழி நலனொடும்)[34] her inborn modesty (பிறந்த நாணொடும்) and her powers of reasoning and intellect (எண்வழி உணர்வொடு) are all missing—are stolen away from her. She makes a thorough search but could find them nowhere within herself (நான் எங்குங் காண்கிலேன்). The stately person who went along the street with a languor in his gait, (மண்வழி நடந்தடி வருந்தப் போனவன்) is undoubtedly the theif who could enter through the eyes. (கண்வழி நுழையுமோர் கள்வனேகொலாம் !)" According to Kamban, the stolen heart is களவு.

What potent suggestion of poetic value, this tiny word, களவு, carries with it! What a long wonderful vista, it opens before our eyes! In its alley green, the stolen hearts at an unexpected meeting, the unconscious under-current of harmony which glows forth in both the hearts the stolen meetings, the growing intimacy and the stolen love, all stand arrayed before our eyes. No better word could be thought of to indicate the entire course of love in the

34. Pope interprets நலம் as good and worthy mind in நலத்தகை நல்லவாக்கு (Kural, 1305). It is used in this sense in Jeevaka Chintamani "நன்னலம் அவர்க்கே வைத்த நங்கையே"—சீவக. 1336.

pre-marital stage as portrayed in Tolkappiam. I am inclined to translate களவு as 'stolen heart' into English as this tends to convey approximately the full significance of the Tamil word. Each of the couple steals away the heart, - nay, even the soul - of the other. This is களவு.

Nambi Akapporul gives the definition of களவு as "உளமலி காதல் களவெனப் படுவ" (நம்பியகப்பொருள், 116) which means love full in the heart is called களவு. Though this definition appears trite and handy, the element of loss which even the owner is unable to account for, is not brought out here. "உள்ளங் கவர் காதல் களவெனப்படுவ" may perhaps convey the significance to a certain extent. "உள்ளங்கவர் கள்வன்" is the well known saying of the Saint; and உள்ளங்கவர் களவு is what has been portrayed so far. This also forms the heritage which Tiruvalluvar inherited.

With the cultural heritage of life aims and the heritage of the stolen heart, commences the Kamathuppal of Tirukkural and it starts with 'களவு' as its first part. Let us now step in there.

AESTHETICS OF LOVE

We have seen that Tiruvalluvar inherited a noble heritage of hoary antiquity from Tolkappiar. As a patriot and a national poet, he kept this great heritage alive. A heritage is not kept alive by merely repeating it in every epoch. However venerable this heritage might be, it does not live in, or appeal to an age, unless it is presented in a level in which it could be understood and appreciated in that age.

Tiruvalluvar came after Buddha and Mahavira, the great intellectual and spiritual giants whom India had produced. Their thoughts, their arguments, the ideals they preached and the very life they led, had created a great ferment in the world of thought and human conduct. As a result, every system of thought prevalent in the country, relating to human life, conduct, morality, religion and metaphysics, was subjected to rigorous analysis and logical reasoning. They were scrupulously investigated and tested with reference to the ultimate principles on which they were grounded. Tiruvalluvar, as a true product of his age, was fully

equipped for this great task and presented the worthy heritage of his ancient land in the new light to the men of his age.

Tolkappiar was, no doubt, scientific in his research; but he was more factual than axiomatic in his work. He had travelled throughout the Tamil country, observed verified and collected facts, not only those relating to linguistics, but also those pertaining to the sex life (பொருள்). This is confirmed by the preface to Tolkappiam written by Panambaranar. By his patient research, Tolkappiar had left us a vast store of reliable materials. This, however, included a lot of materials relating to local customs and manners and primary and secondary sex behaviours, peculiar to his age, all of which were not of perennial interest. Tiruvalluvar had to eschew them to suit the taste and interests of his age. A comparative study of Porulathikaram and Kamathuppal will substantiate this. Tiruvalluvar had not only steered clear of all those which were of local interest, but based his work on universal principles underlying human life and conduct, with the result, that his work is astonishingly universal in its appeal and refreshingly modern in its outlook.

Thus, Kamathuppal present a system of thought which was of vital importance to the age of Tiruvalluvar and which immensely interests us even more. It begins with the first meeting of the would-be couples which Tolkappiar called ஒத்த கிழவனும் கிழத்தியும் காண்பு. But, Tiruvalluvar designates this as தகையணங் குறுத்தல். This is rather a queer name indeed! This is not met with in any of the ancient classics. Nor was this adopted by any of the authors who succeeded Tiruvalluvar. Evidently, the author coined the name with a special purpose; otherwise, he would not have adopted a name as the heading of a chapter which singularly differs from what is ordinarily met with. The meaning of this name is also not quite apparent.

‘ அணங்கு ’

Parimelalagar gives the meaning of ‘தகை அணங்குறுத்தல்’ as ‘her beauty tormenting him’—‘அவள் வனப்புத்தன்னை வருத்தமுறுவித்தல்.’ He has taken தகை tó mean beuty and அணங்குறுத்தல் as causing trouble or torment. The word. ‘அணங்கு’ itself means beauty. சிறுபாணாற்றுப்படை uses this word in describing masculine

beauty of strength and valour. "*அருந்திறல் அணங்கின் ஆவியர் பெருமகன்.*" (*சிறுபாண்*-86) *Pingalandhai* gives the meaning of this word as beauty. The primary meaning of this word is beauty from the root அண்—near, அணங்கிய-நெருங்கிய-drawn near ;[35] and அணங்கு that which draws near or attracts, is beauty. This word has, of course, many derivative meanings which it had subsequently acquired. It is immaterial at this stage, to go into the question whether தகை or அணங்கு means beauty. Whichever of these two words is taken to mean beauty, it is more than certain that what Tiruvalluvar wishes to convey here, is nothing but beauty.

Beauty is not a concept met with in Tolkappiam. There, we found that the meeting was between two personalities of equal temperaments, of equal bodily and mental attainments. Tolkappiar has not explained the principle underlying the attraction between them both. Tiruvalluvar finds that it is the law of beauty that underlies the attraction.

We found, that adolescence brings about a transformation in the physical structure of man and woman. This results in the perfection of the physical body, its structure and expression, creating harmony and unity in their proportion which tends to produce what is called beauty. Mathilde Von Kemnitz observes, "Whether the fish puts on his coloured marriage garment, although his eyes cannot perceive this splendour or whether the little bird husband adorns the marriage nest for his chosen one with multi-coloured little stones which she knows very well to admire, whether the nightingale puts the longing of his will into melodious notes and lets them ring forth in song; or whether the human being expresses longing hope in words, tunes or pictures or even beautifies himself in love, it is, in each case, a splendid revelation of the divine will to beauty, which stands in a most profound inter-relationship with the will to selective amalgamation, and therefore strengthens with it. But since this divine will which illumines the capacity of the soul for permanancy, is just as important for the creation of per-

35. "*முழுநெறி அணங்கிய நுண்கோல் வேரல்.*" அணங்கிய (drawn close together) நெருங்கிய, செறிந்த. (*மலைபடுகடாம்.* 223) "*மூரணிய புறத்தோன் அணங்கிய பக்கமும்*" (*தொல். பொருள்.* 67.) That which draws near or attracts is named அணங்கு, beauty.

fection in the human soul, as the rest of the divine rays which light up the faculties of consciousness. The Godlike consecration of selective amalgamation, thus shows itself to be in the most profound accord with the holy sense of our existence.''[36] The metaphysical mode of thought and expression of this author, in the last portion of the quotation, are too stiff to bend themselves low for a common following and the importance of physical beauty for the creation of perfection in the human soul, referred to by her, requires elucidation.

Far underneath the physical beauty and inside the biological truth, lies a secret principle of metaphysics. It is the inner spirit that glows through the physical expression or physical beauty. Every cell, every muscle and every feature of the body, shapes itself according to the inner level of the soul and its attainments. As is the mind or the soul, so is the body and there is perfect correlation between them both. Comte said, "Physical beauty is attractive because it is a mirror of the spirit which underlies it." In that mirror each of the couple finds the reflection of its own soul image and recognises, even at first sight, the one who essentially belongs to the other. Coleridge observed, "The secret of beauty, is unity and harmony." This unity and harmony related, not only to those of the physical form of beauty, but related also to those produced in the soul of the onlooker. One who perceives that beauty, is overwhelmed by a sense of that beauty, and a feeling of harmony and unity with the beauty seen, glows in his soul. It is through the physical beauty, two souls feel the attraction and reveal, by the attraction, the equal level of their consciousness and attain hamony, unity, and perfection in their souls. Otherwise, the spiritual level of their consciousness will have to 'blush unseen'. This is the metaphysical law of beauty which Tiruvalluvar found underlying the factual statement of Tolkappiar.

Tolkappiar and Tiruvalluvar have stated the same truth, but each in a different way. Tolkappiar was empirical or scientific and factual in his exposition. The age of Tiruvalluvar was not one which would be satisfied with factual statements, however

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36. 'Marriage as fulfilment' by Mathilde Von Kelmnitz, page 435, Book of Marriages, edited by Count H. Keyserling.

scientific they were. It was an age of philosophy and metaphysical research as was stated already. Tiruvalluvar had to analyse the empirical data supplied by Tolkappiar and find out the metaphysical basis or the universal principles underlying them. The theory of beauty, explained the attraction, the physical and spiritual hormony between the couples. By a metaphysical and axiomatic approach, the poet-philosopher has introduced, for the first time, the law of aesthetics in human love.

‘ உறுத்தல் ’

We pass on to the next word ‘உறுத்தல்’ in the caption தகை அணங்குறுத்தல். ‘அணங்குறுத்தல்’ is a compound of two words அணங்கு and உறுத்தல். அணங்கு we have examined just before, and உறுத்தல், we shall examine now. உறுத்தல் means causing an impression from the root உறு, contact, உறுத்து impress by contact. Here, உறுத்தல் denotes an impression caused by sense contact or a visual impression. We have to recall that Tolkappiar used ‘காண்ப’ in this connection. Tiruvalluvar, if he intended to follow this ancient author, a high authority, he would have used காணல் or அறிதல் perception or knowledge which the word, காண்ப, implies. The caption would then be, தகையணங்கு காணல் or அறிதல். He drops this காண்ப, காணல் and அறிதல் and deliberately uses உறுத்தல். It is, thus, certain, that this word உறுத்தல் has not crept in accidentally, but the author has used it after mature thought, differing from the great Tolkappiar and rejecting the word, காண்ப, used by him which denotes a visual perception. According to Tiruvalluvar, an impression — not a mere perception — is necessary for appreciating a beauty or for feeling the effect of harmony and unity. This takes us to the very core of aesthetic philosophy.

Visual perception provides a sensory experience. It was Immanuel Kant, the great German philosopher, who distinguished two kinds in this sensory experience, (1) sensory experience which provides raw materials for empirical knowledge and (2) the sensory experience which merely provides disinterested pleasure, a sensation (an impression) which does not go to the depths of knowledge but merely an emotion or disturbing sensation. From the former developed the psychological or the philosophical study of perception and from the latter originated the study of aesthetics.

Every sensory experience is a vital process which varies in its activity, according to the intensity of the stimulus. There is an optimum intensity at which the best response or the best impression is obtained and a minimum below which no response is obtained even though there may be a vision. Impression is the tangible effect in consciousness of neural stimulation caused by the perception especially of aesthetic objects creating an emotion of pleasure. If the neural stimulation goes beyond an impression, it becomes the knowledge or idea of the intellect, obliterating the emotion. Kant drew a distinction between perception, which gives knowledge and that which affords aesthetic pleasure. Tiruvalluvar draws a further distinction between perception and impression. It is to emphasise this distinction, he differed from Tolkappiar and rejected his word which denoted perception or knowledge or both. How careful Tiruvalluvar has been in selecting a metaphysically accurate word to denote his concept of beauty and its effect!

Tiruvalluvar not only transcended Tolkappiar but also anticipated the modern thought on psychology. It was the British empiricist Hume who pointed out this distinction. He stated, "All the preceptions of the human mind resolve themselves into two distinct kinds, which I shall call impression or ideas. The difference between these consists in the degrees of force and liveliness with which they strike upon the mind and make their way into our thought or consciousness. Those perceptions which enter with most force and violence, we may name impressions, and under this name I comprehend all our sensations, passions, and emotions as they make their first appearance in the soul. By ideas I mean the faint images of these in thinking and reasoning."

The subtle distinction which Tiruvalluvar has made between knowledge, perception and impression is amazing. We have to approach every word of the author with greatest care and vigilance. We shall, now, try to understand the word, தகை, which yet remains in the queer heading adopted by the author.

‘ தகை ’

தகை from the root தகு, means that which is suitable. This is the primary meaning of the word. The use of this word, also

indicates a further change introduced by the author. Tolkappiar decribed the couple as 'ஒத்த கிழவனும் கிழத்தியும்'. Tiruvalluvar has dropped this attribute of ஒத்த, or equal, altogether from the matters relating to sex. We have already seen the difference of opinion of modern investigators, whether the like associate with the like or the opposites attract each other, and Tolkappiar's compromise of மிக்கோன் ஆயினும் கடிவரை இன்றே. Probably, the same difference was felt during the time of Tiruvalluvar. We have already noted more than once, that the period of Tiruvalluvar was a period of rigorous thought and metaphysical investigation. The author, evidently, considered that ஒத்தல் and மிக்கோன் lacked clarity and created confusion of thought. He dropped them altogether and changed over to தகை. Here we have, again, a deliberate omission and a purposeful addition of a new thought of suitability in the place of equality. The new concept of beauty introduced by Tiruvalluvar, by itself, establishes harmony and unity in the couple who meet. The necessity for an attribute to beauty, as suitable—தகைஅணங்கு—is not apparent, and it has to be sought for.

The ideals of beauty, are not uniform but fluctuate from epoch to epoch and from individual to individual according to the tastes of each epoch and each individual. These ideals of beauty, cover the whole range of physical possibilities of human form. Beauty is not the attribute or quality of any object which could be determined by empirical study. It is a value attached to an object by the human mind. It vacillates according to the status and capacity of the mind which observes and values it. Whichever physical form pleases anyone, it has in it, what is suitable to his mind, to his taste and to his moral and spiritual qualities. He finds, therefore, attraction in that form which creates a physical and spiritual harmony. That which is not suitable, is considered ugly and unattractive. That which is attractive, which unites and creates harmony, is only that which is suitable, physically, mentally and spiritually. At another place, the author makes this point clear when he say's 'வளத்தக்காள் வாழ்க்கைத்துணை' which means a life-comrade is one who is suitable to one's own physical, mental and spiritual attainments. Parimelalagar considers one who is suitable to balance the family budget 'வருவாய்க்குத் தக்க வாழ்க்கையுடையாள்' is the life's comrade. She may indeed be a comrade in domestic economy but not for the life itself. Life does not consist in mere mate-

rial prosperity. 'வளம்' is not confined to material conditions or to the balancing of the budget. It extends to physical, mental, and spiritual attainments, as well, which are found suitable.

We have examined the words in caption piecemeal. Let us gather all the meanings together and comprehend them as a whole. 'தகையணங்குறுத்தல்' means "the impression created by the suitable beauty". As a rule, the headings adopted by the author for his chapters, convey the sum and substance of all that is said under the chapter. This heading, when ripped open, revealed its metaphysical content or the rich philosophy of aesthetics of beauty, of impression, and of suitability enshrined therein. Whatever relates to metaphysics, is out of the ordinary, and is stared at as odd. It is no wonder that it scares away many as unintelligible. The three words selected, cover the entire aesthetic activities of the mind in the selection of a mate and reveal that the author was not a mere poet but a great original thinker and a philosopher of no mean order.

He had explored the meaning and reality underlying the primary and the most beneficial human urge which great thinkers had thought fit to battle with, as inimical to human uplift. He discovered in it, a philosophic significance and a profound value for the spiritual progress of mankind. But he did not set them forth in reasoned arguments as a philosopher should do; nor did he begin with a definition of beauty. The poesy in him has vanquished his philosophy, taken it captive and made it serve its ends. As a poet he creates beauty, leaves it to commune with us direct and enables us to perceive, for ourselves, the impression, the beauty created and its essential aesthetic qualities. We shall therefore, go to his poems direct, understand them in their correct perspective and try to comprehend fully, the high ideals of beauty he has set forth even in the heading. At the end of this process, we shall be in a position to know, what exactly his philosophy of beauty is, far better than any seasoned arguments could convince us. It was Pater who remarked in the preface to 'The Renaissance' the value of aesthetics "has most often been in the suggestion and penetrating things said by the way". In the profound suggestions of the poems of a master poet, we get a penetrating insight into the essential elements of the philosophy of beauty.

The chapter starts with the rapturous amazement at the sight of beauty. 'அணங்கு கொல் ஆய்மயில் கொல்லோ' begins the poem.

'அணங்குகொல் ஆய்மயில் கொல்லோ கனங்குழை
மாதர்கொல் மாலுமென் நெஞ்சு!'

In this poem, an impression of the beauty seen, is sought to be created by poetic imagery. We came to the conclusion, that அணங்கு means beauty. Beauty is an abstract idea. It can create no image or impression in the minds of the readers. அணங்கு now comes here in the guise of personification. There is an amazement, that here is an incarnation of beauty in flesh and blood—மாதர்கொல்! All the attributes of beauty which pleases the onlooker and which he likes, *are found in the form seen and he* personifies it as beauty incarnate.

அணங்கு is a word which had long gone out of use. It was dead and buried long ago. We dug up its grave and exhumed *only its* bones. *It is*, therefore, not capable of raising any image of beauty in our imagination. At the time of the author, it should have throbbed with life's vitality. The very mention of the word, would have switched on a life form, colour and grace to stand before the mind deftly illumined. Though this word has been lost to literature, yet the tradition and the commentaries had preserved the concept of divine beauty, an angel, 'தெய்வ மகள்', as that which is denoted by the word. We may, therefore, take it, that the beauty seen had something of divinity in it and *created that impression.*

' ஆய்மயில் '

Obviously, மயில், the peafowl, cannot be the beauty *personified. Evidently, it was used here to denote the attributes* of the beauty which impressed the observer. We have to analyse these words and find out their real import. To begin with, we may note that the மயில் is not simple மயில் but ஆய்மயில். மயில் means a peafowl which denotes both the male and the female of the species collectively. This word is used here in connection with a feminine beauty and should naturally relate to peahen. But we have to make sure of it before we proceed further. The word, ஆய் should help us to determine, whether the மயில் referred *to here, is a peacock or a peahen.*

Julian S. Huxley who studied the sex habits of the great grebes—swimming birds and divers of the northern regions of

America and Europe—found the display and ornaments of the male act on the emotional state of the female; "they are—not using the words in a narrow and unpleasant sense—excitements, aphrodisiacs, serving to raise the female into a state of exaltation and emotion, when alone she will be ready to pair, but the element of choice, does, in another form remain."[37] No deep study has yet been made of the sex habits of peacocks which make similar display of their ornaments, yet the truth about the sex behaviour of the great grebes, found out by the famous scientist, applies to all the genus and species of birds which are gifted with crests, plumes, and other ornaments of display, to cause sexual excitement. It is a natural law applicable to all such birds, and the peacock should rank first among them all, in the matter of display and ornaments. The proud peacock, strutting with pompous steps of affected dignity in courtship dance, exhibiting the long plumage of his lovely train, fanned out in gorgeous circle behind his head, held aloft, displaying his plentiful ornaments of beauty spots—eyes—glittering in purple, blue, green and gold before his hen, is guided, undoubtedly, by the same impulse as the great grebes. He does not pounce upon and domineer over the hen as the males of the domestic fowls do. He courts the hen majestically in full ardour and courtesy and solicits her choice. Huxley considers that "it is impossible to doubt that mating may be, and in some species, is, guided by impulse, unanalysable fancies and *individual* prediliction."[38] Whatever might be the basis or reason for making her choice for mating, the peahen did exercise her right of choice and she became ஆய்மயில் in the poem of Tiruvalluvar.

'ஆய்' means search minutely (விளைந்தெரிதல்). The hen searches minutely the affected pomp of the suitor and decides upon her mate. How well, has the poet observed the birds! What profound illumination we get from the tiny word ஆய்!

Tradition allows, that Tiruvalluvar lived in Mailapore 'மயிலாப்பூர்' which means literally a place to which peafowls are attached மயில், ஆப்பு (யாப்பு), ஊர். Evidently, the peafowls

37. Quoted by Radhakamal Mukherjee in his 'Horizon of Marriage,' page, 35.

38. Ibid.

were found here in plenty and were so much attached to the place in remote antiquity, that it gave rise to religious belief of the incarnation of the Supreme Goddess as a peacock, to whom a temple had also been dedicated here. Living amidst peafowls, the poet had observed their habits as carefully as a Huxley.

Both peacock and peahen are big, well built and graceful birds. But the domesticated hens kept in gardens and in the enclosures of the zoos, have lost their grace, their vivacity, briskness and gaiety. They look famished, cramped and crouched, as if under hunchback. The mellowed grace of the hens and their graceful movements, should be observed when they gambol in their natural habitat, the jungles. The hen and the cock, though both are graceful, differ widely in their appearance and their behaviour. The cock is gorgeous and rich in colour; but the hen is simple and graceful in subdued colours. The cock looks proud and vain; but the hen is modest and unassuming. The cock looks virulent and impatient: the hen is calm, meek and tender. When the cock grows exuberant, the hen is firm and resolute. Sometimes, she turns away from the suitor with a sullen look of disdain, or a bitter look of scorn. The thought, that there would be no aggression or no conquest of her body before she makes her choice and gives her consent, evidently, emboldens the hen in this attitude. She is least erotic in her appearance, behaviour or expression. The peahen, thus, has in her, the expression of all the loveable attributes of feminine beauty of a highly cultured order. She is graceful and majestic, without being gaudy and vain. She is patient, unassuming and modest without being servile. She is calm and sober, meek and tender. All these attributes blend harmoniously into an impression of feminine loveliness of a spiritual order, with a ray of divinity shining all through and provoke a rapturous amazement: 'அணங்குகொல்! ஆய்மயில்கொல்லோ! மாதர் கொல்!' The amazement is doubly great when all the mellowed grace of feminity shines forth more than the divinity and the addition of 'ஓ' in கொல்லோ indicates this. This is the deep impression 'உறுத்தல்' created by the beauty. The mind of the observer is greatly perturbed—'மாலும் என் நெஞ்சு'.

'கொல்' has been taken to mean 'doubt' by all the great commentators. No doubt Tolkappiar defines its meaning as 'கொல்லே ஐயம்' which justifies their interpretation. But we see

in Sangam literature, this word has been used as an expletive and also to denote exclamation. These uses are not authorised by Tolkappiam. There has been a marked change in the language itself after Tolkappiar. 'கொல்', is one of those words which go to prove, that many centuries should have elapsed between Tolkappiam and Sangam classics to bring about a marked change in a well settled language. Tiruvalluvar has himself used this in many places to denote exclamation, (கற்றதனாலாய பயனென்கொல்! என்னாற்றுங் கொல்லோ உலகு! etc.) and this is one among them.

We saw in the first lecture, that after the ancient culture lost its ground, a synthetic culture grew in its place as a result of the admixture of the culture of the Aryans. It is this synthetic culture, more than the grammar, which gave support to this interpretation, that கொல் here implied doubt. The Aryan mythology, born of prodigal fancy, captivated the imagination of the poets and the masses. The mythological Devas did not tred upon this sinful earth; their eyelids did not close, and their flowers did not fade away. The first meeting of the couple created a doubt, whether the maiden seen was a celestial or a mortal, The Don Quixote of a lover undertakes a careful search, whether the lady's feet touched the ground or her eyelids closed or her flowers faded. These noble exertions, inspired many a poet into frenzied rhymes, to sing the glory of the doubt resolved. Fortunately, Tiruvalluvar added to the divine beauty a peahen. This marks the abyss of degradation into which Tamil poesy and poetic ideals had fallen as a result of the synthesis.

SUPPORT FROM KAMBAN

It was stated in the introduction, that the pleasure produced by the impression of beauty, was not a sensual pleasure or a longing for it—கண்டார் மகிழ்செய்தல் and not உண்டார் மகிழ்செய்தல்.

> "உணடார்கண் அல்லது அடுநறாக் காமம்போல்
> கண்டார் மகிழ்செய்தல் இன்று." —1090

['காமம்'—here denotes விருப்பம் as in—'காமக்கலன்' (605), காமுறுவர், and காமுறுதல். A liking and preference for the beauty seen, is indicated by this word.] The nature of this pleasure, has been so well explained by Kamban that it leaves no room to

suspect even a trace of sensuality in the pleasure afforded by the beauty seen. He states:

> "வெங்களி விழிக்கொரு விழவு மாயவர்
> கண்களில் காணவே களிப்பு நல்கலால்." (மிதிலைக்காட்சி)

The beauty was a feast for the eyes. The very perception gives an unbalanced pleasure. He goes even beyond this when he says;

> "சொல்லுந் தன்மைத் தன்றால் குன்றும் சுவருந் திண்
> கல்லும் புல்லுங் கண்டுரு கப்பெண் கனிநின்றாள்."
> (மிதிலைக்காட்சி)

She stood there. It is not possible to describe in words the effect of her beauty. Her beauty softens the hill, mellows the wall and the hard stone and melts the grass. This description may not altogether be rejected as a hyperbole to which the poet has often a tendency to fly to. This embodies the element of a profound truth about the spiritual effect of beauty. We saw that beauty is the reflection of the inner soul. It spreads a hallo of sunshine and affects the objects on which its rays fall, whether animate or inanimate. Its effect is proportionate to the potency of the spirit which emits the rays. This is the nature of aesthetic pleasure as contemplated by Plato, Kant and others. It is not possible for all to comprehend what the exact nature of this disinterested pleasure is, even though great thinkers and philosophers have praised it. Tiruvalluvar has left it rather vague by a mere statement of 'கண்டார் மகிழ் செய்தல்.' The nature of this pleasure is rather elusive and ineffable. Kamban, however, tries to bring it within our grasp and furnishes a metaphor:

> "பொன்னின் சோதி, போதினில் நாற்றம், பொலிவேபோல்
> தென்உண் தேனிற் றீஞ்சுவை, செஞ்சொற் கவியின்பம்."
> (மிதிலைக்காட்சி)

Beauty radiates like shining gold, spreads around like the fragrance of a flower, pleases like its form, tastes like honey and to sum up, beauty is the personification of the pleasure of a poem of harmonious rythmic words. It was Hegel who considered poetry as the most spiritual of all arts as depending least of all on any sensuous impression or extension in space and time and working completely

within the imagination. The observation of wordsworth in his preface to the lyrical ballads, apply most true. He observed, "The end of poetry is to produce excitement in co-existence with an overbalance of pleasure." It is exactly what the impression of beauty created here. It produced an excitement, a rapturous amazement, co-existing and leaving an overbalance of pleasure. This is the high ideal of beauty as conceived by Tiruvalluvar, and exemplified by Kamban.

There is yet another couplet in this chapter which confirms, that which Tiruvalluvar wanted to convey, was not erotic beauty but a beauty definitely beyond sensuality, a beauty of a high order as explained above.

"கடாஅக் களிற்றின்மேற் கட்படாம் மாதர்
படாஅ முலைமேற் றுகில்." —1087

The divinely gracious, bosoms, biologically conspicuous, provoking sex feelings, have lost their sex value or even aesthetic value, for Tiruvalluvar. The poet draws the garment over them and conceals their very existence from our view. He compares the garment to the blinders put on the face of the elephant. Blinder is a screen tied to, and suspended from, the head to cover the eyes, to hinder the untamed elephant from seeing the objects outside the path reserved or vacated for it. This aids the elephant to go along the right path guided by the mahout or the trainer. The right path indicated for the bosom is the path of love and wedlock. It is not seen outside it by anyone. The conspicuous bosom, the seat of erotic thoughts, is not, thus, seen by any observer from outside and does not serve to tempt or raise erotic thoughts in the observer. (படா, here, is used in the same sense as in கட்படாம். படாம்—that which hides. கட்படாம்—that which hides the eye. Here the apparel is that which hides the bosom.)

The mode of wearing the apparel, referred to here, is the Tamilian mode of wearing the garments by their women. This has, obviously, come down as a national mode of wearing the garment by their women from the time of Tiruvalluvar, or even from a period far anterior to that. The long garment used as woman's costume, is drawn over the bosom in artistic folds and collected over one of the shoulders from a side of the waist. The

long tapering folds fill up every depression, delude the eyes and offer them the sight of a plane surface, obliterating even the aesthetic contour of erotic beauty, which other modes of dress seek to enhance. The mode of dress adopted by Tamilian women has been held to be the most elegant, artistic and ethically aesthetic among the numerous and varied modes of dress adopted by women all over the world. By referring to this mode of dress here, the poet, evidently, upholds its ethical value and recommends it to his age and to posterity.

A COMPARISON

Let us not forget, that this relates to the first meeting of the couple and let us compare Tiruvalluvar with another great poet who had handled a similar meeting. This will enable us to comprehend fully the principles which guided Tiruvalluvar in depicting the meeting in the manner he has done.

King Dhushyantha meets Shakuntala for the first time in the hermitage. She is seen here with her companions watering the plants. We may note how the great poet-dramatist Kalidasa handles the first meeting.

The King hides himself in a snug retreat wherefrom he could see Shakuntala unreserved. He is gazing at her when the following incident and conversation take place:

Shakuntala Friend Anasuya, Priyamvadha has fastened my bark garment too tightly. Pray, just loosen it.

Anasuya: Very well. (Does so).

Priyamvadha: (Smiling) Don't blame me. Blame your youth which has made your breasts swell.

King: What she says is quite true. (There is then a long poetic admiration by the king of the twofold orbs distended; but this is not found in some of the recensions and we shall confine to that found in common among all recensions).

" How lovely the lotus looks," exclaims the king, " though moss besmeared !"

Let us stop here and leave the rest of the admiration to His Majesty himself and try to appreciate the thought. The loosening of the knot of the garment which lay over the bosom of a meek artless girl, and His Majesty stealing a glance over the distended orbs, seem rather crude and betoken a base morality. His Exalted Majesty looks most exalted in his vulgar sensuality. Any one with a sense of decency or the vestige of a claim to the rudiments of culture will not gaze at or even steal a glance at the parts of a woman when she is dressing or adjusting her apparel. It is the bosom, the erotic symbol, that created a turbulent craving for the sex union and not love. When the bosom went out of sight, the woman also went out of the mind of His Majesty, whatever might be the ingenious reason invented by the dramatist.

Far different is the treatment by Tiruvalluvar. He draws a veil over the very organ which Kalidasa exposed to the view and closes the room for erotic thoughts. Two master minds, we find here, one delineating erotic beauty and erotic thoughts and the other their opposites. This comparison has enabled us to come to a definite conclusion that the pleasure, which the impression of beauty created in the poems of Tiruvalluvar, was far removed from sensuality and related to a high moral and spiritual order.

ETHICAL IDEAL AND ITS EFFECTS

The inner qualities of the woman's heart, result in the charm and grace which constitute the main elements of beauty and the attraction—not the sex organs, not even the apparel, decoration or ornaments. 'அணி எவனோ, ஏதில தந்து?' (1089). The animation and alertness, like those of a fawn, modesty and resoluteness in her look (similar to those of a peacock evidently) bestow an aesthetic touch to the feminine grace 'பிணைஏர் மடநோக்கும் நாணும்' (1089). The radiance of her facial expression, pulls down his iron will and makes him exclaim, 'ஒண்ணுதற் கோஒ உடைந்தேதன்!' (1088). The masculine supremacy with its monstrous force of destruction, misery and mutilation 'நண்ணாரும் உட்கும் என் பீடு' (1088) feels the delicate touch of feminine tenderness and crumbles down. His mind becomes plastic. Her resolute look seems as if to search his very being (ஆய்மயில்) and makes him shiver "நடுங்கு அஞர்" (1086) as the peacock shivers before the

hen, even when he dances for her choice. He feels his spirit. His body and its feeling are nowhere. Her looks had separated them. 'கூற்றமோ கண்ணோ!' (1085). கூற்றம் is that which divides the soul from the body. (கூறு செய்வது கூற்றம்). In the place of this scientific word and its simple personification, the Aryan mythology has furnished the demonic image of pitch dark Yama, riding in his still darker buffalo, armed with a fierce trident (சூலம்) which pierces the body and separates the soul. He ties up the suffering soul with a tough rope 'பாசம்' and carries it away to hell or to Heaven. The imagery had greatly influenced the poets and the commentators who came under the synthetic culture, to read into the innocent tender look of the fawn, the torture of the Yama.

It is by the significant expression of the eyes, the couple feel their spiritual level or the level of their consciousness which suits each other. The poet had devoted five out of the ten couplets in this chapter to the expression of the eye. This is what is referred to by Tolkappiar in his stanza.

> "நாட்ட மிரண்டு மறிவுடம் படுத்தற்குக்
> கூட்டி யுரைக்குங் குறிப்புரை யாகும்." (தொல். களவு, 5.)

'அறிவுடம்படுத்தற்கு' has been interpreted as meaning the consent for the sex union. அறிவு means knowledge: it can never mean கூட்டம், புணர்ச்சி or நுகர்வு. This stanza of Tolkappiar means that the expression of the eyes, when properly understood, will speak out the at-one-ment of their conscience அறிவு or their spirit. The response and the mutual love starts after the at-one-ment of their conscience is established, and the suitability is realised by each other and not before that. This is dealt with in the next chapter, 'குறிப்பறிதல்' by the poet.

It is but natural that, having come under the synthetic culture and changed over to the Aryan system of marriage, it would have been impossible for the commentators—as it is for most of us even today—to conceive of any room for any knowledge or conscience to intervene in the case of a lady who has been made his property by others, except unquestioning submission to the approach of her husband or a ready eagerness for the momentary physical contact. But the texts of Tolkappiam and Tirukkural

related to a system of marriage, wherein love and courtship reigned supreme, the intricacies of which the commentators had no means of knowing.

The at-one-ment of the consciousness of the couple spoken to by Tolkappiar, is exactly followed up by Tiruvalluvar in his own poetic and metaphysical way when he says:

"கண்டார் உயிருண்ணுந் தோற்றத்தாற் பெண்தகைப்
பேதைக்கு அமர்த்தன கண்."

By devouring the soul of the observer, by the very appearance கண்டார் உயிருண்ணுந் தோற்றத்தால், the suitable feminity of the simple artless maid, பெண்தகைப் பேதை manifests a calm loveable repose in her eyes. [அமர்த்தன: அமர்த்தல்—மேவல் (தொல். உரி. 863.) 'நம்பும், மேவும் நசையா கும்மே' (தொல். சொல். 329). நசை. விருப்பம், loveable,—அமர்ந்து—அமைதியுற்று; அமர்ந்து—பொருந்தி, குறள் 84, 92, 93.] Let us note that suitable feminity, பெண்தகை, is revealed by the eyes by its capacity to devour the soul by the very appearance. (உயிர் உண்ணுந் தோற்றத்தால் பெண்தகைப் பேதை—தோற்றத்தால்—கருவிப்பொருள்.) (The expression of the eye reveals the level of their conscience or their suitability for each other. This contact between the souls in the matter of selection of a partner, is confirmed by Count Hermann Keyserling and his observations are:—"How can I, in a practical manner, recognise the person who best suits me for the marriage?" is to put the question the wrong way. There is no help for the blind, that is to say, for those lacking instinct. But whoever is conscious of his own soul, will readily recognise the person who best suited to him, just as a man with eyes sees the landscape in front of him, for the contact between the souls is just as direct as that experienced in the material world.' [39]

The count however continues his observation and explains further: "As a result of the researches of Alfred Adler, it has become evident that each individual's life develops in accordance with a mental guiding image. This image anticipates the line of life and the possible course of destiny. It is a reality just like any

39. 'The Proper choice of Partners' by Count Hermann Keyserling in the Book of Marriages, page. 281.

other but situated on a special plane ; on this plane it is both self-evident and directly apprehensible to others as in nature all planes of existence react directly on one another; that is, spirit on spirit, soul on soul, guiding princple on guiding principle, just as one body reacts on another-in fact much as directrixes describe the possible charcter of algebraic formulae." [40]

The count further extends his full support to the views of Tiruvalluvar on love in the following words: "As an ethical being, man is naturally superior to sentiment or passion and he is truer to his nature when he rejects these at the proper time than when he weakly gives way to their demands. Proper conduct, even if it entails the conquest of self will, at all events, brings a higher form of happiness than can be won by letting oneself go. Thus the strict rules regarding the choice of partners, are no more cruel than any spiritual rules. Man can obtain freedom-seeing that he is essentially a spiritual being-only by sublimating sentiment and passion, so that they become his spiritual expression."[41] These significant observations serve almost as an introduction to Kamathuppal whose sole theme is the sublimation of sentiment and passion.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF TIRUVALLUVAR

This lecture on aesthetics of love, will not be complete without a short survey on development of aesthetics. Aesthetics is a young science which has not yet settled down but much disputed. It was born in the middle of the eighteenth century. The west was all along concerned mostly with the aesthetic of art. "The creation of the beautiful, the aesthetic experience of men engaged in appreciating beautiful things, the aesthetic judgements of critics, are the materials upon which the philosopher of aesthetics works"[42] in the west. Among the ancient Greeks, Socrates equated beauty with goodness. Plato considered absolute beauty as super sensory and spiritual, though in his Symposium he recognised beauty as a guiding principle in human love. Aristotle considered that emotion created by beauty, was disinterested.

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40. Ibid page 283.

41. The book of marriages, by C. H. Keyserling. page 303.

42. Theory of Beauty by Harold Osborne, page 7.

Professor Max Muller observed, "the idea of the beautiful in nature, did not exist in the Hindu mind. (By Hindu, he means the Aryan.) They describe what they saw, they praise certain features; (probably as Kalidasa did in the piece we just before examined,) they compare them with other features in Nature but the beautiful as such, did not exist for them."[43] A greater scholar of Sanskrit and a more discerning and sympathetic critic, cannot be thought of than Max Muller. His observations contain the essence of the truth. No doubt Upanishad philosophy considers the ultimate Reality as absolute beauty. It cannot be described in words but can only be realised. Upanishad describes God as '*Shantam Sivam Sundaram*' the beautiful. But what Max Muller was concerned, was the beauty in nature, which could be comprehended by the senses and described in words; not the one which could not be seen or described of which he should have been perfectly aware. We may indeed be sure, that the indefatigable scholar who translated and popularised most of the important Sanskrit works, had known Tiruvalluvar's concept of beauty, in human form and human love in their high ethical and spiritual aspects, he would certainly have paid a glowing tribute to the sage of Mailapore.

Regarding the beauty of the ultimate being, we may however take note of the observations of Harold Osborne. He observes: "We have today the metaphysicians of aesthetics, balatant or furtive who pontificate about the status of Beauty in the ultimate of being, but do not deign to further our understanding of his concrete beauty and ugliness, which engage our interest in the terrestrial world on which we live. It is as though they would prove to us that unicorns are divine, but were unable to instruct us about the habits and distribution of unicorns and left us unable to recognise a unicorn when we meet it in our dreams."[44]

Tiruvalluvar stands unique among those who had taken up the investigation of beauty. He has applied the principles of aesthetics to human love as none of them has done except plato. He has contributed to a valuable extension of our understaning of beauty

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43. Sir George Stanley Endowment lectures, Madras University. 1958-,59 by Sri K. S. Ramaswamy Sastri, Published by the author. ' Indian Dances as a spiritual art.'page 2.

44. ' Theory of Beauty ' by Harold Osboine, page 2.

in the human form, vanquishing its erotic value. He has elucidated the metaphysical principles of beauty in its attraction and at its ethical and spiritual value in human love. That, as early as the dawn of the Christian era, the poet-philosopher attained the height of modern philosophic thought in aesthetics, and brought it to the realm of sex love in meeting the other half, is indeed marvellous!

LECTURE III

ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL ELEMENTS IN KAMATHUPPAL

BEAUTY AS ETHICAL AND SPIRITUAL BASIS

The psychological principles underlying the attraction of a visible form of human beauty and grace, were examined in the previous lecture. Beauty in human form, is generally considered as a snare; but it was not so as portrayed by Tiruvalluvar. In his poems, beauty did not flatter or incite the sex impulse, on the other hand it relieved the mind of the tyranny of the sex. It afforded something other than sex pleasure for the contemplation of the mind. It bestowed dignity and importance to womanhood, quite apart from its erotic value. It placed the mind on a moral and spiritual relation with the beauty seen. The lover recognised in the beauty a moral and spiritual ideal which appeals to him most, of which he was hitherto unconscious. He now knows himself and knows his other half.

Tiruvalluvar's concept of beauty itself is, thus, based on an ethical and spiritual basis. Kant held "that sensitiveness to sublimity and natural beauty implies a strong susceptibility to moral ideas".[45] In natural beauty, human form ranks foremost. It is the most beautiful of God's creation and it has the greatest potentialities of expression of the various aspects of beauty. No other object in nature has such powers of expression and appeal as the human form. Human beauty has been an eternal source of inspiration for poets, painters and sculptors for their creations all through the ages. According to Plotinus, the mind could never behold the beautiful had it not become beautiful in itself. The mind becoming beautiful is itself a symptom of highly developed morality and culture. Plato in the early books of his *Republic* propounded a theory "that beauty apart from any conscious allegory or definite moral, is by some secret affinity the nursing mother of truth and goodness so that man ascends from rung to rung of visible perfection, till he reaches the climax of beautiful

45. Theory of Beauty, by Carrit. p. 49.

vision and rests at peace with himself and with his neighbours, because of a clear eyed harmony with the universe".[46] This is exactly what the poet-philosopher, Tiruvalluvar, aims to achieve by introducing the principles of aesthetics in the realm of sex. When we examined the aims of life in the first lecture, we found that harmony with the universe and promoting the happiness of the humanity at large, were the foremost aims of the ancient culture, towards which the sex and social habits were graded. Starting with sex life on the concept of beauty, the ancient culture rises from rung to rung of visible perfection till it attains peace and harmony with the universe. What the Greek philosopher felt and put forth as a theory, we find proved, illustrated and demonstrated as a safe and sure way of life to lead the mind quickly to universal harmony and peace.

SIMILAR IDEAS IN GOETHE AND DANTE

A notable advance in the moral and spiritual realm is the influence of the 'eternal feminine' in correcting and sobering down the masculine ego and its aggressiveness. We saw this in the couplet 'ஒண்ணுதற் கோஒ உடைந்ததே ஞாட்பினுள் நண்ணாரும் உட்கும் என் பீடு' (1088). The significance of womanhood in bringing about this transformation in man, has been well brought out by Goethe in his *Faust*. The mystical setting in which this is depicted by Goethe, has been well interpreted by Alphonse Maeder in the following terms: "After the Arcadian idyll with Helen a profound transformation of character (soul) manifests itself in him. Faust renounces mere enjoyment; the man of action awakes. In a moment of inspiration, he visualises his task, to which he passionately devotes himself (the building up of the empire). The restlessly seeking active man, becomes quiet contemplative on beholding Mater Gloriosa",[47] the embodiment of the eternal feminine. Though this change comes about late in the life of Faust under mystic circumstances, yet it is shown by the author as one due to the influence of the feminine. Tiruvalluvar starts the sex life with a transformation in a

46. Theory of Beauty, by Carrit, p. 47.

47. Marriage and Self development of Alphonse Maeder, Book of Marriages, edited by C. H. Keyserling, pp. 455, 456.

real though ideal life even in the beginning as the basis for a virtuous life which awaits the couple. It is apparent that Goethe and Tiruvalluvar felt that this transformation is possible only through the influence of the feminine. In the glow of the feminine virtue from the brow of the beloved, the masculine monstrosity crumbles down. 'ஒண்ணுதற் கோஒ உடைந்ததே!' The mind and soul become plastic to receive the devine imprint of love.

That the lover shivered–felt நடுங்கு அஞர்—and exclaimed

"கொடும்புருவம் கோடா மறைப்பின் நடுங்கஞர்
செய்யல மன்இவள் கண்!" (1086)

shows that he could not stand the piercing glance of his beloved and trembled. This is yet another sign of moral and spiritual level of the lovers. No erotic impulse shows its head here. The liberation of the mind from the sex impulse which ordinarily human beauty invokes, is a sure sign of the spiritual and moral elevation of the couple. Dante could not stand the sight of his beloved Beatric and feels as though she was judging him, In his *Paradiso*, he records his experience which is almost similar to that expressed by Tiruvalluvar.

He States:

" Now my *spirit* ... ...
Felt, though she was not fully manifest
Such secret virtue from her person flowed."

Let us note here that it is the spirit which feels as in Tiruvalluvar and not the senses. Dante further confesses the effect which this sight produced on him.

" Flows not through my frame
One drop of blood that trembles not.
* * * *
The lady whom beneath a drapery of flowers
Angelic I late discerned, with regal air and look
Wherefrom disdain was pictured still, proceeding thus,
Like one her bitter taunt retain,
Yes, I am Beatrice. Regard me well." [48]

48. Translation by Wright. Quoted by Dean Church in his Essay on Dante.

These words of the Great Italian, interpret for us the நடுங்கு அஞர் of Tiruvalluvar to mean "Flows not through my frame one drop of blood that trembles not." We now, get a vivification and clarity of the image which Tiruvalluvar sought to convey by his couplet all too brief. No doubt, the feelings which Dante gives vent to relate to love recollected but the experience described by Dante is the same as that felt directly at the sight of a living form which Tiruvalluvar presents.

We saw in the second lecture that Kalidasa started with a vulgar sensuality. This is still worse with Goethe. He portrays utter moral degradation of Faust with the devil (Mephistopheles) as his servant but makes him attain a moral and spiritual elevation towards the end in a mystical setting. These expressions of the master minds were evidently due to their environments, traditions which they inherited and the conditions of the society in which they lived. The sex culture in the Tamil land was of a very high order even from the time of Tolkappiar as was explained previously. It is no wonder, therefore, that we find in Tiruvalluvar a rare blend of the divine and mundane love of a very high order, in terrestrial colours and not under any mystical or allegorical vision.

Though the situation in which Dante saw Beatrice and that in which Faust saw Mater Gloriosa are far different from that in which the lover meets his partner in Kamathuppal, yet the truth about the sobering down and the trembling of the masculine under the influence of the feminine, holds true for all ages and all countries. That the thoughts of Tiruvalluvar on this vital aspect of sex life are almost similar to those of the two master poets of the West, betokens his universality and his firm grasp of the psychology of sex.

THE MERGING OF THE SPIRIT AND THE FLESH

The beauty and love which Tiruvalluvar presents are not of supersensual types. They have their roots firm in the earth but shoot their branches far into Heaven. Let us watch how Tiruvalluvar blends into a harmonious whole, the flesh and the spirit which are generally considered to be opposed to each other.

He achives this peculiar blending through his concept of beauty. Beauty, we saw, had an inherent power to elevate the mind and the soul. We cannot, however, be oblivious to the fact the beauty in human form has the tendency to debase the mind and drag it into sensuality. Beauty has thus latent potentialities for both good and evil. Tiruvalluvar uses its very potency for good, to banish its evil, to reduce sensuality to the lowest and to transmute the sex impulse into a spiritual one. To comprehend these functions of beauty, it becomes necessary to know something of the psychology of the appreciation of beauty.

Spencer observes, "So long as there exist strong cravings arising from bodily wants and unsatisfied lower instinct, consciousness is not allowed to dwell on those states that accompany the actions of the higher faculties (aesthetics) the cravings continually exclude."[49] Tiruvalluvar found that the obverse of this psychological truth is also true i e., that so long as the higher faculties are developed, consciousness will not be allowed to dwell on the lower cravings arising from bodily wants and unsatisfied lower instincts whether of sex or of any other kind, the higher faculties continually exclude. He presents a beauty in flesh and blood in the appreciation of which the higher faculties of the lover exclude erotic thoughts and find a moral and spiritual relationship. These faculties attain a spiritual height in which a thing of beauty becomes a joy for ever and not merely for the time the sex urge holds its sway. We shall now follow the text with these principles in view.

Those to whom beauty means most, do, in fact, desire it. There is mutual attraction between the couple and there is mutual reciprocity. The sex love begins tempered by the higher faculties of the couple. The refinement of the soul and morality of the lover as revealed in his appreciation of the beauty of his beloved already noticed, has had a restraining effect on the erotic impulse. The poet describes it thus:

> 'கண்களவு கொள்ளும் சிறுநோக்கம் காமத்தில்
> செம்பாகம் அன்று ; பெரிது.' (1902)

49. The Principles of Psychology, by Professor Langfield, Vol. II. p. 47.

"The furtive glances that gleam bright one instant, are more than half the delight which the sex union may bring," feels the lover. Let us not forget that this is the first meeting of the couple. The intensity of the sex urge has been considerably reduced even at the first meeting. The delight in the expected sex gratification has been reduced to less than a half of the whole delight. The pleasure experienced at the aesthetic expression of the furtive glance, predominates, envelops and reduces the sex pleasure to a subordinate position. The author makes a clear distinction between the pleasure of aesthetic expression and the pleasure of sex gratification, weighs them both and gives a verdict that they are not even just half and half, but the aesthetic pleasure is more than half of the total. There is no obscuring of either the aesthetics or the erotics. Each is given its due order, rank and weight in the scheme of sex life. Nor is there a capricious estimate of their importance. The influence exerted by them is coolly and critically examined and weighed by the author and allowed to blend together to evoke love in the hearts of both the partners. This is the happy blending with which the author starts his theme of love.

BEAUTY OF MOVEMENTS

This new technique of love brings about a delicate consideration of the mental feelings and enlightened tastes. We soon find his aesthetic taste ascending another step.

> "அசையியற்கு உண்டாண்டோர் ஏஎர்யான் நோக்கப்
> பசையினள் பைய நகும்." (1908)

In the rhythm and harmony of her graceful movements shines a beauty of exalted culture and there is a matchless grace in her soft smile.

The appreciation of beauty has now attained a higher stage. From the appreciation of form and its profound expression, it has ascended to the beauty of movements. ஏர் in this couplet means beauty. மணக்குடவர் and பரிதி interpret it as beauty. மணக்குடவர் adds a further note indicating exalted beauty. "ஏர்–அழகு, தன் வடிவினுள் மிக்க குணம்." Parimelalagar (பரிமேலழகர்) converts it into an ஆகு பெயர் to mean a good augury. This conversion does not appear to be authorised by ancient usage. In many a

passage in Sangam classics, எர் is used to denote beauty.[50] To understand the full significance of the couplet, we have to determine the nature of the beauty indicated by the word எர் and also fix the exact connotation of the term.

அசைவியல் means the state of natural motion or movement. This, obviously, does not relate to the motion of any particular limb or part of the body. It comprises all the movements peculiar to a human body, the gait, the movement of the hands, eyes, lips and other limbs in the routine of the daily life. There is grace, rhythm and harmony in all these natural movements. These movements, individually and in combination, produce an aesthetic impression of beauty. To understand this reference to the beauty of movements, we have to understand the culture which made these movements possible in the daily life of the people and the habit of the mind which appreciates them and feels the effect.

This is not a new concept of beauty of motion introduced by Tiruvalluvar. The love of the beauty of the movements is as old as the Tamil culture itself. We find here the echo of the racial quality which delighted in the beauty of movements and perfected the art of pure rhythmic motions in dancing, which commands the admiration of the world to-day. This dance which is peculiar to Tamil land is called சொக்கம், Chokkam, in Tamil which literally means beauty—beauty which entrances from the root சொக்கு to entrance or to forget oneself. (c.f. சொக்குதல், சொக்குப்பொடி, சொக்கிப்போதல்). The Sanskrit word Nrit or Nritta has a far different meaning. It does not convey the meaning of beauty at all. Nritta means dancing, acting, gesticulations, from the root Nrit—to dance (Monier Williams). Chokkam is not an expressional dance whose movements express an idea or thought in the mind or an object by signs called Abinaya or மெய்ப்பாடு. It is a pure dance of aesthetic movements, அசைவியல் of the limbs and body wherein the danseuse floats in a maze of rythmic movements of beauty, whose well trained feet, hands, face,

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50. புறம். 389, அகம். 8, 26, 42, 144, 148, 155, 208, 237, 253, 256, 267, 281, 319, 344, 383. நற்றிணை. 77, 79, 167, 258, 267. மது, கா. 707, பட்டி. 294 and also in கலித்தொகை and பரி பாடல்.

eyes and every part of the body move 'confusedly regular' as Homer puts it.

This form of dance was developed, perfected and continued from hoary antiquity by a class of professional dancers called விறலியர் and ministrels called பாணர் who resembled the bards of ancient Greece. This dance is now called Bharata Nattiyam.

Chapters I to IV of the *Nattiya Sastra* of Bharata Muni will themselves prove that it was not invented by Bharata Muni. Bharata Muni himself confesses in sloka 18 of chapter IV that the Angaharas which constitute Chokkam, were taught to him by Tandu and he has recorded them as they were taught to him. As it was an exotic art it did not take root in the land where the great Muni transplanted it but it still flourishes in its indigenous soil, the Tamil land, in all its glory. The Rishies who witnessed this new dance of pure movements for the first time, were bewildered and pestered the Muni with questions as to the reason for this dance which conveys no meaning at all. Bharata Muni explained to them that it was beauty (slokas 266 and 267 of Chapter IV). Its very name in Tamil is சொக்கம், beauty. This Chokkam or pure dance of movements, is the crown of அசையியல். If we could understand the nature and effect of சொக்கம் of அசையியல் we will be able to appreciate the ஏர் of அசையியல் of Tiruvalluvar.

Chokkam is different from the expressional dance or the dance of abinaya மெய்ப்பாடு, which imitates the dumb man who can express his thoughts only by signs of his limbs. These signs are, of course, unified, perfected and made beautiful in the expressional dance. Erotics predominate in these expressional dances.

In Chokkam, there are no such thoughts or intentions to be expressed. The limbs and body move high and low, firm and tender, erect and oblique, in curves and angles, in circles and semi circles all in perfect geometrical shapes and symmetrical grace, with profound rythm and harmony pervading and penetrating all through. These rythmic movements themselves constitute beauty. This is called a spiritual dance and has a spiritual effect.

The poet pours out his soul in pen and ink. The beauty created by him stands aloof from him. The dancer pours out her soul in her limbs and their movements. The creator, the beauty created and the medium of creation all combine into one. In the ecstacy of the rythmic movements, the distinction between the body and the soul vanishes. The body is forgotten and its movements become the vehicle for the expression of the soul. This ecstasy has a contagious effect, finds an aesthetic response in the observer and touches his soul. Thus the beauty of movements has a spiritual effect on the dancer as well as the observer and belongs to a spiritual order. This is the spiritual effect of beauty of அசைவியல் in general where there is no thought or idea to be expressed whether in the daily routine of life, work or play but it is commensurate with the nature of the அசைவியல் for the effect it produces.

In the appreciation of form and expression of தகை அணங்கு there was room for erotics hidden beneath the aesthetic glow and it did enter in the end though it was given only a subordinate position. Now in the அசைவியல், the beauty of the movements, is the expression of the inner rythm and harmony of her soul which creates a pure activity of the spirit in the observer. It is by practice and perfection of our aesthetic faculties we appreciate beauty especially the beauty of rythmic motions. That the lover in Kamathuppal, did appreciate this kind of beauty is a sure indication of the fact that higher faculties of the soul were at work reducing still further the base instincts.

Having understood the spiritual effect of rythmic motions, we may now be able to appreciate the type of beauty expressed by the word ஏர். The author is not presenting here a type of beauty which comes under the entrancing type of சொக்கம். மணக்குடவர், it was already explained, held that ஏர் denoted the exalted quality of beauty, அழகினுள் மிகுதிக் குணம். The word ஏர் has an implicit metaphorical content as well. The primary meaning of ஏர் is plough. As the plough is the instrument for agriculture, beauty serves as an instrument for ethical and spiritual culture. In the act of ploughing, the weeds fall off, fade and die and the land becomes fit for a healthy and wholsome crop. By the furrows of beauty in the mind, the base instincts are uprooted and the mind is prepared and becomes fit for an ethical and spiritual crop. It may not be far fetched if we hold, that by ஏர் the author denotes a type of beauty

which serves to reclaim,the mind. The exalted quality of the beauty referred to by மணக்குடவர் also implies the elevation of the mind from the low instincts.

We have already met with two types of beauty—அணங்கு that which attracts near and, சொக்கம், the beauty of motion and a third, ஏர் that which reclaims the mind has now been added. These are not the only types we meet with in the Tamil language and literature. There are many more words to distinguish far more different types. எழில் means the sublime beauty i.e. beauty which is far above the powers of appreciation, from எழு to rise above. அழகு is another word which denotes beauty. It is not easy to find the derivation of this word. It may probably be derived from the root அழல்—அழல்தல்,—அழற்சி—that which inflames—அழற்சியைத் தருவது அழகு, or from the root ஆழ் to denote a beauty which pulls down or drowns the mind. Though அழகு is a word found even in Tolkappiam (பொருள். 548) and also in Sangam clasics,[51] the author has scrupulously avoided it, evidently because it was not suited to his moral standard. பொற்பு denotes a shining beauty similar to a golden glow, from பொன் gold. கவின் denotes a beauty that robs the mind, from கவ் or கவர் to capture or steal. வனப்பு is a beauty of adornment from வனை to adorn, பொலிவு is a collective beauty or the beauty of the combined effect of all the consituent parts, from பொலி a collected heap. The all pervasive static beauty of nature was perceived as முருகு the God of eternal youth and beauty. This has been admirably explained by the eminent scholar, saint and patriot, the renowned Thiru-Vi-Ka, in his memorable work முருகன் அல்லது அழகு. It is the deep love of beauty in rythmic motions which made the Tamil race to appreciate the beauty of motions of the spheres and conceive the ultimate being as the beauty dancer சொக்கன்–சொக்கம் பயின்றோன் (தேவாரம்) and as கூத்தன் the supreme dancer. It is, indeed, astounding that there are copious words in the Tamil language to express the idea of beauty and to distinguish its different shades.

Let us recall here, the considerate observations of Professor Max Muller, the great research scholar in Sanskrit and the translator of many s sanskrit work, which were referred to previously.

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51. சிறுபாண். 13., பெரும்பாண். 252., கலி. 59.,. பரி. 19: 43.

He stated, "The idea of the beautiful in nature did not exist in the Hindu (Aryan) mind. The beautiful as such did not exist for them." The abundance of words in the Tamil language denoting and distinguishing the different shades and various types of beauty, serves as an index to the magnificence of the refined culture of the Tamil race which delighted in the contemplation of beauty, abstract and concrete, analysed and understood its aesthetic value in its varied aspects. It is no wonder that Tiruvalluvar as a poet-philosopher realised its value in human civilization for spiritual and moral uplift and portrayed its use as a sobering correcting and uplifting medium in the sex life of the race.

BEAUTY OF CHARACTER

The love matures and the couple move close together. They rise up yet another rung of the ladder. The aesthetic attraction of form, expression and movements have proved physically, mentally, emotionally, morally and spiritually victorious. The projected ideal picture of beauty is withdrawn from the form, expression and movements and transferred to the interior of the soul. Beauty is now considered as goodness. The beloved is now the embodiment of goodness. The chapter which treats of her beauty is called 'நலம் புனைந்துரைத்தல்'. நலம் means goodness and it is used to denote her beauty. Pope has translated 'நலம் புனைந்துரைத்தல்', as the praise of her beauty. Beauty further extends to her character.

"உள்ளுவன் மன்யான் மறப்பின் மறப்பறியேன்
ஒள்ளமர்க் கண்ணாள் குணம்." (1125)

Her character fades not from his memory. He can never forget it. That character also comes under the concept of beauty is exemplified by the king-poet, அதிவீரராமபாண்டியன். He states "இலங்கெழில் அளவு குணமெனை உரைப்பர்".[52] The sublimity of beauty is measured by the character. Beauty has transcended form, expression and movement and reached the character. The bond that has grown between them is the bond that binds the soul to the body.

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52. நைடதம், அன்னத்தைத் தூது விட்ட படலம், 32.

"உடம்பொடு உயிரிடை என்னமற் றன்ன
மடந்தையொடு எம்மிடை நட்பு." (1152)

The lover states, " She is not only the life of my body but becomes the very life of my soul " " வாழ்தல் உயிர்க்கன்னள் " (1154)

This progress of love and sex discipline attained through beauty, almost resembles the course of love chalked out by Plato as the right way of life which was briefly referred to before. He states " He who has been instructed thus far, in the science of love and has been led to see beautiful things in due order and rank, when he comes towqrds the end of this discipline, will suddenly catch sight of a wondrous thing, beautiful with the absolute beauty, separate, simple and everlasting. When a man proceeding onwards from the terrestrial things by the right way of loving, one comes into that sight of beauty, he is not far from his goal. And this is the right way wherein he should go; or be guided in his love ; he should begin by loving earthly things for the sake of the absolute loveliness ascending to that as it were by degrees or steps from the first to the second and thence to all fair forms ; and from fair forms to fair conduct and from fair conduct to fair principles, until from fair principles he finally arrives at the ultimate principles of all and learn what absolute beauty is, pure, clear and unalloyed not clogged with pollutions of mortality and the many colours and varieties of human life."[53] We are not sure whether Plato was followed by the Greeks for whom he wrote these. We are told that he was considered too ideal to be followed in real life. We find that the way of life and love marked out by him was almost followed by the ancient Tamilians.

KARPIYAL, (கற்பியல்) WEDDED LIFE

The couple now live together. It is not a life of continence and spiritual friendship they lead, nor do they lead a life of base sensuality. They live and share a virtuous and disciplined life as husband and wife which tend to mature their spiritual growth. Two souls and bodies wedded and blended together march on to blissful beatitude in love.

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53. Symposium, translated by Robert Bridges.

It is doubtful whether Tiruvalluvar divided Kamathuppal into two as களவியல் and கற்பியல். It is also doubtful whether the grouping of the various chapters under each section was that made by the author himself. We are not in a position now to view, appreciate or evaluate the grand edifice as raised by the author in all its symmetry and harmony of plan and construction. We have only a distorted view of uncouth bends of dislocated limbs and ugly protrusions of misplaced parts.

From the songs in praise of Tiruvalluvar—'திருவள்ளுவமாலை'—it is seen that Kamathuppal was divided into three sections:

> "ஆண்பால் ஏழ் ஆறிரண்டு பெண்பால் அடுத்தன்பு
> பூண்பால் இருபால்ஓர் ஆறாக—மாண்பாய
> காமத்தின் பக்கமொரு மூன்றாகக் கட்டுரைத்தார்
> நாமத்தின் வள்ளுவனார் நன்கு."

says, மோசி கீரனார். According to him, the three sections comprised seven chapters relating to the lover, twelve to the beloved and six common to them both. Another poet தொடித்தலை விழுத் தண்டினார் confirms this by his statement 'காமத்திறம் மூன்றெனப் பகுதி செய்து.' We have now two sections களவியல் comprising seven chapters and கற்பியல் comprising eighteen chapters.

It was already pointed out, that Tiruvalluvar did not follow the old division of Tolkappiar. He followed a metaphysical and psychological method of classification. Evidently by classifying this part of his work into three sections the author wanted to convey the mental, moral and spiritual influence of love on each of the couple separately in two sections and the combined interaction of their personalities in the third. That arrangement is now lost to us. Even the name of Kamathuppal is disputed by scholars on valid grounds. They hold இன்பப்பால் should have been its original name and evidently, the name Kamathuppal, was substituted to be on a par with Kamasutra of Vatsyayana.

From his introductory notes added to each of the chapters, there are reasonable grounds to hold that it was Parimelalagar, who made the rearrangement of these chapters. Paripperumal suggests different groupings under three different heads. The arrangement of Chapters and classification into sections, have

undergone successive adaptations to suit the view of each of the commentators. These commentators came more than a thousand years after the author and long after the society had changed over to the Aryan system of marriage. It is natural that they could not fully comprehend the ethical and spiritual element in courtship and love. That sex love could rise to a spiritual height is still a surprise to some of us. The commentators had no precedent to follow except Vatsyayana's Kamasutra. The adaptations were evidently made to facilitate and interpretation which will be in line with Kamasutra.

Tiruvalluvar and Vatsyayana are poles apart. Vatsyayana dealt with erotology but Tiruvalluvar dealt with love proper, human love in its ethical and spiritual aspects. Kamasutra was meant to induce, incite and prolong the sex passion. It deals with physical acts, manipulations and attitudes in sex unions, and abounds in revolting descriptions and obscene situations. Vatsayana reaches the depth of his degradation when he formulates the technique of seducing the wife of another. We have none of these follies in Tiruvalluvar. Tiruvalluvar was concerned with the reduction of physical pleasure and not with its excitation. He raises the terrestrial love to a spiritual height; whereas Vatsyayana degrades and reduces it to a mere lust or refined bestiality.

Vatsyayana lived and wrote for a temperate zone where, evidently, it was necessary to induce passions. Tiruvalluvar's problem was to reduce the passion which was exhuberent in the tropics. There can be no comparison between them both. Tiruvalluvar stands on the sunlit height of spiritual Kailas and Vatsyayana stands on the dung hill of foul lust. There can therefore be no question of one borrowing anything from the other.

Parimelalagar not only followed Vatsayayana but even suggests that Tiruvalluvar followed him and that the object of Tiruvalluvar in dealing with sex love was only to promote sex pleasure.

"இம்மையே பயப்பதாய இன்பம் கூறுவான் எடுத்துக்கொண்டார், ஈண்டு இன்பம் என்றது காம இன்பத்தினை......'ஏனை இருத்தல் இரங்கல் ஊடல் என்பனவோ?' எனின், அவர் பொருட்பாகுபாட்டினை அறம், பொருள், இன்பம் என வடநூல் வழக்குப்பற்றி ஓதுதலான் அவ்வாறே, அவற்றைப் பிரிவின்கண் அடக்கினர்" (காமத்துப்பால் உரைப்பாயிரம்).

'அவ்வாறே' here denotes வடநூல் வழக்குப்பற்றி. The Sanskrit usage (வடநூல் வழக்கு) alluded to here, obviously, refers to Kamasutra or other works of similar nature.

It is not an easy task to refute a commentary which had its sway for many a century. It is not also easy to divert the mind from the usual way in which it has long been trained to walk through. Truth is more important than the long established habits of mind and the loyalties it might have created. Access to the truth should be established however strenuous it might prove to be.

It was already shown, that even in the first meeting of the lovers, the sex pleasure was unmistakably reduced to less than half and that the spiritual content of it was more than half. In the onward march, the spirit has been given an advantageous start to leave the sex far behind. The spirit further stole a march over the sex through the beauty of movements and the beauty of character and goodness. We shall presently be in sight of the further progress. But it is natural to argue, that this is another way of interpretation and that both the views are possible. We have therefore to find evidence to determine which of the views is correct. We have to find the object of Tiruvalluvar in adding sex love to his ethics. Did he write Kamathuppal to promote sex pleasure or had he any other object in view? If we could determine his object we could decide which of the interpretations fulfils the object of the author and which not.

To find out the purpose for which Kamathuppal was added to a book of ethics, we have to turn to 'பாயிரம்' or the preface for enlightenment. From ancient times, the preface or introduction had a special significance and an important function to fulfil in all Tamil works. No work without a preface was considered a worthy production. 'பாயிரம் இல்லது பனுவல் அன்றே'. It was Bernard Shaw who with his lively wit remarked that introduction was for the learned and the text proper was for others. The ancient Tamilians not only held that preface was quite indispensable for a literary work but held that its important function was to guide the scholar to the proper interpretation and understanding of the text.

Without understanding the preface, the scholars were considered unfit to enter into the text.[54]

Based on these ancient literary principles, Tirukkural has four chapters as its preface and one of the couples in them, declares the aim or object of the work :

> 'மனத்துக்கண் மாசில னாத லனைத்தறன்
> ஆகுல நீர பிற.' (34)

"That which extends upto the removal of the impurities of the mind is அறன் or ethics. All other ethics which do not extend to that limit are mere pompous sounds" is the simple meaning of this verse. 'ஆதல்' here is a verbal noun தொழிற்பெயர் which gives the meaning. ஆதலாகிய அளவையுடையது. But Parimelalagar gives a different meaning. He cuts the couplet into three sentences. மனத் துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல் ; become pure in mind. 'ஆதல்' is here a finite verb expressing a wish, வியங்கோள் வினைமுற்று and not a verbal noun as interpreted above. 'அனைத்து அறன்', that is all virtue or ethics. 'ஆகுல நீர பிற', all other speech or behaviour are mere pompous sounds.

We shall now examine the thoughts underlying this meaning of Parimelalagar though there appears nothing wrong on the surface. The apparent lucidity and transparency of the meaning given, hide a vital defect underneath. Treating ஆதல் as வியங் கோள், leaves the decision of what constitutes purity in each action or behaviour to the individual judgment which is bound to vary and end in evil. If purity of mind according to the each individual, is the only criterion, we have to take into account that the road to hell is paved with the good intentions of a pure mind. If the starving children are saved from death by robbing another, the robber does it with a pure mind to save his children. Robbery thus becomes a virtue. According to the commentary of Parimelalagar, all

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54. 'அப்பாயிரந்தான் தலையமைந்த யானைக்கு வினையமைந்த பாகன் போலவும் அளப்பரிய ஆகாயத்திற்கு விளக்கமாகிய திங்களும் ஞாயிறும் போலவும், நூற்கு இன்றியமையாச் சிறப்பிற்றாதலின், அது கேளாக்காற் குன்று முட்டிய குரீஇ போலவும் குறிச்சி புக்க மான் போலவும் மாணாக்கன் இடர்படுமென்க'. தொல். எழுத்து. நச். உரை.

Robinhoods become saints. Heretics were burnt at stakes by the purest of minds. Political revolutions and the consequent atrocities were unleashed by purest of minds to save the land from tyranny or injustice. There is no end to the misery and harm hurled upon humanity by the pure mind of religious fanaticism. The fanatics believe they are pure in mind as they carry out the supposed commands of their religion, their god or prophets. Everyone under these categories, can justify his action by referring to this Kural, according to commentary of Parimelalagar. Could this be the intention of the author ?

The commentator does not even indicate that this purification of the mind referred to here is achieved by following the ethics of Kural. Even though he has not connected the removal of impurity with the teachings of Kural, we may take that to be his intention and see whether this could make his meaning valid. " Be thou pure in mind (in accordance with the teaching of Tirukkural). That is all virtue, 'அனைத்து அறன்'. All other ethics or teachings or behaviour resulting therefrom are mere empty bustle ". Connecting the ethics of kural with this meaning, lands us in another fallacy. This implies that if any one attains purity of mind by teachings other than those of Tirukkural, it will not be considered as virtue or அறன். This imputes to the noble author an arrogance that his teachings alone are virtuous or ethical ; the teachings of Buddha, Mahavira, Christ or Zoraster are meaningless. Could this be the intention of Tiruvalluvar ?

Tiruvalluvar has used the word மாசு in this couplet to denote the impurity of the mind. Let us try to comprehend what is meant by this மாசு or what all it denotes. Neither the author has defined it nor has the commentator explained how the meaning is to be inferred. It is called in Sanskrit Malam. 'செம்மலர் நோன்தாள் சேர வொட்டா அம்மலம் கழீஇ' says மெய்கண்டார். All that hinder the union of the mind or soul with the ultimate reality, are considered as மாசு. 'ஈசனோடாயினும் ஆசை அறுமின்கள்' says another philosopher. Even the desire to become one with the Supreme, is also a மாசு. This மாசு is called sin or evil. Endless are the impurities which come under these categories which contribute to their accumulation.

This conception of மாசு or impurity, takes us to the root of the metaphysical problem of which is pure and which is impure, which is wrong and which is right, or which is moral and which is immoral. Before deciding this moot question, it is preposterous to advocate any purgation. Would Tiruvalluvar uphold this advocacy ?

Parimelalagar has treated the impurities of the mind very lightly and in an all too cursory manner. மாசு, மலம், impurity evil or sin, whatever it might be called, is a vital problem, the solution of which has defied the greatest thinkers of the world. Countless the impurities which stick to the mind even after repeated washings. Strenuous and life long are to be the efforts to wipe them out. They are not of such nature as could be wiped off in any single act, as the commentator seems to presume.

The interpretation given by Parimelalagar offends the grammar as well. ஆதல் is a verbal noun as stated above. தல் is a suffix which relates to a verbal noun, தொழிற்பெயர், and it is not the suffix of a verb expressing a wish or வியங்கோள். வியங்கோள் விகுதி is அல். If it should express a wish, its form would be ஆகல் as in எனல் (மக்கட்பதடி எனல்) or ஆக or ஆகுக. Tiruvalluvar has nowhere used தல் as வியங்கோள் விகுதி.

It is well known, that among all the commentators, Parimelalagar stands foremost. His penetrating intellect had gone into amazing depths to unravel the deep thoughts in many a couplet. He has never been found fault with for grammatical irregularity so far. On the other hand, his grammatical notes are more copious than those in any other commentary explaining the most intricate points of grammar. It is really a matter of great surprise, how his astute intellect, his logical reasoning, his profound knowledge of grammar, failed him in this instance. We may note here that it was the great grammarian Ramanuja Kavirayar who wrote an elaborate commentary on Nannool and who was the tutor of G. U. Pope and many European scholars, who first pointed out that ஆதல் is a verbal noun and another eminent scholar Tiru-Vi-Ka gave the meaning of this couplet with ஆதல் as a verbal noun.

In this couplet, Tiruvalluvar lays down the universal principal underlying ethics or the normative limit applicable to all ethics. He does not leave the particulars of what is pure or impure to individual decisions and takes up on himself the duty of detailing the 'Ought' of every human behaviour coming under the realm of ethics, All these 'Oughts', and. 'Ought nots' stated in detail when strictly followed in their entirety, will lead to the ultimate end of ethics, of bestowing the absolute purity of mind. There is no room to consider that even in the introduction, பாயிரம், Tiruvalluvar left a wish that every individual should be pure of mind in performing every deed, he detailed in the book proper, as if there was lack of purity in what he described therein. According to Tiruvalluvar, true அறம் is that which extends to the limit of purging the impurities from the human mind; all other systems of அறன் which do not extend to that limit are empty and pompous sounds, or mere bustle. The essential requisite, the *Sine qua non*, of all ethics is the purging of the impurities from the human mind. Any system of ethics which falls short of this is, not to be classed as ethics at all. Let us now apply this fundamental law to the ethics of Tiruvalluvar.

Of the impurities of the mind, the most primordial is the impurity caused by the sex instinct. It is the most deep rooted of all the impurities. It should be the first concern of all true ethics to remove this deep rooted impurity. It is to remove this impurity of the mind, the author has added Kamathuppal to his ethics. Otherwise there is no room for Kamathuppal in a work relating to ethics It is far from the scope of the work of the author to pander to sex pleasure as stated by Parimelalagar. This is the light which பாயிரம் gives us for interpreting Kamathuppal.

How then is the sex impurity of the mind to be wiped off? The problem of purification of this impurity is not easy of solution. There are two school of thought regarding this purification, one diametrically opposed to the other. One of them considers that sex is an evil and it can never be cured. Sex-love is a great hindrance to the attainment of the highest state of spiritual realization. The only way to clean the mind of the impurity of the sex is to kill the passion or to renounce it altogether. The other school holds "that gracious perfection is hidden behind the apparent evil"

of sex life which stains the mind and it is perfectly and legitimately possible to wipe off this impurity and make the mind clean and pure.

RENUNCIATION AND SUBLIMATION

The greatest advocates of the former School of thought, were Buddha and Mahavira. Buddha considered that 'there is no stronger fetter than the mutual bond of the sexes.' One among his numerous and explicit utterances about the sexes, we may take note of here "Oh, Ye priests," he said, "I know of no form that fetters man's mind as much as the female form. The female form, Oh, Ye priests, fetters the mind of man. I know of no voice whatsoever, Oh, Ye priests, no perfume, no taste, no contact, that fetters the mind of man like the contact with woman."[55] He repeats the same for the man's form voice etc. as that which fetters the mind of woman. Let us note, that he holds that the five sense experiences through woman, are the greatest fetters which deter the attainment of spiritual realisation.

The abhorrence of the sex was still more virulent in the Brahmacharia Vrata or the vow of chastity which the jain monks have to take every night and morning.

"The vow of chastity is maintained by not sitting on seats previously occupied by women, female animals or enuchs and by not living in their vicinity, not participating in existing conversation about women, not remembering former delights, not looking at a woman's form, not decorating ones own person, not eating or drinking to excess, or partaking too highly seasoned food."[56]

This is what Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson in her famous book 'The Heart of Jainism' has to say about this vow: "This jaina vow seems limited to negative chastity, which shudderingly avoids its fellow creatures lest they should prove occasions of stumbling and it appears ignorant of the sunlit purity that so delights in its walk with God on the open road of life, that it cannot be bored with nastiness."[57] Tiruvalluvar's attempt in Kamathuppal is to

55. Marriage as a fetter by Paul Dahlke. Book of Marriage edited by C. H. Keyserling. pp. 415, 416.

56. The Heart of Jainism by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, p. 237.

57. Ibid.

illumine the human mind with sunlit purity (மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல்) and to help humanity to delight in its walk with God on the open road of life. There is no mysticism or allegory here. To Tiruvalluvar, the impurity is not a dream or an illusion. It is a bitter truth in which the greatest potency for good is hidden. To kill the sex passion or to renounce it, proves more strenuous and hazardous than subjugating and transmuting it into a spiritual force. In the glow of human love made divine, all base ingredients, all the dross, all the impurities are burnt to ashes and full effulgent shines the mind in sunlit purity and glory. The former is the path of renunciation and the latter is that of sublimation. Tiruvalluvar followed the latter.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF KARPU (கற்பு)

கற்பு does not start with separation as Parimelalagar would have it. 'கற்பெனப்படுவது களவின் வழித்தே.' It commences from the time of courtship and love. கற்பு is that in which the spiritual glow of mind and spirit in human love reaches its climax. It is a preparation and self-education for a higher spiritual sex life. Each partner learns and aids the other in self revelation and self realization. The impurities of the mind drop off stage by stage. கற்பு is a process of education in its correct sense.

The word கற்பு itself, means education from the root கல் to dig out. Both கல்வி and கற்பு are derived from the same root; கல். கல்வி has been used to denote the education brought out by external means and கற்பு to denote self education. குறுந்தொகை, 156, calls it "எழுதாக்கற்பு." [58] It is an education not written in books or learnt by writing out the lessons. It is a process of education in the real sense, dug out of the individual special experience. No teachings or controls are instilled or superimposed here. That in which these are superimposed and instilled

58. "எழுதாக் கற்பின் இன்செயல் உள்ளும்
பிரிந்தோர்ப் புணர்க்கும் பண்பின்
மருந்தும் உண்டோ? மயலோ இதுவே!"--குறுந்தொகை, 156.

Has கற்பு, the unwritten sex education, among its performances the administration of a charm drug to unite the lovers who are separated or is it a delusion? This கற்பு is called 'கடவுட்கற்பு' Divine chastity. The Tamil land should be grateful to Dr. Ayar who has preserved the reading இன்செயலுள்ளும் even though he has adopted the reading இன்சொல் உள்ளும் in his edition.

is called கலவி. கற்பு is therefore that which is learnt by the partners themselves in the sex union, physical acts and sex behaviours. The sex act is not a mere propagative act. It is a functioning of the human organism in which the finer activities physical, psychical and spiritual elements or brought into play.

THE SPIRITUAL EFFECT

The spiritual effect of the sex union was referred to in the introduction

"உறுதோ றுயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால் பேதைக்கு
அமிழ்தின் இயன்றன தோள்." (1106)

"Every sexual union and its embrace touch the soul and cause the soul to sprout in tender shoots. Her shoulders are made of Amrita that bestows immortality." The physical embrace has extended to the immortal regions of the soul and the partner feels the immortal effect on his soul. There is no ambiguity or difficulty in understanding the words used here. That which sprouts or grows is not the sex passion, காமம்; it is not the flesh which is excited by the touch. It is the soul that has begun to grow; its full leaves, stems, branches, flowers and fruits are yet to come out. This one couplet is enough to refute the commentary of Parimelalagar that Tiruvalluvar portrayed sex pleasure, காம இன்பம். Can உயிர், *uyir*, mean காமம், *kamam*, at all?

How could a physical act in which not only human beings but animals, birds and even worms delight in, could produce spirituality? It is rather strange, mystical and incomprehensible. Is there any mystical import in this and other similar couplets? These are pertinent questions which have to be answered. It is indeed a difficult task and that too delicate to be answered straight. The best way to answer them will be to allow the experts in sex psychology to speak out their experience and their findings. Havelock Ellis, the great expert in sex psychology, in an article contributed to the Book of marriage states:

"Yet from an early period in human history, a secondary function of sexual inter-course had been slowly growing up to become one of the great objects of marriage. Among animals, it may be said and even sometimes in man, the sexual impulse when once aroused makes but a short and swift circuit through the brain

to reach its consummation. But as the brain and its faculties develop, powerfully aided indeed by the very difficulties of the sexual life, the impulse for the sexual union has to traverse ever longer, slower, more painful paths before it reaches and sometimes it never reaches its ultimate object. This means the sex gradually becomes intertwined with all the highest and subtlest human emotions and activities, with refinements of social intercourse, with high adventure in every sphere, with art, with religion. The primitive animal instinct having the sole end of procreation, becomes on its way to that end, inspiring stimulus to all those psychic energies which in civilization we count most precious. This function is, thus, we see a by-product. But as we know even in our human factory, the by-product is sometimes even more valuable than the product. That is so as regards the functional products of human evolution. The hand was evolved out of the animal fore limb with the primary end of grasping things, we materially need, but as a by-product, the hand has developed the function of making and playing the piano and the violin and that secondary functional by-product of the hand we account, even as measured by the rough test of money, more precious, however less materially necessary, than its primary function. It is, however, only in rare gifted natures that transformed sexual energy becomes of supreme value for its own sake without ever attaining the normal physical outlet. For the most part the by-product accompanies the product throughout, thus, adding a secondary, yet peculiarly sacred and specially human object of marriage to its primary animal object. This may be termed the spiritual object of marriage." [59]

Havelock Ellis has brought out lucidly, what the spiritual object of marriage is. This amounts to the general explanation of the spiritual effect. But Tiruvalluvar attributes a spiritual effect for each sex act, 'உறுதொறும்'. Whether the spirituality is the cumulative effect of the married life as a whole or whether each individual act has any specific effect is worth probing into. Tiruvalluvar could have referred to this effect, in general terms. It is not obvious why he should refer to each particular act. Havelock Ellis himself explains this at another place. After

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59. Love as an art, by Havelock Ellis, Book of Marriage, pp. 374, 375.

explaining eleborately the physical effect of a sex union—which we are not concerned with—he makes these observations :

"But now we reach the point at which a new element comes in muscular action which is mainly involuntary, even when it affects the voluntary muscles detumescence proper begins to take place. Hence forward, purposeful psychic action, except by an effort, is virtually abolished. The individual as a separate person tends to disappear. He has become one with another person, as nearly one as the conditions of existence ever permit, he and she are merely an instrument in the hands of a higher power—by whatever name we may choose to call that power—which is using them for an end, not themselves." [60]

This is, indeed, a vivid description and a subtle psycho-analysis of the state of mind and spirit in the supreme act, the grand finale of the sex play. This is after all the testimony of a male partner.

Here is the testimony of a lady Philosopher and sex psychologist, Dr. Mathilde Von Kimnitz :

"Only the human being who lives upto his highest potentiality, resembles the immortal unicellular organism. He too fulfils the task of propagation from a will peculiar to his species and experiences, independently of this, the will to exchange spiritual qualities with the chosen one. He sees in this exchange the longed for completion of his being which is possible to him in consequence of the actual completing quality of the sexes. Assuredly, even those humans who like unconcious animals think only of sharing sexual happiness with the chosen one, are exposed to actually consummated conjugation. Even the passing union of polygamy is accompanied by it. No reserve of personality, no strength of character, no endowment however conspicuous, protects against this mutual effect which accompanies the exchange of bliss. But is incomparably greater and more enduring if those who are united in a union of choice are penetrated by this will to the merging of their beings. If they both recognised the sense of life, the self creation of completeness,

60. Psychology of sex, by Havelock Ellis, Vol. II. page, 149.

then their marriage means the most splendid development of their personality. Qualities which they were not able to overcome in years of striving, in earnest struggling, fade away before the example of the chosen one as under a magic influence. Spiritual gifts which formerly dared only pallidly and infrequently determine action, are strengthened under the consecrating desire of the spouse to a conquering force, and this the more wonderfully, the less disenchanting educational attempt of the spouse impairs the mysterious process." [61]

As is usual with the great German race this lady is rather terse and metaphysical in her expression. She confirms the general and individual spiritual effect of the physical act. In addition she insists on a will to exchange spiritual qualities or will to merging of their being. Tiruvalluvar has not lost sight of this important factor either. He states :

"வேட்ட பொழுதின் அவையவை போலுமே
தோட்டார் கதுப்பினள் தோள்." (1105)

" In her embrace, whose locks are adorned with flowers one finds those things which his desires wish for." If the desire is for exchange of spiritual bliss, he finds it there. If the desire is for the merger of the personalities, he finds it there. If the desire is for the mere bestiality he will find it also there. This very thought was expressed by Sekkilar in describing the beauty of Paravai as 'கற்பகத்தின் பூங்கொம்போ.' Karpakam is a celestial tree which confers on one who comes under its shade, whatever he desires. Sundarar who came under the shade of this beauty was lifted to the greatest height of spirituality which he desired. Tiruvalluvar is humble enough to start with a desire which, in the course of its progress, matures into a will. But the lady is too ambitious to start with the will. Tiruvalluvar has shown here a wonderful insight into the sex psychology, and he is not a wit behind the modern scholars and experts in this line.

OTHER ASPECTS OF LOVE-LIFE

We have examined, so far, the sex union, its ethical and spiritual value. The other aspects of love, separation (பிரிதல்),

61. 'Marriage as fulfilment,'—Book of Marriages.

endurance (இருத்தல்), lamentation (இரங்கல்) and variance (ஊடல்) are dealt with elaborately in eighteen chapters teeming with lyrical magnificence and poetic grandeur. The separation brings on affliction, anguish, lamentations, wasting away, visions of the night and endurance. They all serve to discipline the emotions and help the evolution of the soul. "The soul offers itself to reveries and does not ask whether reason rebukes them as senseless. But meditating and longing for the chosen one, the dreaming forgetfulness of time, is a wide commodious bridge to the transcendental experience which stands above time, space and purpose."

> "கண்ணும் கொளச்சேறி நெஞ்சே இவையென்னைத்
> தின்னும் அவர்க்காண லுற்று." (1244)

"Oh my soul! take my eyes also with you to him, if not; they would eat me up in their desire to see him." Their souls have united.

In the lamentations, soliloquies and self-reproach, ably portrayed by the poet, we get a deep insight into the working of the mind and spirit which would have otherwise lain hidden in the monotony of lavish love. The aesthetic "beauty-feeling-sense" on the basis of which the love episode started, takes on an intensity and a creativeness. It spreads an aura of beauty over the past memories and incidents and calls up the images once familiar.

> "மற்றியான் என்னுளேன் மன்னோ அவரொடியான்
> உற்றநாள் உள்ள உளேன்." (1206)

"Why live I yet? I live to ponder over the days of bliss with him." His form, his grace and expression all take shape in her mental vision and lead to persistent contemplation.

> "மறப்பின் எவனாவன் மற்கொல் மறப்பறியேன்
> உள்ளினும் உள்ளம் சுடும்." (1207)

"I have never forgotten him. Even to think of forgetting him, burns my soul. Could I live if I should ever forget him?"

"எனைத்து நினைப்பினும் காயார் அனைத்தன்றோ
காதலர் செய்யும் சிறப்பு." (1208)

"He will not be angry however frequent I think of him. Is it not so much the delight my beloved affords me ?"

VARIANCE (ஊடல்)

Love's quarrels are but inevitable, though petty and silly they may be. They cement rather than disrupt the love. Like salt they add relish but when in excess spoil the taste.

"உப்பமைந் தற்றால் புலவி அதுசிறிது
மிக்கற்றால் நீள விடல்." (1302)

The proferred love and embrace are declined with thanks. There is anger, aversion and variance, pretended or real. The husband and wife stand apart. This is called ஊடல், *Oodal.* The husband does not act in any coarse or brutal manner and does not attempt to domineer. The reluctance of the wife is respected. There is perfect self possession and self control. She holds a royal sway over the situation and queenly feminity shines in the assertion of her rights, inspite of the pleadings. There are no devilish scenes or violent outbursts. The husband feels supreme delight in this situation and prays for the night to prolong, 'நீடுக மன்னோ இரா', in that very pose.

Beauty of the spirit shines in the regal reluctance of the wife. Tiruvalluvar calls this 'ஊடல் உவகை' which name he assigns to the whole chapter. Let us recall the meaning of உவகை which was already fixed. உவகை is the pleasure felt when the mind is relieved of its worry or anxiety. It is 'அல்லல் நீத்த உவகை.' The husband and wife stand apart. There is no anxiety for physical gratification. Nor does Kamam, the sex urge, torment them to find relief. They are perfectly happy. It is 'ஏமம் சான்ற உவகை' for the wife in addition. She is not afraid of any brutal approach and her protection is assured by the elevation of the soul of her spouse.

The sex impulse no longer rules them or rules their minds. It has become not a Mephistopheles, but an angel which has shown

them the way for spiritual delight. The sex impurity has almost lost the power of sticking to the mind. At their will and pleasure they can wipe it off. In no time they may aspire, if they so chose, to be canonised as the counterparts of saint Nilakanta and his consort, to lead a life of spiritual friendship கற்பு, *karpu*, has given the necessary education and training. The author has taken sex impurity to the verge of its purgation but has not shown it to have been completely purged out. The Satan has been courteously asked to stand out for the time being.

THE BLISS OF THE BLISS (இன்பத்திற்கு இன்பம்)

The last couplet in this chapter holds a treasure for us:

> "ஊடுதல் காமத்திற் கின்பம் அதற்கின்பம்
> கூடி முயங்கப் பெறின்." (1330)

"Aversion bestows bliss to love and the blis of the bliss is gained if the lovers embrace." This is also the last couplet of the entire work of the author and it ends with the last of the Tamil alphabets, ன். A careful scrutiny of this stanza will pay us amply. இன்பம், bliss, is twice emphasised here. We have to determine the nature and scope of this twice repeated இன்பம். Let us first examine the first of these two; காமத்திற்கின்பம்.

It is not காமத்தின் இன்பம் or காமத்து இன்பம். It is not a pleasure which belonged to Kamam. It is not one got out of Kamam. It is not even காமத்துள் இன்பம். It is not a pleasure within Kamam. காமத்திற்கின்பம் is different from these three categories. It is a pleasure for or to Kamam. This chapter does not deal with sex union but deals only with ஊடல். The couple stand apart due to variance, throughout this chapter. The pleasure expressed here cannot therefore be the pleasure given by the physical sex union. The pleasure now received by Kamam, காமத்திற்கின்பம் is therefore something different from that which a sex physical act affords. Though the bodies of the couple are apart, their souls unite and feel a delight. When the bodies unite the pleasure felt is carnal pleasure: when the souls unite the pleasure experienced is a spiritual pleasure. As there is no union of the bodies now, the pleasure which Kamam receives

(காமத்திற்கின்பம்) is a spiritual pleasure of the souls. It is a new and novel gift to Kamam.

The grammatical structure of காமத்திற்கின்பம் also justifies this interpretation. The relation between காமம் and இன்பம் is that of the dative case (நான்காம் வேற்றுமை. 'கு எனப்பெயரிய வேற்றுமைக் கிளவி எல்லாப் பொருளும் கொள்ளும் அதுவே.') The இன்பம் here is the கொள்பொருள் of Kamam—the pleasure received by Kamam, and not its தருபொருள், not a pleasure given by Kamam. This கொள்பொருள் is similar to வேலைக்குக்கூலி, the wages for the labour. The wages and the labour are different though one earns the other. Kamam has by its patient labour through millions and millions of years earned its reward, the reward of a spiritual pleasure. Kamam delights in this new gift and has forgotten its old association with the flesh. The author is very sure about this. ஊடுதல் காமத்திற்கு இன்பம்; புணர்ச்சி அன்று. The pleasure which Kamam feels is no more in the sex act or புணர்ச்சி. What a wonderful transformation has come over Kamam, the sex impulse, in this closing stage! It has developed a new taste; a spiritual evolution has come about.

We shall now proceed with the other இன்பம் in 'அதற்கின்பம் கூடி முயங்கப்பெறின்.' எதற்கின்பம்? இன்பத்திற்கு இன்பம். Kamam is out of the picture. It has been asked to step out leaving its new gift. This இன்பம் is, therefore, காமம் பெற்ற இன்பத்திற்கு இன்பம்.

There are two words here which have been combined together கூடி முயங்கப்பெறின். முயங்கல் here does not mean sex union as the chapter relates to ஊடல் and not to புணர்ச்சி. The primary meaning of முயக்கம் or முயங்கல் is embrace. கூடி here does not indicate a sex union. In the position the author has placed this word, it denotes an action before the embrace கூடி முயங்கப்பெறின், and not an action after the embrace which may then mean the physical sex act. 'கூடி முயங்கப்பெறின், therefore means, "if the lady drops her variance and joins her husband and embraces him." It is not the husband who runs to the lady and joins her. If this was the intention, it will amount to gross brutality and he would have resorted to this long ago, even at the first instance. He would not have waited for long hours and wished for the night to prolong.

The reluctance of the lady vanishes; with all her feminine grace and tenderness, she runs into the outstretched hands of her husband and embraces him with all fervour. The embrace of their bodies becomes the embrace of their souls. They are not now two separate entities. They are one in body and soul and experience the supreme இன்பம், the supreme celestial bliss—the bliss of the bliss, இன்பத்திற்கு இன்பம். The *mere embrace has* transported them bodily to Heaven.

James Hinton observed, "Sexual embrace, worthily understood, can only be compared with music and with prayer.'[62] "Apart from the sexual craving," says Havelock Ellis, "the complete spiritual contact of two persons who love each other can only be attained through some act of rare intimacy. No act can be quite so intimate as the sexual embrace. In its accomplishment for all spiritually evolved persons, the communion of the bodies becomes the communion of the souls. The outward and visible sign has been the consummation of an inward spiritual grace."[63]

Tiruvalluvar has portrayed both the inward grace and the visible sign admirably and skillfully. But he has not allowed us to witness the celestial embrace. He has made us imagine it in our mental vision. He has made the embrace conditional, முயங்கப் பெறின். With this hypothetical clause, if she embraces, the curtain drops. The grand finale of the sex drama comes to an abrupt close. With the supreme art of poesy, the poet leaves us *to our thoughts.* The *husband and wife still stand* apart. We are immersed in the thought of their inward grace and the communion of their souls.

This last hypothetical clause, apart from its poetic value, has the deep significance of pointing to the ultimate goal of the evolution of sex life. Here is a peculiar hypothetico deductive method adopted by Tiruvalluvar. *A concrete situation* (கூடல்) *is* presented where there is no room whatever, to infer any carnal constituent in the happiness experienced. On the basis of this

62. Love as an Art, by Havelock Ellis, Book of Marriage, p. 377. edited by Count A. Keyserling.

63. Ibid.

experience, an assumption is posited for analysing and determining an inference, that even when the carnal embrace takes place, it does not alter the spiritual level of the happiness already attained; on the other hand it tends to enhance its spiritual value and becomes a bliss of the bliss இன்புத்திற்கு இன்பம். (அதற்கு இன்பம்—அவ்வின்பத்திற்கு இன்பம்). The souls of the couple have spiritually evolved and in their embrace they should feel the communion of their souls more than the communion of their bodies. If they so feel. it is the bliss of the bliss, the ultimate goal of the evolution of sex life.

The author has not, however, left entirely to our hypothetical inference the spiritual exaltation attained in sex life, nor has he left it to our surmise. In புணர்ச்சி மகிழ்தல், he has indicated wherefrom the sublimation of the sense pleasures begins.

> "கண்டுகேட்டு உண்டுஉயிர்த்து உற்றறியும் ஐம்புலனும்
> ஒண்டொடி கண்ணே உள." (1101)

"All knowledge that senses five—sight, hearing, taste, smell, touch—can give. In this resplendent armlet bearing damsel live."

The knowledge that five senses அறியும் ஐம்புலன், give here; has been taken to mean the joy of the five senses, நுகரும் ஐம்புலன், all along. அறிவு, and நுகர்வு, knowledge and enjoyment, are quite different. அறிவு, knowledge, helps to sublimate the sense enjoyment but நுகர்வு, enjoyment, degrades the human mind. The author directly connects this knowledge of sublimation of the sense enjoyment with the exalted state of spirituality in நீத்தார் பெருமை.

> "சுவைஒளி ஊறுஓசை நாற்றமென் றைந்தின்
> வகைதெரிவான் கட்டே உலகு." (27)

"The entire world is under the supreme control of those who have understood and sublimated the five sense enjoyments.' Knowledge of sublimation starts from the sex union. It gives மகிழ்தல் or pleasure, புணர்ச்சி மகிழ்தல் and not aversion, abhorence or hatred of these senses which may then lead to renunciation. The sublimation begins here, progresses and culminates in நீத்தார் பெருமை. There is thus a direct progressive link

between amathuppal and நீத்தார் பெருமை which ends in spiritual exaltation.

Even at the outset, we saw that the sex union did not excite the flesh; on the other hand it caused the spirit to sprout. (உறுதோ றுயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால்). The tender shoots of the spirit have matured and the spiritual plant has attained its full growth, has putforth its flowers and has yielded its fruit of spiritual exaltation.

Let us collect together the ethical and spiritual effect, which we have considered piece meal in all the three lectures and consider the process as a united whole. Radha Kamal Mukerji, a scholar of international repute, Vice-Chancellor of Lucknow University, has described this process of exaltation which is almost the same as the substance of these lectures. He states; "Love enlarges and exalts all man's senses and emotions and capacities. Its tenderness becomes universal altruism, its appreciation of beauty the glory of nature, its sanctity the worship of man and universe. The lamp of love, no doubt, illumines mankinds most direct and straight paths to the temple of ideal values, kindles its natural capacities and devotions for unflagging adoration. Love stimulates many of man's sublime aesthetic apprehensions and profound mystical insights as it inspires his vast ardent labours for suffering humanity............It is neither speculation nor dream but the continual realization with varying success of the whole perfect and eternal - the Divine that is hidden and potential in itself............Love is a cult springing from the body and the desire of man, but it discovers in the figure of the beloved a symbol of beauty and goodness that has far greater vital ideality than what philosophy and religion offer." [64]

THE MESSAGE OF KAMATHUPPAL

In conclusion, let us sing the praise of Kamathuppal, the vast store house of sex wisdom and poetic glory and join our voice with the chorus Mysticus of Goethe:

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64. The Horizon of marriage, pp. 364, 365.

"All things transitory
But as symbols are sent:
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to Event:
The Indescribable,
Here it is done:
The woman soul leadeth us
Upward and on."

These last lines in Goethe's Faust, famous throughout the western world, express the relation between the sex and Heaven almost the same as portrayed by Tiruvalluvar and this is the message of Kamathuppal to the world :

"The indescribable,
Here it is done:
The woman soul leadeth us
Upward and on."

PHILOSOPHY OF TIRUVALLUVAR

BY

PROF. T. P. MEENAKSHISUNDARAM

1. INTRODUCTION

(1)

The Madras University is my alma mater and she is more than a mother to me in having given a shape and a form to my personality. She represents to me the high traditions of all those great masters under whose feet I learnt the glories of the heights reached by human mind. Therefore I feel honoured by this invitation to deliver these lectures from this University still remaining true to its ideals under the able guidance of our beloved Vice-Chancellor Dr. A. L. Mudaliar and the team of industrious teachers, of whom I shall content myself on this occasion by referring to the present Head of the Tamil Department, Dr. M. Varadarajan.

This series of lectures is under the Sornammal Memorial Endowment instituted by my teacher Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, true to the Indian ideal of perpetuating the memory of his mother, a memory which we cherish with love and gratitude, because it is she who had given us this illustrious son of Tamil, who at a time, when even Tamilians were forgetting their Tamil and its culture, made Tamil scholarship popular among the educated and the uneducated, from many plat-forms, and through many books, in an unrivalled style, full of rhythm and majesty. He had the privilege of being the first Lazarus Professor of Tamil in this Madras University and I am proud of lecturing under his Endowment Scheme. I feel thus doubly honoured.

(2)

No author is as great as Tiruvalluvar in Tamil and his work has the unique privilege of being praised through all the ages and in almost all the countries of the world, by all conflicting religions

and philosophies. *Tirukkuṛaḷ* his book is, as it were, the Bible of the Tamilians and it has been translated into many languages of the world. But unfortunately it is not possible to know anything about the life of its author, Vaḷḷuvar. The word Vaḷḷuvar refers in modern times to, more or less a priestly class among the Harijans, often well versed in astrology. Books like *Gnānaveṭṭiyān*, a Siddha work on alchemy, are ascribed to Vaḷḷuvar, equating his name with that of a caste. According to one tradition, he is the son born to a Brahmin by a Harijan woman. This tradition is as old as *Gnānāmirtam* the philosophical work in Tamil, probably of the 12th or 13th century. A later version of this, found in *Kapilar Akaval*, will read in the first *Tirukkuṛaḷ* the name of his father and mother in the phrase 'Āti Pakavan', 'Āti' (ādi) being the mother and 'Pakavaṉ' (bhagavan) the father, and will make Avvai and Kapilar, Tiruvaḷḷuvar's sister and brother. But *Gnānamirtam* gives the name of the father as Yāḷitattaṉ. *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai*, said to be a series of verses composed by 49 poets of the 3rd Sangam, in one of its verses, [Māmūlaṉar, Verse-8.] refers to fools slighting the author as a mere Vaḷḷuvar, whilst the learned will not accept that statement. The earliest reference to this *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* is found in *Kallāṭam* and also in the commentary on *Nēminātam*, probably all written within the last thousand years.

Vaḷḷuvar was a term, applied to the officers publishing the royal proclamations all round the capital city, riding on the elephants with proclamation drums, as is made clear in *Maṇimēkalai*. Others who will trace everything to Sanskrit have suggested that Vaḷḷuvar is the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit word 'Vallabha'.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar has become a tradition by himself and various anecdotes and folk stories have gathered around his name. His wife's name is given as Vācuki and she is described as an embodiment of chastity. He is also in some traditions connected with Ēlēlasiṃha, a Tamilian King of Ceylon, in the 2nd Century B.C. or a descendant of that great Chieftain. Ēlā is, however, taken as Ēlācāriya, a Jain scholar and saint. Tiruvaḷḷuvar is therefore considered as a disciple of Kunda Kundācārya by the late lamented Prof. Cakkravarthi Nayanar. Some claim on the basis of

Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai (Verse 19) that *Kuṟaḷ* pleased the heart of the Pandya. There is a tradition that the self-conceited Cankam poets were brought to their senses by Tiruvaḷḷuvar and that *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* was sung on that occasion. According to this tradition, Tiruvaḷḷuvar should belong to the closing years of the Cankam age. Because of this (Verse 21) Vaḷḷuvar is said to be the glory of Madurai, the Pandya capital though *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is considered to be the glory of all the kings of the Tamil land and in that sense a national Bible of the Tamilians (verse 10). Therefore, Vaḷḷuvar's connection with Madurai may not contradict the other powerful tradition that he belonged to Mylapore near Santhome, in Madras, where Dr. Pope feels that Vaḷḷuvar could have had the opportunities of listening to the sermon on the mountain explained by the apostle St. Thomas.

(3)

In view of all this, it is difficult to fix the date of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. *Cilappatikāram* and *Manimēkalai* quote from *Tirukkuṟaḷ* (Cil. 21 : 34. *Maṇi*.22 ; 60-61). Therefore Vaḷḷuvar must be anterior to those works. There are certain similarities in the phraseology of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and the Cankam works. It has been argued by some that it was Tiruvaḷḷuvar who must have borrowed these phrases while others assert that Cankam works must have borrowed from Vaḷḷuvar. There is one verse in *Puranāṉūṟu* which seems to be an elaboration of *Kuṟaḷ* (*Kuṟaḷ*.110, *Puṟam*. 34) 'Aṟam pāṭiṟṟē'— 'Dharma has sung this way' thus asserts *Puṟanāṉūru*. This is interpreted as refering to *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. The only way to get rid of this argument is to assume that this *Kuṟaḷ* is simply echoing an older verse popular in the Cankam age, to which Puṟam also must have referred. Certain arguments have been put forward by the late lamented Vaiyapuri Pillai, the former Head of the Department of Tamil of this University, to bring down the age of Vaḷḷuvar to the 5th century. The position has been examined by me in my other works and it is not germane to the topic of the present lectures to go into those details. But one may make, in passing, the following statement. The age, the Professor fixes for the Sanskrit works are not accepted by all ; nor his arguments are convincing that Vaḷḷuvar actually borrowed from the works he refers to. As to the linguistic arguments, much more detailed scientific work has

to be done. One may however point out that stylised language of Cankam poets could not have been the language of the common speech of the day; and Tiruvaḷḷuvar in his eclectic attitude must have preferred to write in the natural language of the day. In any case, one cannot place Tiruvaḷḷuvar much later than the closing years of the Cankam age in the 3rd century; for it preserves certain aspects of the older language in spite of its acceptance of new developments in the language.

(4)

If Dr. Pope hears echoes of the sermon on the mountain in *Tirukkuṟaḷ*, others hear echoes from Jains and claim Vaḷḷuvar as a Jain. References had been made to Cakravarthi Nayanar's views. The Jain commentary on Nilakēsi-t-tiraṭṭu of the 14th century speaks of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* as "our authority," probably claiming it as a Jain work. Maṇimēkalai, an aggressive Buddhistic epic, quotes from *Tirukkuṟaḷ* and praises Vaḷḷuvar as 'Poyyil Pulavar', suggesting that Vaḷḷuvar had the real Buddhistic vision. Vaiṣṇavite Āḷvārs and *Tēvāram* writers have borrowed phrases from Tirukkuṟaḷ. Saivite philosophical works like *Tirukaḷiṟṟu-p-paṭiyāḷ* seem to suggest that they are quoting the verses from *Tirukkuṟar* as though it was their Saivite Bible. In short, one may state that all the religions and philosophies of Tamil land interpret *Tirukkuṟaḷ* as though it were their respective authority.

This is the first great difficulty that one encounters in attempting to understand the philosophy of *Tirukkuṟaḷ*. But, there is a way out of this difficulty. 'The conflicting philosophers however accept *Tirukkuṟaḷ* as an authority', thus sings *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* (Verse 9.). Kallaṭam also states the same fact. This work also praises it as the all comprehensive quintessence of all the important religions and philosophies, quintessence expressed in the clearest and the most attractive manner (Verse. Nos. 3, 13, 18, 24, 29, 30, 32, 36, 40, 41, 42. 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 53.) *Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai* was probably written by the Hindus. Therefore, according to that book, *Tirukkuṟaḷ* is a summary of the Vedas. (Verse Nos, 4, 6, 8, 24, 28, 42, 53.) Not only does it compare (*Tirukkuṟaḷ* with the Vedas, but it also points out the superiority of *Tirukkuṟaḷ* in that it is available to all, irrespective of their caste (Verse

Nos. 15, 23, 33, 43,). This trend of thought will refuse to accept Vaḷḷuvar as a sectarian or as a philosopher belonging to any established school of thought. This is justified by the fact that he does not expound any sectarian view or any particular school of thought. Attempts have been made to rely on certain phrases to prove his attachment to particular school of thought, but they have not been accepted as conclusive by many scholars. The most that the phrases may show is Vaḷḷuvar's familiarity with, and the provisional acceptance of, certain ideas as his own, in conformity with his eclectic approach. The fact that there is not a single definite phrase to help one to label him as a Jain or Buddhist or Vaiṣṇavite or Saivite is significant. It is clear, therefore, that he is refusing to be labelled.

(5)

Contact with another culture and civilization is often responsible for a vigorous growth of a civilization and culture. This happened in Greece, in England and in other places of the world. The great Renaissance is the most striking example. The contact with Northern India, especially the two great missionary religions of Jainism and Buddhism, the contact with West through trade, and the contact with the Eastern Islands through trade and colonisation, were all responsible for stimulating a new growth in Tamil land which is found in its Cankam literature, which represents a new historical development and a new trend in civilization and culture. Do we not see in Modern India the same kind of new developments thanks to the Western impact ?

This kind of explanation is sometimes resented by a newly developing Nationalism, especially, when the people of the other civilization and culture are intolerently assuming airs. It is only after the proud Britisher had left India that we are giving free expressions to our own indebtedness to the English language and literature and to the Western science. Similarly, the Aryan cult which reached its zenith and climax in Hitler was responsible—perhaps it is even now responsible—for the other cultures protesting against the implied assumption of any inferiority of their cultures. This kind of false nationalism both ways, sometimes affects real research, as may be seen, in many parts of the world, and in many periods of history.

The stimulus given by a foreign contact does not necessarily end in mere imitation. Aping of any other nation cannot amount to an original contribution to the development of culture and civilization. There will be some amount of imitation, often at the surface level, which is more or less prejudicial to that society itself. One may refer to the popularity of the Greek wines in the Cankam age. But this is not the kind of lasting influence we are referring to. The foreign influence worth mentioning, however, acts in a different way. It is not only adopted but adapted to the native genius of the country which feels that influence. Often, on account of this impact, there is also a resistance to the foreign influence; and this resistance often takes the shape of pointing out that the good things in the foreign culture are already there in the native culture and that the glory of the native culture is that it avoids the dangerous trends in the foreign culture. This is in a way, the adaption of the good effects of the foreign culture, or an attempt at showing that a foreign culture is not really foreign. What is after all attributed here to the foreign contact is its action as a stimulus; but the response may be, as it always happens in man, as varied and as unexpected. If this is understood, there should be no real objection, even from the point of view of national purity, to the study of the foreign influences on one's own culture. Instead of speaking in terms of foreign influence, it may be safer to speak in terms of time spirit or weltenschuang.

(6)

Here alone a difficulty may be explained. The authors like *Parimēlaḻakar* of medieval times, or like Dr. S. Krishnasamy Ayyangar, V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar and K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar of modern times have compared *Tirukkuṟaḷ* with Sanskrit works and have even profusely quoted from *Tirukkuṟaḷ* which seem to them to be echoes of the Sanskrit verses. Great minds often think alike, especially within a common culture and within a common frame work of thought. Perhaps there is more than what can be attributed to this kind of happy accident. Some may be ideas from the South itself, though expressed in Sanskrit, the then lingua franca of India. Further, the Tamilians of that age kept open their intellectual windows to light and air

from all quarters of the world. A hybrid compound of native word with a foreign word was avoided as arisamāsa in Telugu and Kannada; but Cankam literature which has compounds like 'tacanāṉku', did not completely eschew them. The relative construction, though developed to a certain extent in later Tamil, is not native to the Dravidian family of languages in general and Tamil in particular. Tirukkuṟaḷ, writing in an epigrammatic style, finds a use for this construction.

> "யாதனின் யாதனின் நீங்கியான் நோதல்
> அதனின் அதனின் இலன்." (341)

Therefore one should not be surprised if there are even Tamil verses which echo the best verses from outside. The famous verse of Avvaiyār.

> "நாடா கொன்றோ காடா கொன்றோ
> மிசையா கொன்றோ அவலா கொன்றோ
> எவ்வழி நல்லவர் ஆடவர்
> அவ்வழி நல்லை வாழிய நிலனே." (புறம். 197)

seems to be on all fours with the 98th verse in Damma pāda:

> "*gāmē vā yadi varaññē*
> *ninnē va yadi vā thalē*
> *yathārahantō viharanti*
> *tam bhūmim ramaṇeyakam*"

But even here Avvai makes the idea poetical. It is no longer a prosaic statement glorifying the Arhats; but a beautiful address to the land itself, so as to bring out the full significance of the word bhūmi in the original, where probably it means no more than a spot. It is possible that the Tamil verse went into Pali; but that will be too difficult to prove in the present state of our knowledge. We must remember the motto of the Tamilians of that age.

> "*yātum ūrē yāvarum kēḷir*" (Puram. 192)

"Every place is our birth place and every one is our kith and kin". Tirukkuṟaḷ also proclaims this truth as a well accepted one.

" Yatāṉum nāṭāmal ūrāmal .... " (397)

" Every country becomes our mother land ; every village becomes our own native village ". Is not Tirukkuṟaḷ's ideal, in this sphere, crystal clear ?

" Epporuḷ ettanmait tāyinum apporuḷ
meypporuḷ kāṇpa taṟivu. (355)

" Epporuḷ yāryārvāy - k - kēṭpiṉum apporuḷ
meypporuḷ kāṇpa taṟivu." (423)

This kind of give and take happens in any living language and culture. But the idea behind the writings of Parimelaḻakar seems to be that Tirukkuṟaḷ is a wholesale rendering into Tamil of the Sanskrit works. In an age where as in the period of Sanskrit revival, after the first onslaught on the Tamilian intellectual world, by the invasion of Malik Kafur, the Sanskrit studies were encouraged to such an extent as to decry Tamil works and Tamil studies. Tamilian writers like Parimēlaḻakar, Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar and Aḻakiya Maṇavāḷa Nāyaṉār had to defend their Tamil culture and studies by showing that the Tamil works are expressing the great truths of the Sanskrit lore, from a universal point of view, and in a democratic way and that therefore Tamil works and Tamil studies are equally important. With that view, they had to point out that Tamil works did not differ from the Sanskrit authorities. They had often not only pointed out the similarities but also had to reinterpret the Tamil verses on the basis of Sanskrit works. It was an age when, as stated in Siddhantha lesa of Appayya Diksitar, there were schools of thought, which emphasised that philosophy should be studied in Sanskrit and not in other languages; for, these schools were afraid of the popularity of the Tamil songs of Āḻvārs working against the popularity of Sanskrit works and studies. They therefore went to the extent of condemning the greatness of even Tiruvāymoḻi on the ground that Nammāḻvār was not a Brahmin and that Tamil in which he wrote was after all a creation of Agastya unlike Sanskrit which they claimed to be eternal. In such an intellectual climate these Tamil commentators had first of all to explain the similarity with Sanskrit before they could emphasise the greatness of Tamil works on the basis of universalism. Once this is understood, the way will be

clear for a much more independent interpretation of Tirukkuṟaḷ in modern times, when there is no such constraint.

In the Twentieth century, there arose an aggressive Aryan cult, perhaps as a first reaction to the foreign contact with India. But this Aryan cult simply meant the Indian cult, though unfortunately the words Aryan and Dravidian, inspite of Max Muller's disclaimer, continue to have a racial significance. The Sanskrit language and study have to contend against the much more popular and natural study of the regional languages all over India. But in Tamil land, unfortunately on account of the continuance, at least in some quarters, of the spirit which Parimelaḻakar and others opposed, and of the unfortunate and false identification of Sanskrit with Brahminism, the political and social conflict between Brahmins and Non-Brahmins led also to intellectual and literary developments, which from either side embittered the whole controversy. This has certainly coloured the study of Tirukkuṟaḷ in recent times. But it should not be thought that even this conflict had not thrown new light on Kuraḷ. During the days of our Freedom Fight, the spirit of independence pervaded all our aspects of life, not only political but also literary, social and economic. We enjoy a freedom of thought unheard of in the recent past. This is a national asset; but there is still an intolerance and resulting bitterness of feeling at least in the unconscious mind of both the exponents of conservatism and of progressivism. It is this unconscious bias which is seen in the recent interpretations of Kuṟaḷ by each one of the two sides.

(7)

But in the intellectual world, whatever may happen in the political or social world, there is no place for going behind the words and suspecting any bias or prejudice. In an atmosphere of freedom, we must welcome all kinds of interpretations and criticise them dispassionately, only from the intellectual point of view.

Research worships truth alone as its God. But research scholars, being human, it is not always possible to escape the prevailing intellectual climate. Fortunately in the present juncture of the Twentieth century, inspite of its being overcast by a gloom of the

cold war, there is a ray of hope in the achievements of Man translating the idea of the one world into a reality.

In India itself, in spite of the Non-Brahmin - Brahmin movement, and the linguistic and regional tension, its fundamental unity and its mission of universalism were realised during the Freedom struggle: and the recent Chinese aggression has emphasised this unity and has opened our eyes to the wonderful beauty of the mosaic pattern of the great Indian culture to which each region and language have contributed their best, so as to evolve this unique unity in variety. From this point of view, the love of one's own region and of one's own language appears in reality as the love for this unity. Each one of the many languages has been attempting and finding separately in itself, the expression of this unity all through its history—a unity which is at the same time national and international. The history of India is really the history of this movement towards universalism and harmony-internal and external peace or Sānti.

(8)

Man expresses himself in language; and therefore, a study of his language is necessary for understanding this history of his culture. Unfortunately, the history of this country and the history of the various languages, have been written from the point of view of conflicts, where one misses not only the common and unifying trends but also any progression, all of which, however, become crystal clear once that history is attempted to be read as the history of a growing harmonisation: Perhaps, this is the best cure for the evils of regionalism and linguism.

At first sight, Tamil seems to revolt against this harmony. Looking at the alphabets of India, one finds that except Tamil, all the others have provided letters for all the sounds of the Sanskrit language in their own alphabets, intended for writing their respective languages. But a deeper insight into Tamil language shows a greater harmony at a higher level of thought, It is not a revolt against unity but against dead uniformity. The wholesale adoption of sounds, foreign to the language is no praiseworthy imitation. In spite of this, the ordinary man in the street speaking those other languages has not absorbed those foreign sounds

in his native speeeh. Therefore. these alphabets remain a close preserve of the learned in their ivory tower. In Tamil, this kind of imitation did not strike any root even in the learned style. Though what is called the Maṇi pravāḷa style, a style born of the conscious and studied commingling of Tamil phrases and Sanskrit phrases in equal proportions, both written and pronounced as in their original idioms and sounds, was yet slowly becoming popular at a particular period of history of Tamil language amongst the learned, yet it remained only as an attempt, not always successful, by the learned sanskritists to reach the ordinary language of the common man.

The conception of Ubhaya Vedanta - the Vedanta in Sanskrit and Tamil - should be emphasised at this point. This was not restricted to the Vaiṣṇavites alone, though they alone honoured the scholars with this title. The saints and seers of Tamil land, seeing God everywhere, were democratic to the core, in the real spiritual sense of that term; and were universal in their appeal. They saw God both in the Sanskrit language and in the Tamil language. No higher place, therefore, was tolerated for the sanskritists. This may look like a revolt, but, in reality, only a remonstrance against the pride of the learned, though again only with a view to establish a harmony of these two languages, as the expressions of the devine in man. The language of the common man was thus deified; and he was made conscious of being the mouthpiece of this divine speech. Here is therefore the glorification of the common man. In spite of the differences in idiom, differences in approach, and differences in rituals, these great men emphasise the fundamental unity underlying the great literatures in Tamil and Sanskrit. From this fundamental point of view, there is no difference between man and man, language and language, and region and region.

Man's real personality, according to them, consists in the expression of universal love or Bhakti, seeing God everywhere in the world and in Man. This Bhakti movement, thus universalised and democratised, spread all over India. From this point of view, we have to assess and value the philosophical movements which started in Southern India and spread all over this great country. Ramanuja, as interpreted by his followers, attempted to explain the Sanskrit Vedas from the point of view of the

songs of Āḻvārs. A similar interpretation may be revealed by future research in the works of Sankara who also belongs to the Tamil country of those days. Soundaryalahari refers to the Tamil saint Tiruñāṉacampantar and tempts us to conclude that, whether that work is that of the original Sankara or one of his immediate followers, Sankara's school at an early date was familiar with the songs of Tamil saints.

This Bhakti movement, inspired by what Tirumūlar describes as 'Aṉpē civam'—'Love is God'—should trace its origin to an earlier period when love, though not made divine, was idealised. We should also trace its origin to, what may be called, an earlier and more widespread Humanism, for want of a better term. Here, we go back to a period where moral life was held as an ideal with all its wealth of variety and significance in human life. This is the universal folk-lore, consciously felt, interpreted and preached as a new message in books like Tirukkuṟaḷ. Schweitzer was surprised at the world affirming philosophy of Kuṟaḷ in the midst of world negating philosophies of India. But, this is once again to emphasise the conflict and to miss the real greatness of Kuṟaḷ which lies in its success in achieving a harmony of seemingly coflicting philosophies. This universalism is due to a great extent to the influence of Jainism and Buddhism in the Tamil country. The fundamental principles, not their dogmas or creeds, were absorbed, in their pristine purity, by the folk-lore as interpreted by the great minds of Tamil land, especially, Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Their democratic spirit was also absorbed ; but the aristocratic spirit was also not forgotten which was sublimated into as aristocracy of moral greatness and supreme self-sacrifice, shorn of all pride and prejudice. The contact with the East and the West and the foreign trade, made Tamilians of the Cankam age realise, in spite of certain intolerance shown here and there, the greatness and worth of other ways of life and other kinds of thought. All these have here to be remembered, when we study the philosophy of Tirukkuṟaḷ. It is fortunate that the intellectual and emotional climate is favourable for that approach, at the present moment, though we cannot but regret the Chinese aggression which, mysteriously enough, has opened our eyes to the importance of this fundamental approach.

India is a cultural area and this is reflected in its being a linguistic area. The languages spoken here belong to different

families, which are not, according to our present knowledge, capable of being proved to be genetically related. In spite of this, all of them have developed more or less a common syntactic structure, a limited common vocabulary and even a few common sounds like the so called cerebrals. In all these cases, it must be admitted, there was the potentiality in the respective languages for these developments and the external influence has simply hastened the process or given the necessary directions or made patent what was latent. From one point of view, this may be looked upon, as an internal development, though from another point of view, it is the result of external influences. Any cultural development is always of this kind, of especially in an area which is exposed to various kinds of influences. No living organism can escape this kind development and growth. A plant rooted well in the ground and remaining true to its species, still draws and absorbs all that it can, from the changing atmosphere around it and, as a result, it has to change and develop according to its environments. The same is the case with a living culture or a living language.

(9)

Therefore, one should not be surprised, to find in the unique Tamil culture of the Cankam age, the traces, over and above what has already been said, of foreign influences which acted as a catalytic agent for new developments, even if they have not directly influenced this culture. There are references to Yavanas, their wine, their artistic lamps and chains. There is a reference to the spices brought from Eastern islands bearing the names of the places of their origin, like arumaṇam and takkōlam. There is a story of the ancestors of Atikamāṉ bringing the sugar-cane from the East. There are references to Pataliputram and Banaras, to the Ganges and the Himalayas. A poet speaks of the yak cow dreaming of the crystal-clear waters of the Himalayas and the rich grasses, while sleeping under the kindly protection of the great sages kindling their sacrificial fire. The southern kings of the Tamil country had the ideal of an empire extending from Cape Comorin to the Himalayas where they believed their ancestors had engraved their royal insignia as though it were the boundary stone of their empire. Indian mythological stories as that of

Krishna, Rama and Siva are *also* very familiar to the Cankam age The kings like Palyākacālai Mutukuṭumi-p-Peru Vaḻuti, Irācacūyam Vēṭṭa Perunar Kiḷḷi, performed vedic sacrifices. The language also reveals this kind of contact; and Tolkāppiyar, the earliest grammarian, finds that northern words have a place in Tamil literary compositions (Tol. 880).

(10)

All these should not be looked upon as entirely foreign. The so-called Aryan culture of the North is itself a commingling of all the different people including, to a major extent, those related to the Southerners. Therefore, to talk of the contact between the North and the South, as that of a contact of the Aryans and the Dravidians, is to introduce dangerous racial implications and unnecessary emotional conflicts. This commingling has been going on for such a long time that it is impossible to say which is Aryan and which is Dravidian, in the mosaic pattern of the culture, even if it is possible to speak of the Aryans and Dravidians as two different races. If one were to call this commingling Aryanisation, it is equally correct to call it Dravidianisation. In reality it is the growth and development of the harmonious Indian culture.

(11)

The influence of Jainism and Buddhism hastened or quickened this process of Indianisation in its universal aspect. They were missionary religions; and therefore they were bent upon the expansion of their domain of influence. Some of the names of the Cankam poets like Ulōccaṉār, probably to be traced to the Jain penance 'lōc' and Iḷampōtiyār, probably to be connected with Buddhism, prove, beyond any shadow of doubt, that these two religions must have influenced the Cankam thought. The Brahmi Tamil inscriptions of the caves of the Southern districts of the first three centuries B. C. further strengthen this position. Thanks to the spread of Buddhism in the East, people, even from distant China, looked upon India as a whole, as the divine country of the Buddha; and pilgrims like Hieun T'sang, Fahien and It-sing came to India as seekers after further light and truth.

It is in this context that Sanskrit and Pāli became the lingua-franca of the Buddhist world and therefore of India. When Buddhism lost its influence, Sanskrit completely replaced Pāli. Therefore, we find people from all parts of India writing earlier in Pāli or Prākrit and later in Sanskrit, even as the present generation uses English for such a purpose. Though their writings are not available, *honourable mention is made in later* commentaries to Ācarya Sundara Pāṇḍiya and the revered Draviḍa Ācārya. This clearly shows that even in the pre-Sankara period, the people of the Tamil land including its kings, contributed their best to Sanskrit, and that these contributions were highly valued by the great philosophers of India. Dandin and others are really representing the Southern or Tamilian culture. The tokai nilai-c-ceyyuḷ or anothologies he refers to as a distinct piece of literature is doubtless based upon the existence of Eṭṭuttokai in Tamil language, with which he was familiar. Therefore it will be an interesting study to find out the distinctive features of the works in Sanskrit, owing their origin to the Tamil or Southern region. Sanskrit works should be studied region-war and author-war; for there is no such thing as a common Sanskrit philosophy apart from the common Indian culture. To speak of any individual Sanskrit philosophy, on the basis of language alone as the Sanskrit philosophy is as misleading as to speak of Tamil philosophy. Therefore when Parimēlaḷakar, the great and respected commentator on Tiruvaḷḷuvar, speaks of 'Vaṭanūl matam', "the Sanskrit philosophy" it is very difficult to understand him. Sanskrit has become the vehicle of various conflicting philosophies like Jainism, Buddhism and Hinduism. So also Tamil has become such a vehicle. Therefore instead of speaking of any one philosopher or a school of philosophy, to talk of anyone language as propounding any well known philosophy, is very misleading. But this is not to deny that in spite of the common Indian culture, the various language cultures often differ in the emphasis they lay on particular aspects of this common core, not as creating any conflict, but as enriching from their own particular points of view, the rich feast of a varied but harmonious culture. Though all love the common gold of this culture, each one has its own peculiar taste for particular forms and beauties of the regional ornaments made out of this pure gold.

The conception of the puruṣārthas — the Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa - is the Pan-Indian conception, which colours all the religions and philosophies of India. We have Dharma sūtras and Dharma sāstras implying a development in their study. Similarly we have Artha sūtras and Artha sāstras and Kāma sūtras and Kāma sāstras, There are also books on 'Mōkṣa' each according to the different philosophies. This four fold division is accepted by all in India, though they differ in the particular emphasis they lay on each one of them with reference to their superiority or inferiority in the scale of their values. Mōkṣa for the chosen few and the other three for all the people are therefore of universal importance, subject to the differing scales of their values. Therefore, there is a conception of trivarga, a term which we can compare with the term Muppāl which is another name for Kuṟaḷ. Even the Jains have a number of works on trivarga. Tolkāppiyar refers to "*iṉpamum poruḷum aṟaṉum eṉṟāṅku*" and therefore this conception is found in the earliest Tamil work, which is considered, by most scholars to be the earliest available Tamil work. Puṟam refers to this trivarga emphasising Dharma controlling the other two.

"*ciṟappuṭai marapiṉ poruḷum iṉpamum*
aṟattuvaḻi-p-paṭūum tōṟṟam pōla" [*Puṟam.* 31]

"Even as the Kāma and Artha of the great tradition follow the path of Dharma," The importance of this quotation is that this conception is so popular that the poet uses this as a simile. Nobody can pretend that this conception can be traced back to the Indo-European common culture. Nor can it be traced back to the Proto-Dravidian culture. It has to be, therefore, accepted as something peculiar to the Indian soil, a common product of all the people belonging to this land.

(12)

Sometimes it is asserted that the conception of Puruṣārtha is Aryan and that the Tamilian conception, however, consists in visualising, not a four-fold goal, but a two-fold goal—Akam and Puṟam. Really Akam and Puṟam are the two aspects of life. But this is a literary theory rather than a philosophical principle.

It is true that the four-fold goal of life has come to be accepted even in the literary theory of a later age in the Tamil land. "*aṟam, poruḷ, iṉpam, vīṭu aṭaital nūṟpayaṉē*" [*Naṉṉūl*, S. 10,] "The result of the mastery of a book is the achievement of Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa." Even Tolkāppiyar seems to suggest that he is equating the conception of Akam and Puṟam. with the conception of trivarga. 'Iṉpam' is equated with Akam and therefore it has been explained by others that Puṟam has to be equated with Aram and Poruḷ. Both the conceptions are as old as Tolkāppiyam; and from the way in which Tolkāppiyam refers to them, it is clear, they were popular in Tamil land with Tamil names. Therefore beyond concluding that the conception of trivarga is Pan-Indian, nothing more definite can be stated at the present moment. As already stated, though the conception is Pan-Indian, the particular emphasis laid by various schools of thought on the different aspects of this conception creates various pictures with different shades and lights. When one considers these different shades, one finds the original contributions of various authors and the schools of thought.

When coming to equate the Puruṣārtha with Akam and Puṟam, the conception of the four goals avoids certain interpretations forced on it. Sometimes the emphasis is laid on any one of the four. There are philosophers who will consider Mōkṣa as the most important goal; the lōkāyatās may consider happiness or the physical pleasures as their goal. The politicians and political philosophers like Kautilya may consider Artha or Poruḷ as the real goal of human life. There are others like the authors of Dharma Sāstras who will hold Dharma as the only goal of human life. But when we look at the conception of Akam and Puṟam, they are but the internal and external aspects of one and the same human life which cannot be separated by any means, because they form the two sides, as it were, of one and the same coin. All the aspects of the external life have their corresponding internal aspect. From this point of view, human life is worth that name, only when all the aspects of human personality are harmoniously developed to perfection, during the course of one's own life. Everything finds its suitable and proper place in the scheme of things, where there is no over-indulgence or repression of natural and innocent pleasures of life. There is no distortion

but only a complete harmony. It is from this point of view that we have to understand the distinction between Perunkāppiyam and Cirukāppiyam made by Dandin who, as already pointed out, had a knowledge of Tamil. The epic which emphasises this harmony of all the four goals of life is the Great Epic, to be really so-called. But the Epic which falls short of it and fails to emphasise any one of the four goals of life is to that extent an inferior variety of epic. This, of course, is a later explanation; but the theory of Akam and Puram implies this even in Tolkāppiyam. Therefore a Jain ascetic like Tiruttakka Tēvar, when he came to write an epic, emphasises this all round perfection of human personality in his hero. Though the epic ends in glorifying the final renunciation resulting in the deification of his hero Cīvakan, it is explained as a natural development of that personality which has enjoyed the world in all its aspects in their full richness. There is no forced repression, no negativism; there is a natural ripening of universalism of spirit from the previous stages of limited horizons. Even as anything held in one's hand falls away of its own accord, when one sleeps, the attachment to and hankering for anything whatsoever disappear after a complete rich enjoyment of life. After attaining the freedom of salvation, there is no further seeking after pleasures. This has to be borne in mind when we study the philosophy of Tiruvalluvar. Kamattuppal is a pure variety of Akam following the best traditions of the Cankam age.

There is another light thrown on this conception of *Puruṣārthas* by the *literary theory of Akam and Puram*. *Tolkāppiyam*, though speaking of Aṟam Poruḷ Iṉpam, includes Mōkṣa within these three. That means the four-fold goal of life is looked upon as only a three-fold goal.

> "காமஞ் சான்ற கடைக்கோட் காலை
> ஏமஞ் சான்ற மக்களொடு துவன்றி
> அறம்புரி சுற்றமொடு கிழவனும் கிழத்தியும்
> சிறந்தது பயிற்றல் இறந்ததன் பயனே."

[தொல். 1138]

"After the perfection of Kamam or happiness is achieved, the hero and the heroine, joined with their children, perfect in

the path of safety and happiness and surrounded by the relatives who are actuated by Dharma, practise, what is the best; and this is the result of all their past (strivings)" is said to emphasise the great truth that the final goal of married life is not merely the perfection of the individual or the family but of universal salvation.

Dharma or Aṟam has a wider and a narrower significance Dharma may mean one of the four goals of life or it may mean the behaviour inspired by an ideal in all walks of life where all the four goals become Dharma. As a part of this latter conception, the Jains and Buddhists will not lay the emphasis on Artha and Kāma and therefore will speak of Dharma and Mōkṣa as the Dharma par excellence. They speak of Mōkṣa Dharma to which end the old Aṟam or Dharma in the limited sense becomes but a means. Even Mahābhāratha speaks of Mōkṣa Dharma. The Buddhist influence might have been felt even in Tolkāppiyam. However, the general and fundamental basis of the Akam and Puṟam conception contemplates this wider outlook. Vākai or victory represents an ideal of life. There are two aspects of this victory. One is called Mullai and the other the Vākai proper. Mullai is something innate or natural. The perfection achieved by men or women—the perfection of their natural endowments—is Mullai. Vākai is victory achieved in discharging duties undertaken according to the varying status in life and achieved against odds. Here there is nothing inferior or superior in the acts perused but only in the successful discharge of one's duties. Men are equal and this is a divine equality. But the democracy has a place for the moral aristocracy.

"பிறப்பொக்கு மெல்லா வுயிர்க்குஞ் சிறப்பொவ்வா
செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்." (972)

"Birth (or body) is common to all living beings in general. But they are not equal in their specific greatness. This greatness is achieved only because of the difference in their activities or pursuits." Here comes the victory of the king and other officers of State including various citizens of the State. Here comes also the victory of the seer and the sage who are released from the fetters of the smaller ego and who identify themselves with the universe. "அருளொடு புணர்ந்த அகற்சி" (Tol. 1022) "The

renunciation inspired by universal love."; "காமம் நீத்த பால்" (Tol. 1022) "That aspect of human life which renounces the sexual pleasures"—are referred to here. There is also "பொருளொடு புணர்ந்த பக்கம்" (Tol. 1022) "That aspect of human life inspired by Poruḷ or Artha." (This is interpreted also as that aspect of life inspired by the real thing that is Jnāna).

These phrases are interpreted by commentators on the basis of the structure of Tirukkuṟaḷ. Therefore Mōkṣa Dharma is also treated under Dharma or Puṟam. Parimēlaḻakar in explaining the absence of a fourth part on Mōkṣa in Kuṟaḷ, states that the fourth goal is beyond words and mind and that therefore it can be explained only in terms of its means viz. Tuṟavaṟam or "renunciation" which leads to that final goal. Whatever that be, it is clear that the four goals can be and ought to be explained in terms of the three. This explanation is made clearer in the Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai which further goes to claim that everything great in Vedas and in this world come under these three.

"நான்மறையின் மெய்ப்பொருளை முப்பொருளா
.... தந்துரைத்த நூன்முறை." (4)

"ஆறு அறமுதல் அந்நான்கும்—ஏனோர்க்கு
ஊழின் உரைத்தான்." (7)

"அறம்பொருள் இன்பம் வீடெனும்அந் நான்கும்
திறம்தெரிந்து செப்பிய தேவை" (8)

"பல்கலை........ அருமறை,
போற்றி உரைத்த பொருள்எல்லாம் தோற்றவே ..." (18)

"முப்பால் மொழிந்த முதற்பாவலர்" (18)

"முப்பாலில் நாற்பால் மொழிந்தவர்" (19)

"மூன்றெனப் பகுதி செய்துபெற லரிய
நாலும்...மொழிந்த...பெருநாவலர்" (22)

"இன்பம் பொருளறம் வீடென்னும் இந்நான்கும்
கொள்ள மொழிந்தார் குறள்" (33)

" அறமுதல் நான்கும் அகலிடத்தோர் எல்லாம்
திறமுறத் தேர்ந்து தெளியக் குறள் வெண்பாப்
பன்னிய வள்ளுவனார்." (38)

" ...மும்மையின்
வீடவற்றின் நான்கின் விதிவழங்க வள்ளுவனார்
பாடினர் இன்குறள்வெண் பா." (40)

" முப்பாலின் ஓதும்
தரும முதல்நான்கும்...வள்ளுவனார்
புந்தி மொழிந்த பொருள்." (44)

" அறனறிந்தேம், ஆன்ற பொருள் அறிந்தேம், இன்பின்
திறனறிந்தேம், வீடு தெளிந்தேம்—
வள்ளுவனார்...தம்வாயாற்
கேளா தனஎல்லாம் கேட்டு." (50)

" This book in its organisation of subject matter expounds all the great truths of the Veda as the three great truths." (4)

" He has told others those four, in the natural order beginning with infinite Dharma." (7)

" The Divine Man who has expounded after having understood their intricacies those four, namely Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa." (8)

" He has expressed in such a way that truth which was reverentially expressed by the rare Vedas and the many arts." (18)

" The first great poet who has expounded the trivarga." (18)

" He who expounded within his trivarga the four Puruṣārthās " (19)

" He is the great Lord of speech who has classified the four great (truths), which are difficult of achievement, and expounded them as three." (22)

" He has composed his Kuraḷ so that all may understand and accept these four viz. Dharma, Artha, Kāma and Mōkṣa." (33)

" Vaḷḷuvar, who out of the tender love of his heart, has composed and expounded in veṇpā meter the truths, so that all the

people of this great expanse of this world may understand and realise all the intricacies of the four (great truths) beginning with Dharma." (38)

"This is the book of sweet Kuṟaḷ veṇpās, composed by Vaḷḷuvar, so as to explain the rules of the four great truths ending with Mōkṣa, within the threefold (classification of his)." (40)

"This expounding of the four great Truths beginning with Dharma, is the great idea of Vaḷḷuvar's intellect. (44)

"We have heard from Vaḷḷuvar's mouth everything - things which were not heard of till now like this. And we have understood Dharma. We have understood Artha. We have understood all the aspects of Kāma. We have realised clearly, without any confusion, what is Mōkṣa." (50)

We do not know how far the claim made by these verses is true but they seem to suggest that the exposition of the Puruṣārthas, as the three fold trivargas is a great contribution of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. His is an attempt at harmonising the Tamilian conception of Akam and Puṟam with puruṣārthas. This hormony is hinted at in Tolkāppiyam itself; but it is Tiruvaḷḷuvar who, according to Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai in expounding the Puruṣārthas, has boldly classified them under the trivarga. It is not a neglect of the path of Mōkṣa but a way of making it the inspiration, the basis and the consummation of all the other three.

Vākai, according to Tolkāppiyar, is the external aspect of the life for which Pālai or separation in love is the internal aspect. Here, both in Vākai and Pālai, is a spirit of self sacrifice or an effacement of the selfish interest in the cause of greater values. This wider conception of Vākai or victory must imply a wider conception of war, not merely restricted to the battle field, but extended to all aspects, not only of the struggle for existence but also of the striving for perfection - physical, moral, intellectual. The realisation of the eternal values distinguished from evanescent values of the world is emphasised almost in a world negating vein in Tolkāppiyar's conception of Kāñci—one of the seven aspects of life. Man's life was considered fruitless if it was not sung by poets; and the true fame of poetic renown forms Pāṭāṇ-another of

the seven aspects of life. Aṟam is contrasted with Paḻi or infamy suggesting that Aṟam is Pukaḻ or Fame.

"ceyaṟpāla tōṟum aṟaṉe oruvaṟku
uyaṟpāla tōrum paḻi." (40)

"What ought to be performed is Dharma. What ought to be escaped from is infamy." This is another Cankam conception. The importance of these conceptions should be fully understood for appreciating the approach of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. His conception of the Puruṣārthas is thus really shaped by the ancient Tamilian tradition.

The internal and external aspects are also emphasised by Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Aṟam may be the outward behaviour of what has to be done—"*ceyaṟpālatu*". But without the inner inspiration and purity it has no significance whatsoever. This aspect will have to be borne in mind; and Iṉpam may from that point of view receive a wider significance; for one must enquire what is the inner aspect of Kāmam nītta pāl and Aruḷoṭu puṇarnta akaṟci above referred to in Tolkāppiam.

(13)

There are two ways of approaching these goals of life. Though one speaks of the goals, usually it is only the various aspects of and expressions in life along with their means that are described. There may be a descriptive and prescriptive approach; or there may be a normative and idealistic approach. The descriptive approach will be the approach of the scientist. The prescriptive approach will be that of the law givers. The normative approach will be either as describing the ideal or as elucidating the inner inspiration and explaining the practical way of achieving the ideal. Vaḷḷuvar's is the latter approach and as a result he is neither concerned with any historical state of society with its laws and practices, nor with the scientific and objective description of all aspects, without reference to higher values, nor is he indulging in the impossibilities of life. He is thus practical and at the same time idealistic. Though practical from this point of view, he is not objective as a scientist nor as a codifier of laws. His

approach is universal, fettered by the conditions of no particular country or age. This distinguishes Kuṟaḷ from other Dharma sāstrās, Artha sāstrās and Kāma sāstras. Reference had been made to the universalism of Tirukkuṟaḷ praised by others and this universalism is the result of this peculiar approach, which will be made clearer in the study of the three fold aspects of Kuṟaḷ.

(14)

In the result, it is proposed to study the philosophy of Tirukkuṟaḷ within the Pan-Indian theory of Puruṣārthas. The works available in Sanskrit are many whilst the earliest works in Tamil are Tolkāppiyam and Cankam literature. This does not amount to forcing the Sanskrit theories on the study of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. There is no reason why Thiruvaḷḷuvar should be assumed to have no knowledge of Sanskrit or of the Pan-Indian conception. Every evaluation of the contributions of an author has to be based on a comparison with any existing scheme. It is for that purpose that the Pan-Indian frame-work is necessary and it is only then that the contributions of Vaḷḷuvar become clearer and more significant. It has once again to be emphasised that this Pan-Indian frame-work is itself a product of the common efforts of the intellectual world of India spreading from the Himalayas to cape Comorin and therefore there is no question of any borrowing because it is a common heritage and a common harvest.

It is proposed to deal with the philosophy of Tirukkuṟaḷ according to the approach explained here, in three parts, since in terms of Vaḷḷuvar's treatment itself his book falls into three parts. We shall discuss the philosophy of ~~Dharma~~ Aram, the philosophy of Artha and the philosophy of Kāma.

2. AṞATTUPPĀL—I

I.

Tirukkuṟaḷ consists of three parts. The first part is called Aṟattuppāl, the portion dealing with Aṟam ~~or Dharma.~~ According to a verse in Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai (25) this part consists of four

sub-divisions. The first part comes as an introduction consisting of four chapters. The final sub-division consisting of only one chapter deals with Ūḻ. It is difficult to translate this term. It means ripening or an established order of cause and effect. It evidently refers to the theory of Karma. In between these two sub-divisions come the most important sub-divisions, the first dealing with domestic life and the second with renunciation-the first consisting of twenty chapters and the second of thirteen. Thus Aṟattuppāl consists of 38 chapters in all.

II

(a)

The first four chapters which make up an introduction are a puzzle, in relation to the whole book. The first chapter speaks of God or Kaṭavuḷ; the second deals with the importance of rains; the third speaks of the greatness of those who have renounced; the last of the four chapters emphasises ~~the Dharma or~~ Aṟam. Attempts have been made to connect these four topics with Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻttu, Koṭi Nilai, Kantaḻi and Vaḷḷi mentioned in Tolkāppiyam. But their relevance with reference to the subjects treated in Tiṟukkuṟaḷ as a whole, is not clear. It is for consideration whether these four topics may not refer to God, Nature, the Ideal Man and Dharma as forming the very basis of this book.

(b)

God is not defined and therefore, as already pointed out, all the religions have accepted this 'Kaṭavuḷ Vāḻttu' as equally applicable to their conflicting conception of God. It is significant that Vaḷḷuvar uses the phrase 'Āti Pakavaṉ' in the first Kuṟaḷ itself. The world has God for its beginning; God is pure intelligence; He has no likes and dislikes; He has no comparison; He has the eight great qualities; He is kind unto all with his Dharma cakra or the ocean of Dharma. His is the significant glory. His path is that of good conduct. He has destroyed or extinguished the surging selfish desires of sense organs. He is the great ruler or He is omnipotent. He is *'malar micai ēkiṉaṉ'*. This term is interpreted by Jains as referring to the Godman walking on the flowers spread by gods on his way to Godhood. But others interpret it as refering to God hastening to reside in the lotus of the heart of

any Bhakta. The emphasis in all these suggestive descriptions is on God being the very basis of the world, on His perfect qualities, on His unsullied glory, on His kindness and Dharma, on the path of the good conduct wherein selfishness has no place, the path designed by Him or leading to Him. It would be thus seen that this conception of God is related to the conception of Dharma in its wider aspect as treated in the whole of Tirukkuṟaḷ. He is the very heart of Dharma and the universe. He is the guide, friend and philosopher. In any account, His relation to the path of Dharma is clear. The non-partisan and universal approach of Tiruvaḷḷuvar becomes evident in the sanskrit phrase "ādi bhagavan" (Āti Pakavaṉ) which epitomizes all the conceptions of God known to that language.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar, as already pointed out, even when he paints the ideal, looks at it from the practical point of view of man. Therefore it will be interesting to study what he points out as the good aspects, flowing from Man surrendering to God. There is the escape from the ocean of births which can be achieved only through self-surrender. The Karmas do not affect such a great soul. Those who take refuge in His feet feel no misery and experience no mental suffering and anxiety. The term 'nīṭu vāḻvār', used twice, has therefore to be interpreted as referring to eternal life which is longer than any life whatsoever. Those who take refuge in the loving Lord of the ocean of Dharma cross the other oceans, probably the ocean of Artha and the ocean of Kāma. Taken in this sense, Dharma implies also the greatness of Artha and Kāma. Without this basis of Dharma, Artha and Kāma, probably, become misleading.

This is a truth which is still further emphasised in the chapter on 'Araṉvaliuruttal'—'Emphasising Dharma'—and elsewhere. Vaḷḷuvar also feels that all education and knowledge lead to this great centre of pure wisdom of God. In the absence of such surrender to God any education becomes futile. The final goal of all kinds of life is happiness or bliss, free from sufferings and miseries, illusions and Karma. It is in short the eternal Life-divine, away from the ocean of birth. Whilst on this path of self-surrender to God, every action of man is correctly oriented towards this ideal of Dharma ; otherwise the acts are futile. Though it will not be possible to weave out a complete philosophy of God out of

these descriptions of God – therefore it is clear that he does not want to do one - his conception of God is that of the ethical and ideal goal.

(c)

The second chapter deals with the glory of the rains. Tiru-Vi-Ka understands by this term the greatness of God's Sakti or divine grace. Tiruvaḷḷuvar is describing a society where agriculture is the pre-eminent occupation. Even in the Poruṭpāl he refers to uḻavu or cultivation ; but we have to understand by that Uḻavu, human labour in general, illustrated so beautifully well by cultivation. In an agricultural society every thing becomes a gambling in rains. Therefore rain can be taken as representing Nature. In this sense, Nature becomes the concrete basis of Dharma as contrasted with the inner divine inspiration of Dharma. Rain is the real eternal ambrosia. It is responsible for the food–the grass the grains - we eat ; it itself is the water we drink. It makes possible thus all experiences and itself becomes the thing to be experienced. Without it the monster of hunger will swallow the world. No effort of man is possible without it. Even a blade of grass cannot shoot forth without its help. Even the great expanse of ocean will lose its greatness. Even the offerings to the gods will fail. Good conduct and Dharma can have no place where Nature does not smile on man. The importance of Nature as providing the suitable environment for the blossoming of Dharma is thus made clear. Vaḷḷuvar's ethical idealism will therefore tolerate the imperfections of man when struggling against the contrary forces of Nature. Perhaps the idea is that Nature is helpful to us on our way to perfection, without unnecessarily embittering our life by looking upon her as opposed to man. Do not harp on its destructive powers ; for, well harnessed she helps you to escape destruction. Nature is not a monster red in its tooth and nail, but a kindly Light leading us on to our ethical ideal, according to the stage of perfection reached by us, in understanding her ways and in utilising her and our knowledge on this great path.

(d)

The Third chapter deals with the greatness of the people who have renounced. Every book accepts the greatness of the perfect

men. They are great; the ever-loving; the ever-wise of great deeds. Who can count the number of dead people from the beginning of the world? Who can also recount the greatness of the perfect men? This chapter, as already hinted, emphasises the importance of the perfect men, to anyone on the path of achieving human greatness. It is significant that the perfect man is described as one who has renounced. But the question remains what is meant by renunciation. The phrase 'olukkattu nittār' [olukkam = conduct, nittār = those who had renounced] is not very clear at first sight; and there are commentators, who will interpret it as referring to renouncing one's own ordinary behaviour or conduct. But Maṇakkuṭavar gives a different interpretation. These are according to him the great men who renounce everything for the sake of good conduct or Dharma. Another commentator, Paruti, speaks of these men as those who have renounced the hankering after the senses. Maṇakkuṭavar's interpretation brings out the importance of this chapter in relation to the whole of Tirukkuṛaḷ. The perfect men, the sages and seers, are the embodiments of Dharma and expound that Dharma by every conduct of theirs. Here is a concrete ethical absolutism in which everything is sublimated.

An ethical aristocracy was known to the Cankam age but no group of those who had renounced, had here, to start with, the privilege of being the embodiment of Dharma. The conception of Vākai has already been referred to. Puṟanāṉūṟu speaks of Āy as being no merchant of aṟam (Puṟam. 134). He is great in Aṟam wherein Dharma is for the sake of Dharma which is the path of eternal righteousness in which had walked, generations of great-men. He was not moved by any desire for a better life in the future through this Dharma; for that will be a trader's conception of Dharma investing something in the present to reap the greatest profit in the future. The term 'olukkattu nittār' may very well imply this conception. But a change has occurred in the Cankam society.

Thanks to the Buddhist and Jain influence on the Cankam age all the groups of missionaries in the cause of their Dharma come to occupy an important place in the society. Therefore the term aṟam, especially in the derived word aṟavōr, suffers a

shift in meaning. Āy could not be called an aṟavōn. It is the sanyāsins who have got a Dharmic mission that come to be labelled as 'aṟavōr'. Tiruvaḷḷuvar himself speaks of 'nīttār' as 'aṟavōr'. Fortunately the word 'aṟam', however, continues to refer to Dharma in general not restricted to renunciation alone. It is true in 'aṟam pūṇṭār' those who have undertaken the duty of Dharma - Tiruvaḷḷuvar refers to the people who had renounced. But that is because of the context marked by the word 'pūṇṭar'. These are the people who have got a sacred mission and who have accepted that mission as their rēligious duty.

The words used here as referring to 'nīttār' may be noted. These are: 'tuṟantār' those who have renounced, 'aṟam pūṇṭār' those who have accepted the mission of Dharma; 'aṟavōr' means the same thing; 'ceyaṟku ariya ceyvār' those who have achieved what is difficult for others; 'periyar' the great, 'kuṇam eṉṉum kuṉṟu ēṟi niṉṟar' those who have reached the pinnacle of perfection; 'niṟaimoḻi māntar' the people of the words of never failing significance, words which are real mantras.

There are three more descriptions which really explain the meaning of 'nīttār'.. "The great have the real knowledge or wisdom; this is the goad which controls the five elephants of senses." This idea is not new, but very significant. Here it is not a life of world-negation. The aṟavōr are not the slaves but the masters of the sense organs, because they know that these five sensations with all their multitudinous forms and temptations ultimately depend on the man who experiences them. The world is experienced and known through the sense organs. If that experience is pure and true, the right philosophy and the right Dharma are known and followed, 'cuvai oḷi ūṟu ōcai nāṟṟam eṉṟā aintiṉ vakai terivāṉ'. "He who knows the various aspects or truths of the Five viz Taste, Light, Touch, Sound and Smell (which make up the experience of this world to start with".) A slave to the passions can never have that experience and knowledge which are not easily achieved by others. In the Great, the hankering after the senses is completely extinguished 'aintavittāṉ'; here it is not the death of the sense organs but the complete control and mastery over the dangerous instruments

of knowledge and life that is denoted; the poisonous fangs of the five headed cobra of sensations have been removed and in that way these Greatmen have sublimated them in the service of Dharma. The great man is therefore, 'uraṉ eṉṉum tōṭṭiyāṉ ōr aintum kāppāṉ'—'He who controls (the elephants of sensations) with his goad of the real strength (viz. Right Knowledge or Experience)'. These passions are also sublimated and what may appear to an outsider, as an outburst of anger on the part of the Great is really a righteous indignation. There is not however any evil intention, lurking in his mind. This exhibition of righteous indignation is momentary though volcanic in its effect. Since, as will be seen later, Dharma is inspired by love, even when there is that outburst the great man continues to be an embodiment of universal love, whose mission in life is to help all to attain the perfection through this universal love.

> "*antaṉar eṉpōr aṟavōrmaṟṟu evvuyirkkum*
> *centaṉmai pūṇṭuoḻuka lāṉ*"

"Antaṉar (i.e. those of cool and beautiful nature i.e. the people of kindness) are really the aṟavor (~~the people of Dharma~~); for, it is they who live according to their ideal of being upright and kind (cool) to every living being". This final conception of the great men clearly emphasises their importance in any description of Dharma which is their universal mission.

(e)

The fourth chapter of this Introduction emphasises Dharma. This gives a key, as it were to unlock the treasures of Tirukkuṟaḷ. Though Tirukkuṟaḷ speaks of Artha, Dharma and Kāma, all these three are really the three different aspects of one universal Dharma. This is a conception which has already been referred to, 'Artha and Kāma follow the lead of Dharma' sings Puṟanāṉūṟu. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar will make Dharma the real moving spirit whose outward manifestations will be the three-fold Dharma, yielding the glory including mokṣa. It yields all kinds of wealth and happiness—all that come through Dharma. There is nothing higher than Dharma. There is no fall greater than forgetting it. Dharma alone is what has to be performed, escaping from

condemnation; One has to perform Dharma in all possible ways, without any break and without procrastination. Tirukkuṟaḷ believes in the life after death and also believes one should escape the cycle of births. Dharma helps one in all these ways.

The phrase 'ollum vakaiyāṉ' "in ways which are possible for you" is significant. A poor man can be kind to others without becoming a millionaire; kind thoughts, kind words and kind acts are not the privilege of the few. This brings out Tolkāppiyar's conception of Vākai. Vaḷḷuvar furfher emphasises the mental purity which alone is important as the real inspiration, even when one's words are not learned and even when one's acts are not theatrical. It is the hankering after pleasures of a selfish life that is called 'avā'. It is this which is 'mācu' or fhe impurity of mind; whilst purity consists in its absence or as it will be seen later in sublimating it into universal love 'tūymai eṉpatu ava-v-iṉmai', "Purity is the absence of avā (selfish love)". Therefore all Dharma ultimately consists in becoming mentally purified and perfected. In the absence of this pure mind the so called righteous conduct becomes nothing more than a show, Therefore there should be no hankering after anything. When there is no hankering there is no anger, when such hankering is not fulfilled. There is no competition in this life of universal co-operation and therefore there is no jealousy or envy or any feeling of superiority in any walk of life. The acts therefore which never inspire Dharma are those of jealousy, desire or anger. The perfect equanimity of the mind is revealed by one's speech which avoids all bitterness and unkindness. Therefore Dharma is that which knows no envy, no hankering, no anger and no bitter words,

In this introduction we have a glimpse of the working of the mind of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. To him Dharma is omnipresent. It is the perfection of the man—material, intellectual, domestic, spiritual and moral. He believes in the perfect men who are the embodiments of this Dharma, the standing examples for the world to follow. He also believes in Nature's help in the path of righteousness. He believes in God, the inner inspiration of the Universal Dharma.

(f)

It is from this point of view that we have to understand his Tirukkuṟaḷ. But in his descriptions of the three-fold goal of life Vaḷḷuvar does not want to force others to accept his fundamental beliefs, He therefore, chooses to discuss the three–fold goal without clubbing them together under the title of Dharma. He also does not want to emphasise any missionary life for all. He also may be presumed to lay down his ideas of the three-fold goal of life without reference to God or Nature. This is not to say that he relinquishes these fundamental ideas. Though he is certain indeed that this belief should be the inspiration, he is tolerant enough to appreciate other points of view and to lay down the scheme of life as acceptable to all.]His inner inspiration cannot be hidden completely; but he explains it in a way suitable for others. Even in the Introduction he has really attempted to follow the path of least resistance; but still others may not give these ideas the fundamental position which he will give them in his scheme of things.

III

According to Tiruvaḷḷuva mālai, the last sub-division of this Aṟattu-p-pāl is the chapter on 'ūḻ'. According to this verse, this does not form part of the chapters on illaṟam and tuṟavaṟam, The same idea is also repeated in a verse quoted by Kāḷiṅkar at the end of his commentary on the chapter on 'ūḻ'; 'ūḻ' is something ripe for enjoyment; it is an order something like cause and effect. Parimēlaḻakar calls it 'niyati' or uniformity of nature in the universe which includes the mental, moral, spiritual as well as material universe. Tiruvaḷḷuvar also uses the word 'pāl' that is what is one's innate nature or innate endowment or what is one's own natural share in the universe. There is a phrase occurring in Kuṟaḷ 'vakuttāṉ vakutta vakai' which according to Kāḷiṅkar means that which has been achieved by one as one's share of nature. In that sense one is the architect of one's own fate, not only in this birth but in the previous births. Parimēlaḻakar, however, will interpret the term 'vakuttāṉ' not as the person to determine the enjoyment of his own share of fate but the ordainer or Lord of fate. Tiruvaḷḷuvar

also refers to 'ulakattu iyarkai', 'that is the nature of the world', perhaps referring to determinism. He also speaks of 'uṇmai aṟivu' as contrasted with 'nūl aṟivu'. Uṇmai aṟivu is one's own innate knowledge, something which characterises one from one's birth. Parimēlaḻakar interprets 'uṇmai' as fate. Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of 'ākūl', good fortune and 'pōkūḷ' and 'iḻavūḻ' misfortune. There is also the word 'teyvam', used elsewhere for this 'ūḻ' in Tirukkuṟaḷ (619).

Apart from the chain of cause and effect in the material world, Tirukkuṟaḷ probably assumes the existence of such a chain in the moral and mental world as well. This is why the transmigration theory is upheld. What may not be clearly explicable from what happens in this birth has to be explained in terms of the happenings in other births. The mysteries of this universe such as the inexplicable failures of what to us seem to be a successful attempt, the unforeseen success of attempts which we feel should end in failure, the mysterious ignorance of the wise and the learned, the consequent divorce of knowledge from success or wealth, the sufferings in the midst of wealth, the evil resulting from good, the good resulting from evil, the futility at times of all good efforts, and the inescapability from the allotted share, resist all reasonable explanations in the absence of the theory of Karma.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of 'iruviṉai' or two kinds of Karmas and also the cycle of births from which one has to escape. There is one thing in this mystery which appeals to him and which he often refers to. The beggar and the man who has renounced, for all outward purposes, are equal; both can boast of no worldly possessions. But the beggar is miserable and tries to escape from his poverty. But the man who has renounced is happy at his independence and freedom from the worldly fetters; and then the very same poverty is his glory. But this is possible only for the chosen few and that is why they are a few, while others who do not welcome the sufferings of tapas are many. That is the very reason why the beggars are in greater number. 'Ilar palar ākiya kāraṇam nōṟpār cilar palar nōlātavar (270). "Those who bear the sufferings as a path to perfection are only a few; others are many. That is the reason why the poor are many" is interpreted here in this way, though Parimēlaḻakār

will give a different interpretation. Why are not those beggars like the people of the renounced? "They are not blessed with inner vision and mental contentment". That is the cause of their Karma. Otherwise these beggars would have welcomed renunciation. Here is therefore the way out of this unending chain of causation. It is not a struggling against fate, a mere fretting and fuming. One has to welcome the mysterious effects as natural according to the theory of Karma. It is not misery alone that is inexplicable, though that alone makes us murmur and revolt. Even the good things of the world and the happiness we enjoy are equally inexplicable. 'If you are over-joyed with fortune, why bewail this misfortune? Keep the equanimity of the mind and accept the happenings as the very Nature of this world. The scientist who tries to escape the workings of law of gravitation understands the law of Nature and escapes from it only by following that law. Appreciating the limitations of that law alone helps him to escape from that law. As has been often pointed out, there is determinism in a game of cards where the players have no control over the distribution of cards. Still whatever cards the players get, they play the game according to the pre-established rule and win the game, thanks to their ingenuity. In this sense, determinism is not against the freedom of our spiritual life. Karma is all-powerful. But its limitations are well realised by a wise man and then, even the Karma is utilised on the way to salvation, without any opposition or frustration, in the same way in which the scientist uses the uniformity of Nature for his scientific advancement.

All this is not explicitly stated by Tiruvaḷḷuvar. But the explanations given here are distortions of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's views. In any case the importance of this chapter standing alone very much like the introductory chapters, should be realised. Perhaps the author feels that though he himself will place the theory of Karma as something central in the scheme of things he is not prepared to force it on unbelieving minds so as to make it central, even in the explanations of the three-fold goal of life given in the other chapters of his work. This 'ūḻ' applies not only to the achievements of Dharma but also to those of Artha and Kāma. This has been emphasised by Parimēlaḻakar and Maṇakkuṭavar. One more thing may be stated. This Aṟattuppāl starts

with the emphasis on God and ends with the emphasis on Karma. Perhaps there is no contradiction. 'Ūḷ' and 'iruviṉai' oppress those who have not the correct perspective as already stated; but those who walk in the path of righteousness towards God are not fettered by this Karma; for theirs is the mental equanimity to which the Kuṟaḷ refers to.

> "*naṉṟāṅkāl nallavā-k- kāṇpavar aṉṟāṇkāl*
> *allal paṭuvatu evaṉ?*" (379)

" Why should those who see only good and hapiness in everything when fortune smiles on them, suffer and feel miserable when misforune undertakes them?"

IV

(a)

One may now try to consider the conception of Dharma as one of the three goals of life. Tiruvaḷḷuvar according to Tiruvaḷḷuva Mālai treats of domestic life in twenty chapters and of the life of renunciation in thirteen chapters. Both these two kinds of life, form together what is known as Dharma. Are these two aspects of Dharma really two different ways of life which have nothing in common? Bergson has made us familiar with the idea of looking at these two aspects as representing two different varieties of Morals. One is the morality of the ordinary man with his limited fields of love and activity, and the other is the morality of those who are, from their birth, world men, whose love extends to the whole world and universe, like Christ, Ramakrishna, Ramalinga, Buddha and Sankara. From this point of view both are natural to the people parctising those two kinds of moralities. There is nothing negative in 'tuṟavaṟam' It is no running away from life. 'Tuṟavaṟam' therefore represents a higher perfection and a more comprehensive love. Probably because of this interpretation, the great German philosopher Schweitzer does not see any negativism or world-negation in Tiruvaḷḷuvar, inspite of the latter writing on 'tuṟavaṟam.'

But there is one difficulty in the way. The 'tuṟavaṟam' Tiruvaḷḷuvar treats of, does certainly lead to the universalism

and perfection of the world man. However, when one reads Tirukkural, one could not assert that the turavaram which he contemplates is the turavaram of the native born world man. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that Tiruvalluvar is speaking of those who are not born with this universal love but who have to become perfected in that way. Here again one sees that Valluvar is not developing a world-negation. He is not describing a life which is out of the ordinary. He emphasises those points in one's life which have to be developed to perfection. Turavaram is a natural development for all.

It may be admitted that there are two kinds of morality. But the second kind of morality of universal love is not something reserved only for those, who are by nature followers of that morality. It cannot be denied that there are such born saints; but others also can reach that stage by achieving that perfection during their life. From this point of view the two moralities become one; but represent two stages of the gradual development of human perfection, though the perfection may be inborn in a few great men of the world. Interpreted this way, turavaram ceases to be world-negation. It is a perfection reached in the natural way, and therefore illaraviyal and turavaraviyal should be taken together.

(b)

One may be tempted to question this interpretation which may look like introducing our own ideas into Tirukkural. It is here that the Pan-Indian conception will be a help in proving that this interpretation represents only the well-known ideal, The four-fold āsrama life has not been followed in full in Tamil-land. But the four-fold life is a natural development towards universalism and perfection. There is the life of a Brahmachari—the unmarried student receiving education. Next is the stage reached by the Brahmachari when he marries and leads a family life with all its social responsibilities. The third is the stage of Vānaprasta, where the husband and wife retire to forest seeking perfection. The next spiritual development in this path is that of the Sanyāsin, the man of the universe. Kalidasa describes this ideal of gradual four-fold development as governing the lives of all the perfect kings whose history he narrates with epic grandeur in his

Raghuvamsa. Kamban refers to this concept when Dasaratha wants to retire to the forest after crowning Rama.

Therefore our interpretation is nothing new. But in the Tamil country the four–fold life was looked upon as a two-fold life, of the family man and of the man of the universe, spoken of in terms of illaṟam and tuṟavaṟam. Brahmachari or the student after all belongs to the family. The refusal to divide the non-domestic life into two as Vānaprasta and Sanyāsa is significant in the Tamilian thought. Vānaprasta and Sanyāsa are clubbed together as Tuṟavaṟam, The emphasis here therefore cannot be laid on living away from one's wife in tuṟavaṟam. The couple, no longer co-operating for the greatness of the family, now co-operate for the perfection of their universal love. Therefore 'tuṟavu' is not renouncing the world. One cannot get away from the world of action. What is important is the change in the attitude towards life. That there is no longer an emphasis on the reality of "my family and other families", "my country and other countries," Therefore Tiruvaḷḷuvar emphasises the liquidation of the pride and ignorance involved in one's using the terms, the 'I' and the 'Mine' "yāṉ eṉatu eṉṉum cerukku aṟuppāṉ" (346). "He who cuts himself away from (the fettering bondage of) the pride (egotism) which indulges in speaking of the 'I' and the 'Mine'. The final perfection of universal love is denoted from a practical point of view, as the riddance of all hankerings and consequent attachments. The last chapter in tuṟavaṟa-v-iyal is avā-v-aṟuttal. The hankering after pleasures and the consequent attachments should be sublimated into the universal love. It is this which is emphasised in the chapter on tuṟavu. Nowhere in 'tuṟavaṟaviyal' is any special demand made that one should renounce his wife.

(c)

'Tuṟavaṟam' should be therefore explained in terms of its positive aspects, though for making its definition clearer, the contrast with 'illaṟam' has to be emphasised in terms of negative phrases. It must not be assumed, however, that 'illaṟam' is the direct opposite of 'tuṟavaṟam'. Certain aspects of life are tolerated in illaṟam, which should not be tolerated when human perfection and universal love are to be achieved. It is from this point of view that one has to interpret the headings in

'turavaraviyal 'like' pulāl–maruttal' refusing non-vegetarian food. 'kūṭāvoḷukkam' getting rid of any conduct which does not agree with 'turavaram', 'kaḷḷāmai' getting rid of any idea of stealth or fraud, 'cinavāmai' absence of anger, 'innā ceyyāmai' refraining from doing any harm or from inflicting sufferings on others, 'kollāmai' non-killing of any living organism, 'nilayāmai' knowledge of impermanence of life, 'turavu,' renunciation 'parra-ruttal' cutting away the fetters of attachment. Tavam or tapas may also be looked upon as a negative act from this point in view. Though the forms of the phrases are negative, what is intended is the positive aspect of the mental equanimity and love which are denoted by these negative phrases. Therefore turavaram implies a positive state of mind and a life which one can infer from the absence of the acts described.

There are three important headings in 'turavaraviyal' which are expressed in positive terms 'aruḷuṭaimai' compassion or universal love, 'meyyuṇarvu' true knowledge and 'vāymai' truth. 'Aruḷuṭaimai' or being blessed with universal compassion is the beginning of 'turavaram'. It is the real inspiration which governs life and ultimately blossoms into human perfection. It is from this point of view of universal love that one refuses non-vegetarian food. The other virtues expressed in terms of negative phrases are inspired by this 'aruḷ'.

It is curious that 'kaḷḷāmai' should be included in 'turavara-viyal' instead of in illāraviyal'. Pariti translates it as 'kapaṭa puttiyai viṭutal' that is, renouncing the fraudulent designs. Here is included the intellectual fraud. One ought not to pretend that because of universal outlook he can look upon other's property as his, 'turavaram' therefore recognise the proprietary rights whether they be communal or individual. The mind involved in such fraudulent designs is inimical to the life of aruḷ. Even by negligence, such evil thoughts should not occur while inspired by aruḷ where one aims at being kind to all. Such negligence represents the absence of right knowledge and the absence of aruḷ. It is instigated only by real ignorance or benighted intelligence. This chapter on 'Kaḷḷāmai' may probably suggest that 'turavaram' which must include Vānaprasta contemplates certain minimum possessions. Even a sanyāsin has to be clothed and fed. 'Kaḷḷāmai', 'getting rid of any idea of

stealth or fraud is the state of the mind. Kūṭā oḻukkam "getting rid of any conduct which does not agree with 'tuṟavaṟam' " represents the outward behaviours. Fraudulent mind begets fraudulent behaviour which in a saint is a sin against society. To avoid the fraudulent behaviour one should cultivate the mind which indulges in no fraud—Kaḷḷāmai, 'getting rid of any idea of stealth or fraud'. But avoidance of the outward manifestation will lead to the ultimate perfection of the mind. That is why Kaḷḷāmai 'getting rid of any idea of stealth or fraud' follows the chapter on Kūṭā oḻukkam.

Iṉṉā ceyyāmai 'refraining from doing any harm or from inflicting sufferings on others' and kollāmai 'non-killing of any living organism' are also important. Even under trying circumstances refusing to kill any living organism is possible only to those who have developed this spiritual perfection of universal love when according to folklore, even the wild beings become the embodiments of love towards such a saint. In all these places Tiruvaḷḷuvar wants us to place ourselves in the position of the living being who has to receive the sufferings.

For making this kind of a life of universal love possible, one practises tapas. Tapas is not mental and physical mortification. One has to put up with the sufferings inflicted by others if one is successful in leading a life of universal love. The words 'nōṉṟal' and 'nōṉpu' mean consciously putting up with any painful act almost welcoming it as a penance or as a spiritual practice or undertaking. Parimélaḻakar interprets it to mean fasts; but in the path of Universal love what is required is to put up with any suffering caused by others. It is this practice that is emphasised by Kāḷiṅkar and Maṉakkuṭavar. But Paritiyār, true to the spirit of Vaḷḷuvar, interprets it in a wider sense. It is not a question of putting up with the sufferings inflicted, but a positive act of sympathy and love towards others who suffer and therefore it is sharing their sufferings and taking upon one's shoulders the burden of relieving such sufferings. It may also mean a pity and a sympathy even for those who have inflicted the suffering on one who is full of pity. The next aspect of this practice is refusing to do any harm to any living being even when the latter inflict a suffering or endanger one's life. These two aspects are really the two sides of one and the same coin

of Tapas. Tapas therefore is the attempted perfection through such experiments. Suffering thus welcomed by a loving heart makes the spirit glorious. What is aimed by the loving heart is thus achieved through Tapas. Such a man alone becomes perfect. Even from a selfish point of view, this is great because such a man alone attains mastery over himself. He alone discharges his duties. He works for himself in the best sense of the term whilst others become slaves of their own hankerings and waste their life, doing nothing for their own real good.

The chapter on 'kūṭāvoḻukkam', 'getting rid of any conduct which does not agree with tuṟavaṟam' will suggest that even in the age of Tiruvaḷḷuvar there were people who traded upon the credulity of the mass who always value the life of sanyāsin.

The right kind of knowledge or wisdom is emphasised in 'meyyuṇartal'. One should not mistake unreal things for real. Whatever be the thing and whatever be its outward nature, true wisdom lies in realising its real truth. One must not be a doubting Thomas. One must achieve the clear vision leading to certainty and spiritual action. Our sense organs are the windows of knowledge. But in the absence of true wisdom and true vision, even the correct scientific phenomenal knowledge will not yield any useful harmony of the conflicting bits of knowledge. Involvement in the cycle of births is really ignorance. When one escapes from this, the glorious truth dawns and one's own true Being is realised where there is no lust, anger or delusion. This is where one has to take refuge, getting rid of the false attachments one is accustomed to. In short, the true wisdom or perception of the inner Truth dawns only when attachment ceases and the true universal love blossoms. We have already seen the force of the words tūymai and vāymai,

> " *tūymai eṉpatu avā-v-iṉmai maṟṟatu*
> *vāymai vēṇḍa varum,*" (364)

"Purity is the absence of selfish desires. That purity comes when one aspires for truth".

V

(a)

A deeper insight which leads to a perception of the truth behind everything seen and experienced has been described as true wisdom which alone is capable of removing the fetters of attachment and of leading one to the stage of perfection beyond the sea of births. The importance of the term 'mey' or truth in 'mey-y-uṉartal' and the resulting freedom from attachments should be emphasised, as is made clear by the Kuṟaḷ.

> *"tūuymai eṉpatu ava-v-iṉmai maṟṟatu*
> *vāymai vēṇda varum."* (364)

"Purity is the absence of selfish desires. That purity comes when one aspires for Truth".

'Vāymai' is another name for truth but it emphasises the truth which shines through our speech. Truth is not terminal exactitude but the manifestation of the inner arul in speech. Therefore truth is speaking that which is not harmful; and Kuraḷ goes even to that extent of saying that even falsehood has the nature of truth if the perfect good which results therefrom is free from any fault whatsoever. Therefore it is the inner inspiration and the ultimate good which results—viz. the purity of both the means and the ends—that is important. The inspiration must be pure; otherwise our own conscience will scold us if we go against the grain of our heart by uttering a falsehood. "Be true to your conscience otherwise your very heart burns you". "One who follows this conduct certainly dwells in the minds of all." We have realised the truth of this statement in the life of Mahatma Gandhi.

There are two great virtues, one is Ahimsa; the other is Truth.

> *"oṉṟāka nallatu kollāmai marrataṉ*
> *piṉcāra - p - poyyāmai naṉru."* (323)

"The greatest virtue is non-killing; coming next to it is non-falsehood".

This is the accepted view. But Tiruvalluvar will give the place of prominence to truth. There is nothing more truthful than truth and if one follows the path of truth without fail, according to Tiruvalluvar one need not do any other good. This is because others are manifestations of this inner inspiration.

This reminds us of the conception of Satyagraha as held by Mahatma Gandhi. To him, Truth was God. Mahatma Gandhi has said, "To see the all-pervading spirit of truth face to face, one must be able to love the meanest creation as oneself". 'To place oneself in another's position is the golden rule' is the message of Judaicism and Christianity; and this has been emphasised by Tiruvalluvar (250, 318, etc.). All the negative phrases used by Tiruvalluvar, as already pointed out, represent Ahimsa. It is not a negative doctrine but the real positive energy of love and truth. "What is universal love and what is its opposite?"—thus asks Tiruvalluvar and he himself gives the reply. "Arul is Ahimsa, non-killing (not to kill); himsa or killing is the absence of Arul." In this way Ahimsa and arul are equated. The question may arise why the negative form 'kollamai' is used especially when the negative form misleads us into thinking that Ahimsa is only negative doctrine. 'All life and flesh' says Mahatma Gandhi, 'exists by some violence. Hence the highest religion has been defined by the negative word ahimsa. The world is bound by the chain of destruction. In other words, violence is an inherent necessity for life in the body. That is why a votary of Ahimsa always prays for ultimate deliverance from the bondage of the flesh. Ahimsa from another point of view, is truth. Ahimsa or truth implies fearlessness'.

One who becomes a lord universal love thus protects the living beings. There is nothing to be afraid of in his life. This truth and universal love pervade all aspects of life, and that has been explained in turavara-v-iyal. In Mahatma Gandhi we have a standing example of Tiruvalluvar's ideal man.

(b)

We may close our study of this aspect of our subjecct, by taking a look at modern thought. Ahimsa scrupulously

practised by the Jains, the compassion, governing the acts of the Buddhist and the satyagraha—the life principle of Mahatma Gandhi—these three explain much more than any commentary the underlying principle of Kuṟaḷ. Dr. Schweitzer's conception of reverence for life is significant. Matsya nyaya, as the will to live at first seems to rule the world. But in this western saint of the modern world, this ghastly drama becomes a drama of love. The will to live, he realises, has come to know about other wills-to-live. "There is unity" he says, "a longing to arrive at unity with itself to become universal". The phrase 'reverence for life' flashed forth as a revelation and at once the riddle of the universe was solved for him in terms of universal love. Thus dawned on him meyyuṇarvu, the great truth about the ethical world and life affirmation, together with all ideals of civilisations.

All life is suffering and this is the great truth of Tolkāppiyar's Kāñci. At the realisation of a reverence for life, one is seized with love which is really the deep pity for all creatures, not only for Man. The right word for this pity here is aruḷ. There alone the will to live, escapes the ghastly drama of matsya nyaya and proceeds to get purified on its way to universal love. Life to Schweitzer becomes sacred in the same way in which the Jains believe in it. As Mr. Elwin points out this great mass murderer of bacteria "goes out of the way to lift a parched earthworm from the dust and put it safely in the grass or stoop to rescue a struggling insect from a puddle; he will not tear leaves from a tree or pluck flowers in a garden." Schweitzer in fact has extended the principle of reverence for life beyond the realm of animal, bird, fish and insect to the humblest forms of the vegetable creation and even to forms of inanimate beauty. This reminds us of Kavunti aṭikaḷ's speech in Cilappatikāram, but in Schweitzer the dry bone becomes a divine incarnation. To Schweitzer this reverence for life is fellowship in joy and in effort; it includes feeling as one's own—all the concentration and all the aspirations of the will to live—its pleasures too and its language; to live itself out to the full, as well as its urge to self perfection. One gives out oneself for the other life. Therefore, there, one reveres all life as his own life. Goodness consists therefore in saving or helping of life, the enabling of whatever life one can influence to attain its highest development. Dostoevsky knew this reverence for life and the truth

of arul. " Love all God's creation the whole and every grain of sand in it. If you love everything you will perceive the divine mystery in things. Once you perceive it, you will begin to comprehend it better every day and you will come at last to live the whole world with an all embracing love."

Here comes to our mind Mahatma Gandhi's identification of himself with the poor and the downtrodden. 'Call me not a Mahatma' he cries, 'I am a bhangi, a sweeper and an out-caste' and he prefered living with them. His heart bleeds for the sufferings of the world. We know how the communal disturbances deeply affected him and how he prefered to bear the cross for all. The fasts were his tapas; he himself has said :

" My penance is the prayer of a bleeding heart, for forgiving the sins unwittingly committed ". This is the secret of his taking all responsibility for the so-called Himalayan blunders. Here we see what the Christian missionaries call 'the wound of compassion'. The chapter on Tapas in Kuraḷ should be read from this point of view. There is a bliss in this suffering, an expansion of our personality to the limit of universalism. This mystery of the mystic joy of the Cross is what explains the enchantments of Tragedy in literature where we undergo the same Tapas. This does not depend on the belief in ātman or God. Even an anatmic Buddhism experiences this. Here is what the Buddhist Santadēva writes: " A man should deligently foster the thought that his fellow creatures are the same as himself. All have the same sorrows, the same joy as I ; and I must guard them like myself. The body manifold of parts in its division of members must be preserved as a whole ; and so like-wise this manifold universe has its sorrow and joy in common. I must destroy the pain of another as though it were my own because it is a pain. I must show kindness to others, for they are creatures as I am myself ".

3. ARAṬṬUPPĀL—II

Illaṟam

I

(a)

One may now pass on to consider 'illaṟaviyal' as a stage leading on to the perfection of the universal love contemplated in

'tuṟavaṟaviyal'. There are here twenty chapters. The first chapter deals with domestic life and describes the importance of this life in the society as it is constituted of students and sanyasins, of the orphans and destitutes and of the poor and out-caste, of gods and new comers. There is also the duty of preserving the memory of the past generation and the care of the kinsmen. There is a beautiful phrase in Tiruvaḷḷuvar 'pāttūṉ' 'sharing one's food with others'—which is the greatness of domestic life. "If domestic life could be led according to Dharma what more does one gain by following other orders of life? Dharma is really domestic life." Vaḷḷuvar describes the inner inspiration and the nature of domestic life and the good effects flowing from it. Love and Dharma should characterise this life. Those precious possessions are its very nature in one sense; and its crown and glory in another sense. It is clear that domestic life can become the ideal life because it escapes the dangers inherent in other orders of life. It must however be inspired by love and blossom into Dharma. The word used for love is aṉpu as contrasted with aruḷ which characterises tuṟavaṟam. If aruḷ is universal love, aṉpu is the overflowing of kindness to those who are dear and near to oneself. It is true there is certain amount of self-interest to start with. The Greeks have tried to measure the differing grades of love as it were, by measuring the self-interest covering it. At the lowest point is the self-regarding love. Over and above that is the love which is completely delightful. At the top-most point, shines love which has no thought of the self but has always the interest of the delight of others, absolutely for the sake of others.

(b)

Even at the very first step in real love which the married couple feel towards each other, love reflects this highest point. "Those who have no love amass everything for themselves. Those who are blessed with real love give away even the bones of their bodies completely for the sake of others alone." This reminds us of the highest point of Greek love. The very body exists for the expression of love which is the very basis of the glory achieved by the happy couple. Love is the very basis of life: "aṉpiṉ vaḻiyatu uyir nilai"; in its absence we see only a corpse strutting

across the stage. There is another meaning given to this phrase 'Anpin vaḻiyatu'—'Love is a *life-giving, life-sustaining* power'. As emphasised by Soroken, "Other conditions being equal, ultruistic persons live longer than egoistic individuals. The combination of a person of too little love with too much hate, is largely responsible for many cardiovascular respiratory gastro-intestinal, endocrinological geneto-urinary and skin diseases plus some forms of epilepsy and headache". This is not something new to India. The Buddhist Dharmacakra represents love which is the eternal harmony expressing the great truth that all who love are healers of those who are in need of it.

(c)

But this love is still not the Universal love. It has to be transformed into that universal power, knowledge and truth of love. Before Tiruvaḷḷuvar comes to describe this love, blossoming in the beautiful garden of family life, he describes the directions in which this love turns, when the married couple come together and achieve a communion of their souls in their common life of love and service. An old Cankam poet describes it in the speech of the lovers 'irutalai-p-puḷḷiṉ ōruyiramme'. "We with two bodies have one soul like that of the fabulous bird with two heads." The wife knows no other God but her lover. The Kuṟal, 'teyvam toḻāl koḻunaṟṟōḻuteḷuvāḷ peyyeṉa-p-peyyum maḻai, "She does not worship any divine power; she worships her husband; if such a woman commands the rain, it will rain" reminds us of what Socrates speaks of in Plato's Symposium: "They seek a love who is to be made like him whom they serve and when they have found it they themselves imitate their God and persuade their love to do the same and educate him into the manner and nature of God as far as they can, for no feelings of envy or jealousy are entertained by them towards their beloved; but they do their utmost to create in him the greatest likeness of themselves and the God whom they honour". In this way the lover is there transformed into the ideal God though this love, coloured to start with what may seem to be lust, is attached to the body. But it soon becomes free from lust, and sooner or later the loving soul sees the entire Truth and becomes the Universal love. Woman is not expressive but she

has the potentialities of divinity. "She protects herself and protects the fair name and glory of their joint life—not only her own glory but the glory of her own husband. She never fails in tending her husband with loving care. She can win great glory in the world of gods."

(d)

But this love must be expanding in ever widening circles. This universalisation is made possible at the next step by their children, who form the crown and glory of a family which is blessed with the greatness of a wife. Here also love first expresses itself in the innocent pleasures of bodily contact. The very touch of the children turns ordinary food into sweet ambrosia. We experience momentarily at least the eternal embrace of universal love of which Mahatma Gandhi speaks in its fully ripened form. as visualised by him. "Having flung aside the sword, there is nothing except the cup of love which I can offer to those who oppose me. It is by offering that cup that I expect to draw them close to me. I cannot think of permanent enmity between man and man ; and believing as I do in the theory of rebirth I live in the hope that if not in this birth in some other birth I shall be able *to hug all humanity in friendly embrace.*" It is this ideal hugging which we experience though for a moment when the innocent child embraces us. The children's touch is the body's greatest delight. Their lisp is the greatest delight to our ears. Only those who have not heard the music of this lisping praise the music of the lute and the flute. In describing the bliss which results from our love towards children, Tiruvaḷḷuvar must be having in his mind what Mahatma Gandhi has been saying about hugging the universe. There is no selfishness, at least conscious selfishness, in this bliss on either side. This experience should become universal. For the children, the importance of family cannot be exaggerated. In the absence of a family and motherly love, they succumb to wasting diseases and become selfish pleasure-hunters. Our nursery is really the nursery of love. In this nursery, as described by Vaḷḷuvar, there is no selfish interest because everything guides us on to the path of universal love. The parents are happy that their children are

greater than themselves, that they are recognised as perfect beings by the world at large.

(e)

It is after having described the blossoming of love in the concrete situation of a loving wife and a husband, enjoying the greatness of their children when the latter prove useful to the society at large, that Vaḷḷuvar describes the love still further widening and overflowing to those who come as guests. The pleasures and the greatness of the sharing of the food with unexpected guests are then described. Tiruvaḷḷuvar describes it as a vēḷvi or a great sacrifice. It must be a loving reception, otherwise there is no expansion of love. The newcomer should not sense any gloom of inconvenience, darkening the brows of the host. Paritiyār emphasises that this loving duty should be performed as a communion by both the husband and the wife.

(f)

Inner love should become manifest in sweet words and righteous action. Then only the service of love converts them to the creed of love. As Augustine has shown us 'love never faileth'. The sweet words therefore announce to others the coming in of the spring of love. The words are sweet; they are full of love; there is no deceit whatsoever. It shows that these words are inspired by a glimpse of the universal truth. Tiruvaḷḷuvar thus reminds us that at every stage on this path of universal love, the final vision comes as a distant glimpse even when one starts on this arduous journey to the land of universal love. Again and again Vaḷḷuvar emphasises the inner inspiration and the inner purity. When the heart is full, how can there be any misery or poverty? In such a man, the words themselves shine like ornaments of glory and in this way one makes great progress on the path of virtue. "Why does a man indulge in harsh words when one experiences the infectious bliss inspired by sweet words? It is like clutching at the unripe fruits when the sweet ripe fruits are available in plenty."

(g)

In this kind of life in society one meets with rebuffs from unexpected quarters. One has however not to lose his patience. He must still follow the path of love. The duty of gratitude is emphasised in such a way as to strengthen the hold of love on us. No man is wholly evil or wholly good. Therefore in this path of love one has to remember always the good things of the world. We must train ourselves to praise and appreciate whatever help others offer us, at the proper time and at the proper place, without expecting any return. The greatness of an action lies in the loving response kindled in the heart of the righteous men· Therefore to slight any help received bespeaks the smallness of our mind. Trained thus in glorifying the helping hand of others, we always think of the good turns. We never desert the good aspects. After this kind of training, it is easy to concentrate on the good things done and to forget any injury received. "The deadliest deed is straight forgotten by the grateful memory of a single benefit received". The idea which occurs in folk-lore and in Cankam age comes as the final conclusion; 'He who has killed every virtue may yet escape. There is no escape for him who has killed a benefit'.

(h)

But this does not mean that when one's legal judgement is called upon to be pronounced, one should be partial to anyone who has helped us. Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of 'naṭuvu nilaimai', that is, being upright without any sign of partiality. He calls it takuti or 'propriety'; ceppam, the sense of justice. It recognises no stranger or friend or enemy and welcomes any adversity which may flow therefrom. Here again Vaḷḷuvar emphasises the inner purity. The mind must be upright; then only the words can be judged just. The golden rule 'Do as will be done by' is suggested here also to the trader, who is in need of good trade; he takes good care of other's goods as he does his own.

(i)

Here come in, humanity and self-control. As Mahatma Gandhi puts it "Love is the strongest force the world possesses and yet it

is the humblest imaginable". The absence of humility and self control is vanity and pride. They are not inspired by love. They lead, therefore, to the unrighteous path of selfishness and ignorance. The verses which praise the beauty and humility remind us of Gandhi. Humility is the greatest wealth. It is the glory praised by the wise. To all alike, humility is great; but to the wealthy amongst them, it is indeed a great treasure. Love thus leads to humility and as Gandhi says, "We must act even as the mango tree which droops at its load of fruits. Its grandeur lies in its majestic loneliness". Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of its power and grandeur. "The man of humility is greater and grander than the mountain. The humility and self-control of the five sense organs practised in one single birth is powerful all through seven births." Dostoevesky who has seen the hidden depths of the evil in man finds only one escape therefrom and that is humility; and therefore he praises humility even as Vaḷḷuvar does. But this humility must be a loving humility. "Loving humility" he states "is the most effective force, the most terrific, the most powerful unequalled by any other force in the world." Vaḷḷuvar also speaks of the control of the tongue. "Even one word causing pain destroys all virtues. The blister caused by fire will heal from inside; but not the brand of a bitter tongue".

(j)

Thus the loving man with all sweetness, propriety, justice and humility becomes one with the ideals of his society. Good conduct and the demeanour or propriety as expected by that society, become his second nature. Those who cannot move in harmony with the world are learned idiots. Good conduct is our best guide in this life. It makes for excellence. It is the mainspring of all Dharma. The nobility of birth is symbolised by good demeanour. Therefore it has to be protected more than our life; for dire consequences follow from any deviation therefrom. The greatness of this propriety is that it is inspired by the social consciousness which is the result of the development of the fundamental principle of love.

(k)

Love is different from lust. Lust is vulgar and demeaning. As already stated love inspires the lover to behave towards the beloved after the manner of God. Love is therefore spiritual but lust is carnal. If love sees the sparks of divinity in the beloved, it cannot cast any lustful glance at others' wives. It is an insult to one's own ideal, to one's own life, to one's own wife, to one's own society. It is an insult to womanhood and to creation in which woman stands there as a saviour. The sense of revolt which Tiruvaḷḷuvar feels against this folly of lusting another's wife is beautifully reflected in Kamban's great epic. The greatest and the most unpardonable sin which Ravana and Vāli committed is this lust for another's woman. It is because of this, that whilst the widow of Vāli becomes the lady love of Sugriva in Valmiki she is painted as a chaste widow by Kamban; for otherwise Kamban in his scheme of poetry, cannot justify Vāli's execution if Sugriva were to misbehave like Vāli, after the latter's death.

"One who lusts for another's wife knows no Artha or Dharma. There is no greater fool than him; he is as good as dead. What does it matter how great he is? It is his eternal infamy. Enmity, sin, fear and infamy ever dog his fate. The man of righteous domestic life is free from this sin. His is indeed a noble manliness; it is real heroism; it is the virtue of the perfect man; it is the exemplary conduct. Such a one deserves good things of the world." This condemnation of lust is important as showing the greatness of love by its contrast. The full significance of this conception should be understood for a correct appreciation of Vaḷḷuvar's approach.

(1)

Vaḷḷuvar next emphasises the virtue of forgiveness or forbearance, There is the great example of our Mother Earth. as the Indians feel, who bears the delvers. This reminds us according to the arrangement of the chapters of Vaḷḷuvar, that we must forgive even one who lusts for another's wife, Vaḷḷuvar seems to hear the message of love in the golden silence of Mother Earth, preaching by her practice that all of us are her children—

a message which our folk-lore emphasises. Vaḷḷuvar speaks of oṟuttal, the path of punishment and violence, poṟuttal, the path of forbearance and forgiving, and maṟattal, the path of forgetting the evil done. The Jews preach against revenge and also against bearing any grudge, They also speak of being good, because of love taking an offence in silence. Al Koran promises paradise for those who pardon others, Jesus, according to Peter, demands that one should forgive seventy times seven. Manu advises the twice born to bless the other who curses him. Therefore Vaḷḷuvar's emphasis on poṟuttal is not unknown to others. Showing compassion towards the offenders because of the sorrow which will result is also emphasised by Vaḷḷuvar. There is another statement made by Vaḷḷuvar : "Conquer with forbearance one who has done you harm in one's insolent pride". These are not to be equated with the views of Seneca : "The most contemptuous form of revenge is not to regard your adversary as worth your vengeance." 'Iṉṉā ceytārai oṟuttal avar nāṇa naṉṉayam ceytuviṭal ". " The best way of punishing those who have done any harm is to do such a good turn for them, so that they will be ashamed thereby". Here, however, there is really no sign of revenge. What Vaḷḷuvar is referring, is really, to the irresistible and an undying force of love, as pointed by Augustine. According to Augustine, "Love is undaunted by opposition, rejection, irresponsiveness ; it lives by giving out not by taking in. Love never faileth. Nothing is so hard that love cannot soften it. And therefore whatever opposes it must in the end give way ; freedom for its recipients also evokes from them not by contract, nor by force, but by the invincible suasion of a moral appeal—an answer of love freely given in return". Therefore Vaḷḷuvar speaks of those great men who undergo these penance of forbearance as purer than the people who have renounced the world. This forbearance is a sign of perfection. To bear with the ignorant is the might of the might. Lastly, one may note Vaḷḷuvar's path of forgetting the transgressions. It is a useful and psychologically sound advice. This shows that Tiruvaḷḷuvar tries to give us practical suggestions for following the ideal path. It is significant that this chapter on forbearance follows piṟaṉil viḷaiyāmai and Kampaṉ has tried to glorify Rama when Rama was prepared to forgive Ravaṇa even on the battle field, if he only surrendered Sita.

(m)

In this path of expanding love, when the social conciousness is developed, the good of any one is realised as the good of all. Nothing seems to be negligible; and a feeling of reverence and joy is experienced. If what another enjoys and possesses, in that way, is as good as one's own, how can any one envy another? Such a feeling of jealousy amounts to the destruction of our own real personality, even in the absence of enemies. One must therefore realise the evils that spring from the green eyed monster of jealousy. Dharmic progress and welfare consist in avoiding this corrosive feeling, which kills all activity and leads to the fall of man and his society. It is the path of darkness and hell. However, prosperity resulting from jealousy, and fall resulting from its absence, often appear. This is a puzzle. Vaḷḷuvar is realistic enough to accept such facts. "These have to be pondered over" he says. One commentator will assert that this means they are momentary. The other will bring the explanation of a previous birth. A third will affirm that such a sight is a mere show; for, at their very root, things are different; there is no inner peace in that prosperity or no inner suffering in that fall. This interpretation of Kāḷiṅkar is probably nearer the heart of Vaḷḷuvar because Kuraḷ hastens to add, "There is none prosperous through envy and none free from envy ever bereft of good fortune". Though the word aḻukkāṟāmai is negative in form, it represents a positive state of mind full of love which avoids these pitfalls in life.

(n)

Ambition and desire for wealth are the expressions of a mind striving towards perfection. But this ambition should be just and spotless, not a mere hankering after low pleasures. When one, without stopping with mere jealousy, proceeds somehow to get other's possessions, this will lead to endless evil. Therefore the root must be destroyed—the root of covetousness. At this stage of progress, one cares for inner tranquillity and equanimity. To our sense of justice, Vaḷḷuvar appeals. Vaḷḷuvar is practical enough to point out the infamy which will result and which will affect, not only oneself but one's own family. Those who have the glorious vision of Dharma are not mean enough to lose their

mental equanimity, simply because of poverty. With the expansion of love, one's subtle understanding and universal knowledge also expand. "Of what use is this comprehension, if one covets the good things in others and bemeans himself by doing insincere deeds?" Here again Vaḷḷuvar emphasises the inner inspiration of love, a love which is ambitious enough to become aruḷ, but which will wither away at the sight of greed for wealth and the evil desires therefor. The wealth that greed amasses is from the point of view of this inner inspiration, very very bitter indeed, at the time of its enjoyment. Honesty is the best policy; and the absence of greed may mean not only the preservation of wealth but also its increase. The man of universal comprehension knows therefore the righteous path of increasing one's wealth. Therefore the greatest victory is the proud feeling of non-desire. Vaḷḷuvar's emphasis on victory and real heroism, at every step on this path of love and Dharma, reminds us of the conception of Vākai in Cankam poetry. The victory is here the victory of love on its glorious march. Here again, one must note that it is the mental perfection of non-desire that is emphasised, because at the stage of perfection reached by now, one may not openly perform, any evil act. But evil thoughts may be lurking behind in the mind. They have also to be uprooted; they have to be sublimated and transmuted into love.

(o)

We have already seen that mind expresses itself in speech and actions. We have, from that point of view, seen the necessity for kind words and humility in speech. Envy and greed may try to escape not in deeds but in words, without any serious or outward consequences. Here lies a danger of back-biting which may create an illusion of speaking the truth in a spirit of justice. Here is deceit; fraud and pretension; for, one pretends to be kind and smiling in one's presence whilst the former speaks ill of the latter in his absence. It is much better to speak the unkind words in loud tones to the person concerned; for at least that will show his courage. Cowardice has no place on this path of love which, as already pointed out, is the path of fearless heroism. The back-biter is dangerous to society, because by sowing discord, he cuts the very root of friendship which binds the society together. "If

one is so unkind as to trumpet the fault of his friends, what will he not do to strangers?" Back-biting is a heinous sin which reveals at once that the speaker is not inspired by Dharma. It is this danger that the author has in view—the danger which besets the path of virtue. He condemns this with a sense of righteous indignation. Vaḷḷuvar feels that Earth must split and bury the slanderer or throw him out. "Why does Earth put up with this burden of a slanderer? It is because that Mother earth is realising her Dharma of universal compassion? Let the slanderer not speak any word of virtue; let him do any evil deed if he wants; but let him not, for his own good, back-bite; this false mind of a back-biter is more heinous than the destruction of Dharma and the glorification of evil."

To die rather than back-bite is better from the point of view of the development of Dharma. Often Tiruvaḷḷuvar prefers death to the onslaught on Dharma. Physical death to one, who believes in the cycle of births, is nothing more than a sleep, whilst the performance of evil is real spiritual death. As usual, Vaḷḷuvar also gives us practical suggestions. There is the golden rule. 'Do as it will be done by' and there is also the pragmatic view that 'honesty is the best policy'. Will not slanderer provoke others, to seek out and expose the faults of the slanderer? 'Before removing the mote from your neighbours' eyes remove the beam from your eyes' thus advises Jesus. "Let the slanderer scan his own faults as he does others' faults; can then there be any evil occurring to any living being?" asks Vaḷḷuvar.

(P)

Falsehood, harsh words, back-biting and idle talk are the four kinds of speech which express the inner evil. These four have been emphasised by the Jains and Buddhists. Maṇimēkalai refers to them. Therefore on the path of love and virtue, these symptoms of evil life should disappear. The absence of falsehood appears as truth. This, in its absolute purity of love, is possible only in the perfect man. True words are the symptoms of this universal love in those who have realised the universal vision of truth. Therefore, that is described only in Tuṟavaṟaviyal. The absence of harsh words was emphasised in describing the kind words.

Back-biting has *already been condemned and, therefore,* Tiruvaḷḷuvar hastens to emphasise the necessity for avoiding idle frivolous talk and vain words. Life is real and life is serious. Innocent pleasures have a place, but not idle talks which waste, not only one's own time and energy but others' valuable time and spiritual energy. Tiruvaḷḷuvar feels that frivolous talk is a heinous crime to society when it is indulged, in the presence of many individuals. Nobody seems *to realise* the *seriousness* of frivolity, as Vaḷḷuvar has done. The Tamil society of his time must have felt that way, perhaps under the influence of Jainism and Buddhism. "This frivolity kindles the wrath of many, It is despised by all. No profit will arise therefrom; on the other hand, all that is good will flee from him who utter words which are devoid of virtue and good qualities; he loses his eminense and excellence. The vain talk betrays one's lack of propriety. Therefore those of great discernment and comprehension, aiming at the rare blessings of Dharma, *never utter words* devoid of great import. For theirs is the clear vision free from all gloom and cloud of illusion. Even by negligence, therefore, they will not utter meaningless words, One may speak without excellence or without justice but never useless words." Here again Vaḷḷuvar's righteous indignation bursts out, 'Call them not men that indulge in vain words; call them the human chaff and dust'. Unless one *understands the inner inspiration, of which the words* are mere symptoms, it is difficult to understand this righteous indignation. Our deeds are the expressions of our own minds and the symptoms of its health or disease.

(q)

At the stage reached on the path of Love, as already stated, outward deeds of evil have already been avoided, But the temptation may still be there. Therefore, the mind should develop in such a way as to feel instinctively, a shudder at the idea of evil deeds. The mind has *to* be *trained in that way in the* path of love. The great and victorious warrior of love and virtue shudders at the very thought of evil deeds. The passions are now turned not against men but against the system of evil. We have already seen the righteous indignation. Here is fear once again sublimated into the fear of evil. The Great will dread more than

fire the meaningless pride of sinful acts. The fruits of evil deeds follow their doer, even as his shadow follows him. Its impressions remain in his mind and destroy the good effects of Love and Dharma. One, therefore, can escape any calamity whatsoever, but not this enmity of sin which follows others without diminution and which destroys one's spiritual personality. Poverty is no excuse for evil designs. What can be worse than poverty of the soul which is sure to produce outside poverty as well ? There is here more of appeal to the loving comprehension and better understanding, developed through the expansion of Love. Even to those who inflict evil, the evil is not returned ; they are left severely alone ; that is the glory of right comprehension. Even through sheer negligence, please plot no fall for others. For, on this path of Love, righteousness itself will design your fall—a spiritual fall which governs all other falls. "If you aspire for spiritual happiness"—according to the interpretation of Pariti, "refrain from doing evil unto others". Tiruvaḷḷuvar throws out a practical hint which is not an appeal to selfishness but an explanation of the ever expanding soul of Love: "If you hold yourself dear, never come near any evil act whatsoever."

II

(a)

Man now is free from the evils of thought, speech and act. He identifies with the Society in which he lives. It is the social behaviour of such a man that is called *oppuravoḻukal* but no more is it necessary to emphasise the outward conduct. It is the inner inspiration of Love, which has to be emphasised. On this path of Love and Dharma, at every stage, the expansion of Love brightens up the path and the universal vision is slowly becoming clearer and clearer. There is, therefore greater discernment and comprehension. Instinct becomes intuition and wisdom. Therefore, at this stage, arises the real social understanding and social consciousness of the co-operative life.

When true Love develops and tries to circumscribe within its fold, the whole of the society one lives in, a brotherhood of Love develops. The final bliss of universal Love comes to be tasted,

though in droplets. The oneness of the universe, not as a philosophy, but as a felt experience is the final realisation. Science proves through evolution that all living beings are literally blood brothers and that the term Mother earth is not a mere poetic conceit. The Upaniṣads speak of the one great Ātman whose expression is this manifold universe. The Buddhists, even those who deny the Ātman theory, emphasise the unity of life. Sāntidēva paints beautifully a scientific portrait of what Marcus Aurelius calls the kinship of everyman with the whole human race.

"We love our hands and other limbs as members of the body; then why not love other living beings as members of the universe? By constant use man comes to imagine that his body which has no self-being is a self; why then should he not conceive his self to be in his fellow also? Thus in doing service to others, pride, admiration, and desire of reward find no place, for thereby we satisfy the wants of our own self. Then as thou wouldst guard thyself against suffering and sorrow, so exercise the spirit of helpfulness, and tenderness towards the world".

The great Roman Emperor calls this a kinship not of blood and seed, but of mind. But modern science tells us that this is also a kinship of blood and seed, the eternal life cell going on dividing continuously towards eternity from the beginning of creation all through perennial generations of living beings.

The importance of this chapter on *oppuravu* giving as it were a finality to the highest stage reached in *illaṟam* should be emphasised. At this stage *aṉpu* which is kindness overflowing to those related to us has become one with *aruḷ*. The process, as already explained of Love budding forth in the limited circle of relatives and neighbours, when carefully nurtured, becomes kindness to others in the society. Thus without any conscious attempt on our part, this kindness, when it becomes firm and well established, has the greatest glory of social life, namely, the friendship of all concerned. Paritiyār will interpret this *'naṇpu'* as *ñāṉanēyam*, 'the spiritual brotherhood' and he will also interpret *'ciṟappu'* as *Mōkśa* which is ultimately attained through this spiritual brotherhood. That *aruḷ* in one sense is the child of this *aṉpu* *'aruḷ eṉṉum aṉpin kuḻavi'*. Therefore, it is the continuation or the further and ultimate development of *aṉpu*. It is this

blossoming of *anpu* into *arul* that is made clear in this chapter on '*oppuravu*'. In *illaram*, *arul* is the ideal aimed; but *anpu* is what is achieved. See the phrase *arul vekki ārrinkan ninran*.' "He aspiring for *arul* stands on the path of Dharma".

In interpreting this phrase Kālinkar explains the conception of Love from the universal point of view. Whatever happiness or misery, which occurs to one, is common to all; and therefore, one gives oneself away to all and this is according to Kālinkar *arul*. It is this realisation which has been often referred to as *arivu*. a discerning and loving comprehension. It is giving everything away for those who deserve it; this is the aim of all our efforts and activities in amassing wealth. It is all for the other's use. What is this except *arul*? One identifies himself with the society; his heart beats in unison with his community. One who lives and breathes this harmony with the world is alone said to live; others are counted among the dead. There is a complete self sacrifice because of this feeling of identity in joy and grief. Even when it appears that one cannot help the other, one does not shrink from this identity; and there one offers away one's all to others. As Paul has said, "There is nothing Love cannot face; there is no limit to its faith, to its hope and its endurance". "The Love energy", to use a phrase of Sorokan, "stored down in the hearts of these men on the path of Love, creates this mysterious power, ready to pour it out in helping others, when other means are impossible." Therefore, there is nothing greater either in this world or the other than this shared feeling of harmony or communion or commingling with the society at large. The man who experiences this bliss of communion with society, is never poor or, real poverty is the absence of the power of Love to help others, through this loving sacrifice. He willingly bears the Cross and welcomes any fall or loss, as a precious gift, to be purchased even by the sale of one's self, if it is engendered by this spirit of self sacrifice, and inspired by the harmony he feels with the society. There is a joy in this suffering shared and relieved.

(b)

There are three famous similies which describe three ever increasing stages of self sacrifice. The water reservoir intended

for the village is full and overflowing. The whole village hastens to quench its thirst. Such is the wealth of the great man of wisdom and comprehension. He understands that what he has, like the water in the reservoir, is useful only for others; if not given, it evaporates or it stagnates and putrifies. One has at least to go to the reservoir; but there is another stage of self sacrifice where the self sacrifice of its own accord occurs in the midst of and just in front of those who require it. Therefore, there is the greater man of self sacrifice who is full of Dharma and Love. He is like "the sweet fruit bearing tree' in the very heart of the village, full of ripe fruits-so ripe in time, as to fall into the hands of the deserving many. The tree cannot help ripening and giving away the ripe fruits. This person is almost unconscious of his self sacrifice, though it is offered at the very door and at the oppertune moment to those who require it. "He Loves all" according to Parimēlaḻakar; "He is Loved by all"; according to Maṇakkuṭavar. There is still a higher stage of self sacrifice. There is a tree whose every part is used as a medicine; and that tree, in addition, happens to be in a place, easy of approach at any part of the year, when it cannot escape being easily and completely used away as medicine for curing the sufferings of others. It is an embodiment of absolute self sacrifice, a complete self effacement in the cause of Love and society. But there is the fulfilment. The smaller existence is dissolved into the universal existence.

There is another simile which makes it clear that *oppuravu* has become one with *aruḷ* to be further developed into the supreme Love of universal consciousness. The cloud gives away all it has without any reserve. In a sense it gives itself away, not in its own interst but for the good of the world. It showers its blessings; and its waters come down and become one with the soil taking the latter's colour, taste and fragrance. Here is an example of supreme self sacrifice and a feeling of complete identity with those to whom it helps. The cloud is formed somewhere but rains down somewhere else, cooling the parched earth. There is no relationship between the cloud and the soil. It is an unconditional universal Love or *aruḷ*. It is not a kindness overflowing only to those near and dear to us. There is no question here of seeking any return. The cloud here is a standing example of *oppuravu*. This emphasises benevolence seeking no

return. As St.Augustine has pointed out, "Love demands no return and imposes no conditions; it is one great force, in the world, which does not bargain. It goes on giving even if there is no Love in response and even if one rejects". Therefore it fetters no more the hands of him who receives it. The rain bearing cloud full of waters feels a relief and attains its freedom only when it gives. This is again the great characteristic feature of Love as pointed out by St. Augustine; "Love makes the giver free". Here comes the distinction between Love and lust. Lust or passion makes us its blind slaves. But Love leaves us free and frees us from lust. Again the third characteristic feature of love mentioned by Augustine is also exemplified in the cloud. Its love is irresistible, undaunted by opposition, rejection or irresponsiveness. It lives by giving out and not by taking in". Like the rain which never fails us, Love never fails us. No soil is hard for the rain or Love. The flood of Love or rain moves along, in spite of opposition by its very coolness and kindness. All opposition is dissolved in Love through the invisible force of its righteous appeal. Thus is seen the significance of the simile of the clouds, as emphasising the great truth about Love revealed by St. Augustine. This emphasises also, that, by this time, Love in *illaṟam* has blossomed into *aruḷ*. the very basis of *tuṟavaṟam*.

(c)

This overflowing of universal Love becomes patent in the munificence of the evolved soul. The giving of alms in charity has been emphasised by the Jews, by the Christians and by the Muslims. Sometimes this charity is emphasised in terms of an investment in this world, to be paid back in the Heavens with profit thousand-fold. The Karma theory gives room for this conception. Valluvar also refers to this. "To relieve the wasting hunger of the needy shows, the earner of wealth has found a proper place to lay by. " Maṇakkuṭavar reminds us of the conception of *pāṭṭūṉvāḻkkai*. This interpretation is strengthened by another Kuraḷ. "It is impossible for the fiery disease of hunger even to approach him who follows the path of sharing his food with others." Maṇakkuṭavar also interprets *aḻipaci* as the hunger which destroys all the human qualities. It is possible to interpret Maṇakkuṭavar

in modern times as referring to the humanising effects of munificence which prevents the destruction of humanity and society. Munificence, in destroying this inhuman force, makes possible society and finds a safe place for wealth. But this idea of investment is not the final appeal of Vaḷḷuvar. We have already referred to this conception of Dharma as sung by the cankam poet Muṭamōciyār 'immai ceytatu maṟumaikkamenum aṟavilai-vāṇikaṉ Āay alaṉ; piṟarum cāṉṟōr ceṉṟa neṟi eṉa, āṅku-p-paṭṭaṉṟu avaṉ kaivaṇmaiye' (Puṟam). Āay is not a trader in Dharma investing his money in charity for reaping its profits in the other world. He is munificent by habit following the traditional path of the perfect man". That is his nurture and that is his family greatness. Vaḷḷuvar also says that munificence is the mark of real noble birth to give before one expresses his misery of poverty, to give away without expressing one's own painful misery of helplessness and to give so that the needy man never goes to others for further help.

The munificence is also praised as proper conduct of a human being, irrespective of Dharma. There are certain duties which go to make human nature and in all those cases, Vaḷḷuvar emphasises that duty as something to be performed without reference to any spiritual glory. This makes for real humanism and the next chapter, as Kāliṅkar points out, emphasises the great conception of pukaḻ. "Even if it is the path of virtue, it is an evil to receive from others; even if the Heavens are denied it is always good to give." Tiruvaḷḷuvar holds this charity as of supreme importance to man. Nothing is worse than death; but even that becomes blissful when charity is impossible. This is one of the few cases where Vaḷḷuvar prefers death rather than the giving up of any duty.

He also praises munificence or charity as something greater than the path of tapas, It is a higher Dharma from this point of view. The tapasvins endure hunger, But they are powerless to relieve hunger, a power the munificent man has. The path of Love is made clear in this way. The *tapasvins* store up the power of Love and the munificent man forces this eternal Love to quench the fire of the threatening evil powers of the dehumanising forces. This conception of loving Dharma can be compared

to Mahatma Gandhi's conception of charity as a worship of Daridranārāyaṇa.

There is one another point emphasised by Vaḷḷuvar. The path of Love is the path of Bliss. Schweitzer speaks of his experience of this power of charity, the power of helping others. "I can save him from the days of torture: that is what I feel as my great and ever new privilege. Pain is a more terrible Lord of mankind than even Death himself". No wonder Tiruvaḷḷuvar welcomes death when one cannot cure the most painful and corrossive hunger. As it has always been remarked, by even the common people in our land, munificence especially that which is offered as charity to the needy brings its immediate joy and love. Vaḷḷuvar refers to this joy and bliss of giving. "The hard-hearted who store up their wealth and use it all do not know this joy. It is indeed more miserable than beggary to enjoy all alone the accumulated goods. There is therefore greater pleasure in giving before the other expressed his need. It is unfortunate and miserable that one should come and beg at our doors. But that is momentary; for as soon as his needs are satisfied, there is the divine bliss inspired by the happy and contented face of the human soul."

III

(a)

The concluding chapter is called *Pukaḻ*. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has emphasised the ephemeral nature of the things of the world, "The flow of fortune is like the gathering of a crowd around a drama; its end is like the melting of the crowd at its close." Human life is not eternal. "Life stands on the edge of a sword which slowly saws it through, pretending to be a measurement of time called a day." This is the glory of the world that one who was yesterday is no more today. Death is but sleep and birth an awakening therefrom. The relation between the body and the soul is also not permanent. The bird leaves in time its nest. never to come back. So does the life fly away from the body. What a pity! There is no lasting abode for this life which resides hard-pressed within this miserable body. The ignorance of those who mistake the ephemeral for the everlasting is of the worst kind. Those who

do not realise the momentariness of their life, alas, imagine, not millions of thoughts but many many more.

Thus having described the unfortunate condition of the world, in terms of what Tolkāppiyar calls kāñci, Vaḷḷuvar proceeds to describe the *Meyyuṇarvu*, as already pointed out. Before the tongue is restrained from movement and hiccough comes as the vanguard of death, good acts should be done. That is our invasion against death. That is his advise to conquer death. All wealth is evanescent. Therefore whenever one gets wealth, one must hasten to perform things which will endure. This is his advice for conquering the ephemeral nature of the things of the world. The *I* and the *Mine* have to be transmuted into the universal Love in *tuṟavaṟam*.

(b)

But in *illaṟam* the universal love still speaks in terms of one's own society, one's own world, though these have become almost universal. Therefore there is a place for two great things, one the feeling of joy at the conquest of death and two, the establisment of permanence before one attains the joy of universalism. One is the joy of munificence as already described; the other is the establishment of Fame. What else is there of greater profit to man? The poets sing the glories of the famous man. There is a verse addressed to Cōḻan Nalaṅkiḷḷi in Cankam poetry : "Few are the people who have achieved the greatness of poetry rising up like that of lotus rising up above the surface of water, whilst many are those who have disappeared like the lotus leaves never rising above the surface of the water. Those who are blessed with fame sung by poets go to Heaven in a divine chariot driven by no charioteer." Therefore Vaḷḷuvar speaks of praise as the only Fame which arises from curing the hunger of the destitute-the real conquest over dehumanising force. It is a power of creative joy. In this impermanent world, nothing is permanent except Fame. Kāḷinkar and Parimēlaḻakar will assert that even the Heavens will praise the man of Fame rather than the Saints. Vaḷḷuvar explains this mystery. Men of Fame perform a miracle. Their mortal body dies; but the permanent body fo fame grows for ever. The body of Fame is eternal whilst their physical body withers away. Who else can perform this miracle except these

men of Fame? Therefore it is within one's own power to become famous. It is real infamy not to achieve this Fame; not to beget this glorious child of Fame. Here is a glorious conception of fame where man by his power of charity and Love achieves something of permanence in all walks of life, wresting the laurels of victory from opposing Nature trying to devour us and our wealth. The Fame of poets and philosophers and saints like Vaḷḷuvar, the Fame of great men like of Asoka and Buddha ever remind us of the glories of human life.

(a)

It is therefore from this point of spiritual development that *tuṟavaṟam* begins, We come back to *tuṟavaṟam* to view it as a development of *illaṟam*. Even in *illaṟam* the poet was always having in his mind the ultimate goal to be reached. *Aṟuḻ* is the basis of *tuṟavaṟam* but as already stated and as already developed, even in the limited sphere of *illaṟam, tuṟavaṟam* can be achieved. Therefore *tuṟavaṟam* is addressed to both the classes of *aṟam*.

(b)

For instance *kūṭa-v-oḻukkam* naturally implies the rules and regulations of the recluse. But when Tiruvaḷḷuvar asserts the futility of the outward signs of renunciation such as the matted hair or the shaven head and insists on the avoidance of the ways which the world condemns, he implies to suggest that the real mental attitude of *tuṟavaṟam* rather than the assumption of the sanyasin garb, is important. Therefore one can argue that it is possible to follow *tuṟavaṟam* even if one remains within the limits of *illaṟam*. What is important is not the outward shape and form but the effect flowing from those actions. The crooked lute raises sweet music: the upright arrow spells death.

(c)

In the chapter on *Kaḷḷāmai* Vaḷḷuvar speaks of '*aruḷ karuti aṉpu uṭaiyāraṭal*' 'those who aim at universal love and achieve the blessings of limited love.' Certainly this contemplates

the people of *illaṟam*. This chapter or *Kaḷḷāmai* contemplates certain possessions which will be more appropriate to the people of *illaṟam* in practising *tuṟavaṟam*. '*aḷavinkaṉ niṉṟu oḻukal*' is another phrase occurring in the chapter on *Kaḷḷāmai*. *Alavu* is taken to mean the pramāṇās or the theory of knowledge. Perhaps one may take it as referring to the limitations to be placed on one's wants and possessions. To have anything more than one's necessary minimum requirements is not proper in the path of love and may be considered as misappropriation. Unfortunately none of the commentators gives this interpretation, though this idea is as old as Jainism. Interpreted in this way, Vaḷḷuvar may be said to contemplate here the people of '*illaṟam*' following '*tuṟavaṟam*'.

(d)

In the chapter on *Vāymai* 'Truth' there is the famous Kuṟaḷ about the great man who speaks the truth with all his heart being greater than those who perform penance or tapas along with charity or dānam. Dānam 'gift' is the characteristic feature of *illaṟam* while tapas is the characteristic feature of *tuṟavaṟam*. Therefore '*tavattoṭu tāṉam ceyvār*' 'those who perform both *tapas* and *dānam*' must refer to the people who are in *illaṟam* but who practice along with it *tuṟavaṟam*. We have seen '*pukal*' is the glory of *illaṟam* and Tiruvaḷḷuvar states that there is no fame as great as truthfulness. Though it is possible to explain this in other ways, it lends itself to be taken as a reference to those who observe both *illaṟam* and *tuṟavaṟam*.

(e)

In the Chapter on Anger, as is usual with Vaḷḷuvar, he discusses the topic from the basic point of view common to all. Anger is against the fundamental principle of Love with its joy and pleasure of life. Therefore anger which kills both these is the greatest enemy of man. Against the stronger people, anger is dangerous. But even against the weak, there is nothing worse. The point of view of this Kuṟaḷ is more appropriate to *illaṟam*. '*ciṉum eṉṉum cērntāraik kolli*' is a beautiful phrase referring to anger as the destroyer of the associates. Vaḷḷuvar continues to add that it burns the float of dear kinsmen kept in

reserve. This statement is certainly applicapable to the people of *illaṟam*. The highest glory of this loving heart which avoids anger is described in another Kuṟaḷ. The injury inflicted may be like giving one a fire bath; Even then if it is possible it is excellent to avoid anger. This is the Kuṟaḷ we have already referred to, in our discussion on Forbearance. The stage here described is the further development of that spirit of forbearance. There is the last Kuṟaḷ in the Chapter on Anger, "Those who exceed the limit of anger are but like unto dead men, suffering rigor mortis. Those who have renounced Anger are greater than the greatest saints who have renounced the world". This Kuṟaḷ will not be a puzzle if interpreted from the point of view here developed, as referring to people who perform *illaṟam* and *tuṟavaṟam*.

(f)

Again in the Chapter on *Kollāmai* 'Non-killing' Vaḷḷuvar repeats the beautiful phrase '*pakuttuṇṭu pal-l-uyir ōmputal*' 'To share one's food or wealth and thus, to protect many lives' which we have read in the description of *illaṟam*. Again there is the Kuṟaḷ, "Even if the wealth leading to happiness were increased without limits by killing, that wealth arising from slaughter is the worst kind of wealth." This reference to wealth certainly contemplates the man in *illaṟam* and lends additional support to our theory. The Chapter on *Tuṟavu* speaks of cutting away attachments. But the central idea of renunciation emphasised, as already noted, is the renunciation of the feeling of the 'I' and the 'mine'. If this is the main spring of *tuṟavu* it is open to the man in *illāṟam* also to follow the path of *tuṟavu*. As it is often pointed out in Indian literature, this is a safer course and we have the great story of Janaka, the great Emperor, becoming greater than the saints and sages who have renounced the world, though he was himself within the bounds of *illaṟam*. Therefore this interpretation is not against the tradition of India or Tamil Land.

V

(a)

Therefore Tiruvaḷḷuvar describes in *aṟattu-p-pāl* a view of life which starts with the natural attachment to the family; but

gradually its love passes beyond the narrow limitations through ever-expanding circles of Love till it encompasses one's own society. Then begins the development of this Love so as to blossom into Universalism. Nothing is repressed where everything is given a righteous and proper place. It leads to the development of human perfection which means in the path of Love, the development of Universalism. As already pointed out, this is *nothing new. We have taken a basic Pan-Indian conception.* But when we compare this with the Tamilian tradition of Cankam age, the conception of *illaṟam* and *tuṟavaṟam* as contemplated in Tirukkuṟaḷ becomes clearer. Even here, the approach of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is found to be unique though not revolutionary.

(b)

It will be thus seen that in the description of the development of Love, he not only empasises this development but at every stage he points out the corresponding expansion of discernment and comprehension, knowledge and wisdom. In this connection, one may remember Spinoza's conception of Love. Spinoza's Love is different from the mere appetite or lust. Love is, according to him, to be freed from the fetters of emotion, and that is done by proper understanding and control by intelligence. To him, therefore, it is the intellectual love of the animal towards God which is the part of intimate love wherewith God loves Himself. Though Tiruvaḷḷuvar does not make Love purely an intellectual love, he does emphasise the importance of discernment. This will appear from the way in which he emphasises that comprehension and discernment are in proportion to the expansion of Love. In this way Tiruvaḷḷuvar escapes the degradations of emotion and the pride of intelligence.

(c)

He holds the balance even between *illaṟam* and *tuṟavaṟam*; for, he contemplates the possibility of *tuṟavaṟam* being the continuation of *illaṟam* or the possibility of practising *tuṟavaṟam* within *illaṟam* itself. He holds the balance also between theory and practice, between idealism and pragmatism. From this point of view, the suggestions for translating the ideals into action are valuable and are in accord with modern psychology.

(d)

The importance of this, the path of virtue starting from the Love of the married couple, is significant. As Saint Augustine pointed out "Love of whatever kind is always a living power; never can love be idle in the lover's path; always it moves and drives". From this point of view Kāmattu-p-pāl becomes important, since it is called *aṟam*. If *aṟam* is the development of the selfless Love already experienced, that experience happens ordinarily in the minds of the loving couple. If this basic love is not experienced, the further development is difficult to understand and practise. It is this experience of Love that is described in Kāmattu-p-pāl.

4. KĀMATTUPPĀL

(1)

Tiruvaḷḷuvar, as explained in our study of *aṟattu-p-pāl*, has emphasised Love as the basis of human life. This is in accordance with the modern theories of psycho-analysis. though these theories express this principle in a shockingly revolutionary way. Tiruvaḷḷuvar purifies this basic passion and sublimates it. He starts with the love, existing between husband and wife. To him, therefore, the physical aspect of pure love is nothing mean. Marriage is a glorious institution. But when there is no Love, one embraces the mere physical frame no more than a corpse, as Vaḷḷuvar will describe it, in his Chapter on Public women. The physical embrace becomes human and divine, when it is in addition a communion of two loving souls. The Tamilians conceived it in terms of a fabulous bird with two heads but one life. They also felt that such a love is the crown and glory of a communion, developing through atleast seven previous births. Therefore when such a man and a woman, though unknown to each other in the present birth, meet all of a sudden, they are by nature and providence, attracted to each other; and their inner personalities become one in love. Thus, even before marriage, there is this innate experience of love. This is called in Tamil, '*kaḷavu*'. It is pre-marital love, where each soul steals the heart of the other. *Kaḷavu* or stealth emphasises the natural or unconscious process, where the heart of one lover is attracted to the

other, even as magnet attracts iron. Tiruñāṉacampantar will speak of the Lord or God lover as 'uḷḷam kavar kaḷvaṉ' 'one who steals the heart of the beloved'. Kambar, following Nammāḻvār, will speak here of the coming of the lord or lover without any actual coming in, because it is really a manifestation of what is already latent-*Varātē vara vallāy*. The unconscious becomes conscious.

II

In this theory of the Tamilians, even physical attraction is something providential, when there is the background of pure love. It is an act of Providence or Nature that their loving souls commingle at first sight, Nature and Providence as it were conspiring to bring them together in a suitable environment, at the appropriate time and place. Such a love is naturally best suited for blossoming into universal love. The Cankam poets have emphasised this great truth. We are told that the great poet Kapilar to explain the message of Tamil to an Aryan King who was himself a musician, composed the great love poetry of Kuṟiñci-p-pāṭṭu. After emphasising the chaste love of two such lovers, the poet gives expression to this great ideal of this love when he makes the lady love express it. "When we live together with our door open, feeling inspired by hospitality to all those who come, we will enjoy what remains after they are fed, as the crowning glory of this joint life of sacrifice, each seeing in the other's Love the reflected glory, the reflected joy or bliss of the contented society". In some such way we can paraphrase the prayer of the heroine, full of poetic suggestion.

Seen in this right, the Tamilian conception of love between a man and a woman looks almost divine. It is no wonder that in the age of Bhakti revival, this love was actually interpreted as the natural Love between God and the loving soul. Perhaps this later age read *Kāmattu-p-pāl* of Tiruvaḷḷuvar in some such way. Tiruvaḷḷuvar further purifies the Cankam conception of love. Thus purified the divine-like Love was identified by Tirumūlar with God in his explanation of his philosophy, starting as he does as a seasoned teacher, from the known and proceeding to the unknown. Therefore the contribution of Tiruvaḷḷuvar in this field should be emphasised.

III

The Cankam poetry speaks of five aspects of this love; *kuriñci* where the lovers meet and become one in loving embrace, *pālai* or separation where there is the exquisite pang of separation and where the pure gold of love shines all the more brilliant thus sublimated in the fire of selfless sacrifice and love, for the higher cause of state, society or learning, *neytal* or a feeling of despair sometimes clouding this life of Love where also one meets the suffused glow of love, amidst trying circumstances, in refusing to die and in continuing to live only for the sake of the other, in the fond hope against hope of meeting the other ; *mullai* or the joint domestic life and *marutam* or the sulky mood which often arises even in these loving hearts.

The last mentioned aspect af *marutam* is exemplified, in Cankam poetry, by the extra-marital relations of the hero. Perhaps the society of women was cut into two, one, of the chaste women who took up the duties of domestic life and of the continuation of the race and, two, of the free women who though yielding to love refuse to shoulder this duty of a family life but willingly undertook the onerous burden of keeping the torch of the fine arts ever burning more and more gloriously, through themselves sacrificing to a life of art and beauty, of music and dance. Perhaps in such a society, a man's devotion to art throws him in the midst of public women, necessitating a kind of a divided allegiance and all that it implies. The institution of public women cannot always be kept in this ideal position and it descends to the level of prostitution. The lady love in wedlock cannot be expected to be happy when she suspects the extra-marital relationship of her lover. She, however, concentrates on the domestic duties demanded by the Society. She may excuse the Lover but there has to be at least a righteous resentment because of the family reputation and social ideal. The hero, however, is able to pacify the lady love because of the prevailing ideal of a social tradition which demands that in the presence of the children and guests. the lovers should, not only show no mutual resentment, but also welcome them really with their commingled hearts of love.

But in any ideal love, this extra marital relationship is certainly a blot, whatever social reasons may be advanced for its existence. Tiruvaḷḷuvar has condemned the institution of public women in his philosophy of government and society. If even high diplomacy and State policy cannot tolerate it, how can pure love find a place for it? Therefore, he does not bring in the public women for exemplifying the *marutam* aspect of Love. That is one of the major contributions of Vaḷḷuvar. According to one commentary, the last five chapters deal with *marutam*; according to another the last four chapters alone deal with *marutam*. This *marutam* here is only the natural difficulty involved in two different personalities, nurtured under two different family environments, coming to commingle and to form a new creative family type. This fusion is not effected in a day. It is a slow process of give and take, sometimes giving rise to misunderstandings but only at the surface level.

IV

Love at first sight appears, as it were, as a flash of lightning. It is a kind of a revolution where the latent love becomes manifest, leading to physical changes and emotional involvements. This is *kuṟiñci*. This is absolutely a new experience. The physical beauty brings the unconscious attraction to the conscious level. It looks as though that some divine enchantment is over-powering the lovers. The lover is dazed in mind. He feels it as a kind of divine experience; separation he feels, will be death. But he senses all the same a life-giving love, full of innocence and modesty, overflowing in the very look of the beloved. He stands almost intoxicated with that love, a hero of many wars but today succumbing to the loving beauty. Her furtive glance and subdued smile are hopeful where words avail nothing. Next follows the divine bliss of her embrace, a bliss which is a feast to all the senses sweeter than the pleasures of the world of the lotus-eyed Lord, granting him such joys as he desires from every object whenever it is desired. It is not merely a physical pleasure. The very soul is rejuvenated and therefore it is a spiritual bliss. There is also the happiness of fulfilment very much similar to the joy of an ethical life of one who enjoys his allotted share, only after distributing his wealth

to all those who deserve it. It is a bliss revealing not only new knowledge and wisdom but also an insight unknown even to his erstwhile rich experience and lofty education. Separation cannot be imagined by him; even a slight waft of the wind coming in between them cannot be tolerated.

V

This is the first experience. But such an experience cannot be continuous. There is the necessity for separation for various reasons. They have to retrain themselves for a new life, a new life of give and take. A complete concord has to be created avoiding all misunderstandings. It is this attempt with all its early failures and successes at mutual understanding leading ultimately to a deeper commingling of two personalities, that is looked upon as *ūṭal* or *marutam* by Tiruvaḷḷuvar. The conception is emphasised in the last four or five chapters. This is a new interpretation of *ūṭal* 'sulky mood.' Tiruvaḷḷuvar is not cutting himself away from the ancient tradition. He is interpreting it in a new way. There is reference to others loving the hero in Tirukkuṟal. But that is not a fact but a kind of teasing of love by the heroine who thus emphasises how the hero has become the loving apple of the eye of all the world. It is from this point of view that the chapter on *pulavi nuṇukkam* or the subtle bouderie, a chapter full of dramatic poetry, should be interpreted. This is indeed a new way of looking at *ūṭal*.

But the misunderstanding should not take a deeper root. It should not become hatred. The sulky mood makes the succeeding mood of love, a precious gain worthy of achievement by love. It makes the physical embrace intellectually great, as a new insight, mentally satisfying as resolving all conflicts, ethically glorious as a self-sacrifice and spiritually blissful as a commingling of souls. It should not descend to the level of mere carnal pleasure. The experience of love should be always fresh like the morning breeze. Sulky mood is a kind of a restraint. It reveals the depth of other's love through the other's keen suffering at the delay. It is like the precious salt giving taste to the food when added

to it in right proportion. An over doze of salt, however, spoils the taste of food. A prolongation of the sulky mood amounts to torturing one who is already in agony. If loving embrace does not succeed the sulky mood, the withering creeper of love will be cut at its root. Therefore love without strife tastes stale like an over-ripe fruit; Love without sulkiness tastes sour like the unripe fruit. There is an ethical grandeur and a beauty of feminine perfection, when the flowery eyes of the beloved feign a sulky mood. But it is not easy to put up this show; the heart melts soon in love in the presence of the Lord. The sulky mood therefore is really an intellectual and physical struggle. Her modesty flies away in his presence. This is the substance of the chapter on *'neñcoṭu pulattal'* where the heroine condemns her failing heart. The final consummation of this glorious life of love is found in *'ūṭal uvakai'*, 'The joy of the Sulky mood.' The complete understanding of each other, the deeper insight into other's nature the resulting bliss of this identity of feeling and insight reveal the perfection reached by the lovers. He is free from defects. But the sulky mood pays rich dividend; for it reveals the depth of his love. Therefore there is no heaven greater than this sulky mood of love. In this competition of mutual sulky mood, those who are defeated really win the laurels of love. Bouderie is the charm of love; and the charm of that again is the sweet embrace.

This is the resolution of the conflicts when two different personalities, nurtured under two different environments and having two different physical and emotional developments come together for becoming complementary to each other.

VI

There is another kind of conflict raised by the social environment which demands separation and sacrifice in love, for the fulfilment of certain social duties, in war and in peace, in education and religion and for the fulfilment of certain family duties in earning the livelihood or wealth. This is *pālai* or separation. This conflict is therefore different from the other conflict exhibited in *ūṭal*. Here there is a sharing, a common sharing in suffering and sacrifice. Here the two hearts are drawn

nearer and nearer to each other. There is always *uṇartal* or mutual insight and understanding. Thus *uṇartal* becomes perfect in both *pirital* and *ūṭal*. *Pirital* is also an *ūṭal* though with a difference. *Ūṭal uṇartal* and *kūṭal* summarise the story of love. In the discharge of their duties they share the sufferings. Here therefore is exhibited love in all its glory, in all its pristine purity. Suffering, common suffering rather than happiness, is the majestic grandeur of tragedy and therefore this story of separation which has a touch of the tragic in it appeals to the human heart in a mysterious way. Akanāṉūṟu has fifty percent of its verses describing this aspect of separation and suffering, whilst all other aspects of love share amidst themselves the remaining two hundred. According to Paripperumāḷ there are in Vaḷḷuvar eighteen chapters dealing with separation, whilst the first meeting is described in three chapters and *ūṭal* in four chapters.

In other words *kuṟiñci* covers three chapters, *marutam* covers four chapters whilst fourteen chapters deal with separation. The question arises what happens to *mullai* and *neytal*. They must be deemed to be included under separation. *Pālai* and *neytal* are two varying degrees of separation. *Mullai* often amounts to remaining at home and sharing the domestic and social duties; but sometimes it is exemplified in the sharing of duties and sufferings of social life which in that way separates them. This is the eommon sharing which is the characteristic feature of chaste love or *mullai*. Therefore *mullai* also reaches its perfection in a kind of separation, as it is evident in Mullai-p-pāṭṭu. According to my old teacher late Mr. Chelvakesavaraya Mudaliar, an old copy which he had of the commentary by Maṇakkuṭavar divides the 26 chapters of Kāmattuppāl into 5 divisions of 5 chapters each. The first five belong to *kuṟiñci*, the second five to *pālai*, the third five to *mullai*, the fourth five to *neytal* and the fifth five to *marutam*. Therefore the chapters assigned to separation by Paripperumāḷ will cover *pālai*, *mullai* and *neytal*.

Though Paripperumāḷ tries to justify this three-fold division of Kāmattu-p-pāl on the basis of Vātsyāyana, he himself feels the force of objections to his own theory and therefore finally concludes that this threefold division of Kāmattu-p-pāl into union ,

separation and the sulky mood can be explained according to the Tamil convention itself—for *kūṭal, pirital* and *ūṭal* are well known terms in the Tamil theory of love. Whatever it be, this way of looking at Tirukkuṟaḷ clearly brings out the psychological importance of this three-fold division in the development of a personality well integrated with family and society. Though Parripperumāḷ tells us this is a Tamil convention, such a convention finds its finest exemplification only in Tirukkuṟaḷ.

This is certainly much more elucidating than the older distinction between *kaḷavu* and *kaṟpu* which is the division of the kāmattu-p-pāl according to Parimēlaḻakar. According to him the first seven chapters deal with *kaḷavu* and the remaining eighteen chapters deal with *kāṟpu*. Parimēlaḻakar also feels that by *kaṟpu* one has to understand here only separation. *Marutam* which implies, extra-marital relationship according to the old tradition is also in the opinion of Parmēlaḻakar a kind of separation from the lady-love. It is a nearer separation as contrasted with *pālai* which is a more distant separation. Therefore *mullai* and *neytal* also must be deemed to have been included under *pālai* or separation. It is very unfortunate that Parimēlaḻakar should bring in public women when Tirukkuṟaḷ does not justify such an interpretation. He misses the greatness of Vaḷḷuvar's contribution in reinterpreting *marutam* on a psychological basis. Parimēlaḻakar feels that Vaḷḷuvar follows the Sanskrit tradition in describing love, only in terms of union and separation and that therefore he has included *mullai, neytal* and *marutam* under *pālai* or separation which according to him is the characteristic feature of the major part of *kaṟpu*. On the face of it, this is a forced interpretation. All these difficulties arise because it is not realised that there is an original contribution by Tiruvaḷḷuvar who in spite of his deep knowledge of the Tamil and Sanskrit traditions, cuts new grounds as explained by Parripperumāḷ. The importance of this distinction has already been emphasised.

VII

This new approach makes the very headings of chapters on separation illuminating. After the first embrace and union, the spiritually intoxicated lover gives expression to his experience of

his beloved - her tenderness and modesty and her fresh beauty and charm which seem to put to flight the beauties of Nature. He thus praises in a highly imaginary poetry, the inner joy inspired by her. Then follows a much more restrained statement on the greatness of this Love. It is a commingling of complementary aspects of human personalities making life richer and sweeter, and really creating a new integrated life of the physical body and soul - a never - to - be - forgotten realisation of the union of two souls ever present in their eyes and hearts. Then follows the next stage where this Union has to be accepted by the world at large. Dharma and Love demand this and therefore there can be no sense of false shame. This is expressed in terms of the traditional language of *maṭal* where the hero in the face of the opposition from the parents of his lady proposes to cut away his body by being dragged on a horse - like vehicle shaped out of saw-like leaf stalks of the palmyra. From the point of view of the heroine there is the fear that their love is being suspected by the scandal mongers without the realisation by others of true love. This fortunately draws lovers together–a great psychological truth emphasised by Vaḷḷuvar. All along, the lovers though united between themselves stood separated from the world. But time comes when they have no separation because of the social duties-a separation which is felt slowly creeping into their life; it looks as though it spells death. Such is the depth of their love. But soon its necessity is realised though gradually, and therefore, there arises the conflict of emotions and wandering thoughts where the confidence in Love stands as though shattered. The body itself in spite of all her reasonings rebels against this separation, it becomes weak; the healthy colour fades; sleep refuses to come; the tears rush to the eyes. There is thus the conflict between restraining modesty and overpowering love - a conflict which corrodes her life. His thoughts in separation make her miserable and there is a cry of despair. And yet in spite of her seeming condemnation of his love, her eyes long for the sight of the lover, but only to suffer greater pain; and she speaks as though taking a revenge on this eye which gave her the sight of the beauty of her Lord. In a poetic way, she feels separated from her eyes, and seems to enjoy in a revengeful mood the miserable tears of the eyes. There is certainly a bit of madness even in this poetic effusion, which therefore shows the despondent mood. Then

follows the fading of her beautiful colour which but speaks the inner suffering. She knows that the separation is something to be put up with; but the heart refuses to listen to the dictates of the intellect. There succeeds the stage when she feels her isolation in a mood of suspicion, that the lover is not feeling the pangs of separation while discharging his duties. Coming out of this shell of isolation, the lovers give expression to their feeling of misery to others. Unlike liquor, love is sweet even when recollected. Here again there are conflicting thoughts, about the other. Is he thinking of the love or is he restraining the thoughts of love? How could anyone forget? "He will not be angry however I may think of him," cries the lady. At the next stage, loving thoughts become so firmly rooted that even in dreams they occur and nature seems to restore the joy, at least in the dreams, but only to make the walking hours much more disappointing. This life of isolation is dreadful, and the lover looks around the beauties of nature, the calm and retiring evening when the whole world of lovers, the world of bees and birds, rush back to their sacred haven of a loving home, to be hugged in by their beloved. This increases by contrast her feeling of separation. What is heaven to others is to her a veritable hell and she condemns the evening time and all its beauties as messengers of death. Her body is still further weakened; the eyes lose their lustre; her shoulders become emaciated, the shoulders which embraced him now declare his faithlessness by losing the bangles which slip away. In her growing feeling of isolation, she withdraws into herself. In a mood of despair she speaks to her heart as though it were separate from her. Here again conflicting emotions are given expression to. A further stage is reached where unable to restrain the misery, she openly gives expression to her love as she had never done before. Her feeling of modesty can no longer restrain such open exhibition of love. The conflicts are being resolved, But this, at first takes the form a succumbing to the inevitable. She feels that her heart, her body and her eyes in spite of herself hanker after him. The lover also rushes back to her. The separation makes their reuniou as fresh as the first union. There is however the outside restraint. But the inner feelings transgress their bounds. This restraint makes the innocent charms of human nature, much more wonderful and beautiful. Her love is lying hidden in her smile like the fragrance locked up in the bud almost

amounting a cunningness which is expressed through eyes. There is the pain of her love and she begs for relief. At the next stage there is hankering after embrace, where all thoughts of finding fault in the other, fly away. It is a kind of intoxication but a spiritual intoxication where one indulges in drinking even when one feels the evil effects of that intoxication. There is no hard heartedness in love. Even tenderer than a flower is love and few there be who know its delicacy and deal with it gently. Thus ends every thing in the embrace of love.

This summary at once reveals something new in *Akam* poetry. This is much more truthful to psychology and escapes from the tradition which often robs poetry of its charm.

After this resolution of the conflicts raised by social duties, follows the complete integration of the two personalities as described in terms of *ūṭal* and *kūṭal*, already referred to. Thus is seen the original contribution of Vaḷḷuvar in describing the development of this integration though seemingly within the frame work of the older traditions.

The purists in Tamil have a bias against the word *kāmam* which is according to them a Sanskrit word. Therefore, they would prefer the name *'inpattu-p-pāl'* instead of *kāmattu-p-pāl*. There is also another reason, why *kāmam* has suffered a kind of deterioration in its signification. The Jains and others believing in renunciation as the highest perfection reached by man, naturally condemned *kāmam* as something demeaning. Cintāmaṇi, therefore, sings: '*kaman iḻittiṭappaṭṭataṉṟē*', '*kāmam* has been condemned as the meanest'. But this is not the ancient Tamil tradition which, as already hinted, Kapilar explained to an Aryan King. Tamil was there and elsewhere actually identified with this *kāmam*. Gradually, in course of time, the oppositon from the Buddhists and the Jains increased. Even the Vedic scholars joined in this onslaught on *kāmam*. The poets of the Tamil tradition of a later age claim a unique greatness for this Cankam theory of Love. Tiṇaimālainūṟṟaimpatu according to an old verse was composed for beautifying this theory of love so that the hatred of those who oppose that theory may be appeased. There is a much more direct attack on this opposition hinted in Paripāṭal where the Tamilian conception of Love is contrasted with the

theory of marriage as contemplated by the Vedic scholars. The main attack is concentrated on showing that the later life is not based on real Love. Tiruvaḷḷuvar knows nothing of such an opposition. Even if he had known such an opposition, he has purified the conception so much that no opponent can raise any valid objection to his theory of Love. It is because of this that Jain works like the commentary on Nīlakēci claim Tirukkuṟaḷ as a Jain authority.

Therefore, in the age of Tiruvaḷḷuvar *kāmam* was idealised. *Kāmam* has been equated with Love and not with mere physical pleasures or lust. Maṇakkuṭavar at first interprets *kāmam* as *aṉpu,* though to satisfy the other view, he hastens to add it may mean also 'physical union'. It is the emphasis on Love even in the life of physical pleasures that is important in Tirukkuṟaḷ. It is not mere physical pleasure, but the elevating human love which is experienced through the five senses, that is *kāmam.* It is therefore different from other material pleasures. As already stated, there is achieved here a spiritual and ethical grandeur. There is nothing demeaning in this *kāmam* which as it were deifies matter, mind and soul. One need not be ashamed of this *kāmam* having its root in physical pleasures. One need not be apologetic and explain that *kāmam* is only an aesthetic experience. Such an interpretation will not bring out the beautiful integration of the physical, mental, moral and spiritual personality of man—an integration which is emphasised in his own unique way by Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Dr. Graul and Dr. Pope at first were misled by the name of *kāmattuppāl* because in the later age the word *kāmam* has become a synonym for lust. But when they were persuaded to read a portion of this *kāmattuppāl,* they at once realised, the unique greatness of this theory of Love which Vaḷḷuvar describes from the highest pedestal ever reached by human perfection. One should, therefore, do nothing to disturb this unique greatness—a greatness which Schweitzer explains as the unique glory of the world - affirming philosophy of Kuṟaḷ.

Kāmam is not *iṉpam. Iṉpam* is the final effect aimed at. But all pleasures cannot be glorified as revealing human perfection. That is why the ancient Tamilians, use the term *aṉpiṉ aintiṇai* 'The five-fold human conduct of Love' emphasising the fundamental basis of Love which alone can glorify any happiness. The

Tamilians equated this word *kamam* with *anpu* in such places like *kama-k-kuttam.* As contrasted with *anpu* which is much more general, *kamam* means the love which the lovers feel towards each other. Tiruvalluvar uses the phrase *kamattirku inpam* which differentiates between *inpam* and *kamam* as cause and effect. Love becomes a bliss in the right kind of sulky mood. Therefore to take *kamam* as a synonym of *inpam* is to miss the contribution of Valluvar, in aiming at a complete integration of all the aspects of human life. It is because of this, the phrase *inpa anpu* '*anpu* or Love which is Bliss' becomes so important even in the spiritual sphere as is evidenced by the use of the term by Cēkkiḻār in describing the final prayer of Kāraikkālammaiyār.

VIII

It will be thus clear, that Tiruvalluvar is nearer the Caṅkam tradition. There is another important aspect of Tirukkuṟaḷ which conclusively proves this standpoint. Caṅkam poetry has no narrative verse. It consists of dramatic monologues capturing the poetic moment in beautiful phrases of lightning flashes revealing the varied aspects of human love, either from the intrinsic or from extrinsic point of view. *Kāmattu-p-pāl* similarly consists only of dramatic monologues; there is no dramatic narration of any story. Therefore, according to that Caṅkam tradition, *Kāmattu-p-pāl* was divided under three headings. The first seven chapters consist of the dramatic monologues of Man. The next twelve chapters form the monologues of Woman. The remaining seven form the monologues of both the Man and the Woman. This is the division which is explained in a verse in Tiruvalluvamālai attributed to Mōcikīraṉār. Kāḷiṅkar's commentary seems to follow this division as is made clear by his introduction to the chapter on *Pirivāṟṟāmai*, 'Inability to bear separation." Even the other commentators point out by specifying the speaker under each one of the two hundred and fifty verses. This is enough to show that Tiruvalluvar is following the Caṅkam tradition and not any other tradition, though here again he has made his unique contribution in having his chapters forming the rungs of his ladder of love.

IX

We have already referred to the theory that Tiruvaḷḷuvar owes his inspiration to Vātsyāyana. But as has been hinted even Paripperumāḷ admits that Tirukkuṟaḷ can be explained in terms of the Tamil tradition itself. Vātsyāyana writes a science on physical pleasures of lust. One has only to compare the headings of Vātsyāyana's works with the headings in *kamattu-p-pāl*, *Kāmam* is not merely love according to Vātsyāyana. It is the pleasure of physical union even though love may be absent; and according to Vātsyāyana and others the woman embraced may be a virgin, a prostitute or a wife of another man. They are interested in stating facts without bringing in any question of values. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar is interested in describing the ideal. He has condemned the hankering after another man's wife as something which goes against Dharma and social well-being. It may give pleasure but he will never condescend to call it *kāmam*. He has condemned the institution of prostitutes in his theory of State and Society. The embrace of a prostitute is the embrace of a corpse according to him; for there is no living inspiration of love. As Paripperumāḷ has himself pointed out, Tiruvaḷḷuvar is interested in describing the idealised embrace of love based on Dharma and working for the social well-being. It is therefore to miss the very life of Tirukkuṟaḷ, if one were to identify Vātsyāyana's scientific approach with the normative approach of Tiruvaḷḷuvar. This is not to minimise the greatness of Vātsyāyana's contributions, but it is to emphasise the unique greatness of Tirukkuṟaḷ even as a kamaśāstra. Vaḷḷuvar is concerned with values and not with physical facts. This is not to deny that Vaḷḷuvar might have had knowledge of the Sanskrit kāmasūtras and kāmasāstras even if we assume that Vātsyāyana was not earlier than Vaḷḷuvar; for the study of kāmasūtras can be assigned to a pre-christian era. Nor is this to condemn Vaḷḷuvar as an idealist, losing touch with realities of the worldly life. The very fact that like the psychoanalysts, Vaḷḷuvar has seen the force of love and has made it therefore the foundation of his philosophy shows how practical he is, inspite of his concern for values and the ideal.

X

Whilst the psychoanalysts emphasise the unconscious, Tiruvaḷḷuvar helps one to reach the super-conscious, through sex. The definition of *aṉpu* is a relationship in which the persons do not love their own personalities at the expense of others which will be *ācai*, but give freely to others. "*Uriyar piṟarkku*"—"They belong to others" reminds us of the Greek and Christian conception of Philia as contrasted with the Ego-centred eros and God-centred agape.

D' Arcy explains a conception of sex and love which makes Tiruvaḷḷuvar's theory much more lucid. "The culmination of all true love even in human experience is not only complete absence of the consciousness of self but the realisation of the universal in and through our particular passion. The closer one looks at the various manifestations of human love the more one is conscious of a congruity between spiritual love and sex. These various manifestations are not haphazard; they disclose a sequence as unified and progressive as a symphony of music by a great master. It is as if some presiding genius of the species were watching over the expression of love and regulating the human lottery.

"Sex proves to be the surest means of arousing and sustaining love. The permanence of the species is assured and at the same time the greatest variety of the individual encouraged. The vital energies allow themselves to be transformed into something spiritual. What was begun in carnality ends in heaven. What seemed to be mere animal breeding partakes of spirituality and what appears at first to be just a bodily function acquires a value of its own above even that of knowledge. So it came about that the vital energies can be enlisted in the service of the soul and the highest spiritual experience await those who are faithful to the institution of Nature. The art of loving is not in the least what the libertine tradition would have us believe. It is rather the Science of making the fleeting loves of youth endure and multiply in fresh waves of experience throughout the course of a loving human life. Love is no episode; it imposes itself like a divinely regulating inspiration and offering the promise of an undreamt of Perfection."

5. PORUṬPĀL

I

Poruṭpāl is *arthasāstra.* Dharma has been described in terms of the individual developing his social and universal consciousness. As already explained the individual requires the proper environment not only in nature but also in society. In that way the science of society or government is intimately connected with Dharma. Dharma according to Tamilian conception of *vākai* is not only the discharge of the individual duties but also the duties of the status one occupies in the society. The latter are made clearer in *Poruṭpāl. Poruḷ* means wealth and the commentators explain that wealth is possible only in properly organised society; for otherwise might becomes the right instead of the right becoming the might.

Here also the Pan-Indian conception should be emphasised for understanding and appreciating the contributions of Tiru-vaḷḷuvar. The theory of State and Society is described under several heads which are called *saptāṅga* or the seven limbs of state, viz. the king, the ministry, the army, the finance, the fortification, the country or citizens and the allies, The Kuṟaḷ "*paṭai kuṭi kūḻ amaiccu naṭpu araṇ āṟum uṭaiyāṉ aracaruḷ ēṟu.*" (381) "He is the lion amongst the Kings who is the Lord of all the Six, viz. Army, Citizens, Finance, Ministry, Allies, Fortifications" accepts this theory as the basis.

II

(a)

The king is called Swamin, which Vaḷḷuvar translates as '*uṭaiyāṉ*'. But even here there is a distinction. He gives the pre-eminent place to the king or the sovereign to whom all the other six become limbs thus bringing out the full force of the term Swamin. The king therefore is not considered as a mere limb of the state. This is made clear by Parimēlaḻakar who includes all the other six under *Aṇka-v-iyal.* In this way, the conception of sovereignty becomes clearer. Often Tiruvaḷḷuvar uses the abstract terms like *vēntu* and *aracu* which still further

emphasise this point of view in the eyes of the modern reader. The term *iṛai* is significant because it connotes a power all pervasive in the State. Vaḷḷuvar also calls it '*oḷi*' (light) which reigns even when the king sleeps. It is the Dharma of the government or society whose concrete representation is looked upon as the king. It is the old theory of the Caṅkam age which sings, "Food is not the life nor the water; the great expanse of the world has for its life only the king." This may suggest the divine right of the king. But what is emphasised is rather the duties of the king than his rights. He is the custodian of Dharma; he is fearless and full of unsullied military honour; he is wise and educated; he is firm; he is never negligent, always bubbling up with enthusiasm. In all these ways he removes *Adharma* from his kingdom. He has no likes and dislikes of his own. He is easier of access to his citizens. He knows no harsh words. He is full of sweet words; he is munificent and thus gives gracefully, though ruling firmly. He welcomes good advice even when it is personally bitter. He is just and upright; he is full of mercy; he exists for protecting the citizens and the State. He develops the resources of his kingdom, through production and thus amasses wealth through protecting it and distributes it justly. Therefore this king is not only the Lord of Justice but also the great expert in the economics of common-weal; he is full of ideals, personal greatness and popularity. Therefore the king is the ideal man from the social point of view which emphasises all the six limbs of the State.

(b)

1

The characteristic features enumerated are important as being supremely human. Here one notices the distinction between Tiruvaḷḷuvar's approach and the approach of the other authorities on *arthasastra*. Others explain and discuss the various aspects of society and government in terms of statecraft and diplomacy. They have the values of their own. But Vaḷḷuvar's approach is much more fundamental. He discusses all the intricate problems of the State and Society from the basic and common human point of view. In describing the qualifications and attainments of a king, others discuss what kind of

education is necessary for a king. Is it economics or law or military science? But Valluvar does not enter into any such discussion. He never forgets that the king or for that matter any officer of State is a human being. Man differs from beast because of education which opens the eyes that can read through and understand the force of symbols. There is a joy in the company of the learned. Education makes the hidden knowledge within man to well forth like the water from a spring. The learned become the citizens of the universe; and man therefore becomes greater and greater through this life-long process of education. It is not mère acquisition of knowledge that is education, however thorough it may be. Real education consists in living what has been learnt so as to be a standing example to others. It is then that he becomes the universal man realising that others also enjoy in the intellectual world what he himself enjoys. Valluvar once again emphasises this important, fundamental human education from the negative point of view. Physical beauty without this life-giving education is nothing more than a well-decked puppet of clay. In the absence of universal consciousness intended by universal education, good fortune itslef becomes much more harmful to the world. Noble birth itself becomes futile in the absence of education.

(b)

2

In the absence of education one may be well informed; nothing is more life-giving than the feast offered by the great who expound to the ear, a feast sweeter than ambrosia. The words of the great are like a walking-stick to those treading on slippery grounds. It is the subtler intelligence and deeper insight which find expression in the real humility of the speech of the great.

(b)

3

This kind of training leads to the development of the real wisdom which becomes the greatest fortress. Here again Valluvar describes wisdom not in terms of the king but in terms of all

human beings. If all these are necessary for an ordinary man, how much more are they indispensable to a king. That is the way he looks at these great political problems. Wisdom is no slave of the roaming mind. It withdraws from evil. That which directs towards good is real wisdom. Whatever be said and by whomsoever, wisdom is democratic enough to discern the truth therein. The wise man is no pedant. He makes the most subtle ideas clearer to the common man. The wise man identifies this with world and society; for that is the greatness of wisdom. He reads correctly the future. How can such a man be disappointed? He is fearless but shudders at things to be feared morally. Wisdom is therefore the greatest of wealth. One who has achieved this perfection of knowledge and wisdom knows how to behave in a State; state-craft is crystal clear to his discerning and loving mind. He always takes the tried counsel of the great and he is never lured by deceptive profit. The great always judge aright the strength of the enemy and their own strength, their limitation of force and wealth; theirs is the path of the golden mean; they know the proper time for action and also the proper place therefor. When they want, the service, wisdom and knowledge of others help them to choose aright those who care for the State and Society rather than who care for individual salvation, religious fanaticism, individual aggrandisement or individual pleading as against the Social Welfare. Within the context of Tirukkuṟaḷ *upadha* should be interpreted in this way and not in a Machiavellian sense. The great do not seek the impossible. There is no man who is flawless and therefore amidst the faults and merits they choose one with the greater merit, on the basis of the other's action which is one's own greatness especially when the other has experienced the responsibility of social and family life. They choose only after deep consideration and thereafter they are *no more in any doubt; they are men of action and not mere* theorists; they manage the affairs, improve the resources: increase the wealth and scrutinise all the obstacles to progress. One must know who can accomplish and what; and then one should entrust that duty to him. Man should be ever watchful over the actions of his subordinates.

(b)

4

In all these ways the practical knowledge and wisdom, education and experience prove useful to man in general in all walks of life and therefore they are equally applicable to the king in whom these general principles have to be interpreted so as to suit his needs and duties, his rights and previleges.

(c)

1

Vaḷḷuvar speaks of the king; and in his age monarchy must have been the rule. But because the author is emphasising the fundamental human ideals, his chapters though intended for monarchy are found suitable much more than anything else, to democracy which emphasises the basic human virtues and therefore the equality of men. Vaḷḷuvar might not have contemplated a democracy but his basic human approach makes his work best fitted for democracy and democratic government,

(c)

2

Man possesses not only knowledge and activity but also a heart. All these three faculties in him have to avoid the evil tendencies, pride, anger, lust, parsimony, a false sense of honour, a futile joy, neglect of duty, self-conceit. One must guard against these weaknesses ever so small they be. One must realise one's own faults before one finds faults in others.

(c)

3

In this sphere of political development, the company of the great who are virtuous and wise and who guard others from present and future evil is the greatest help. In their absence, one hastens to his fall. "Water alters and takes the character of the

soil through which it flows: even so the mind takes up the colour of the company with which it consorts." The greatness of the mind is really the greatness of the company it keeps. Therefore the evil company should be avoided. Tiruvalluvar is never satisfied merely with good results. According to him the action which leads to the result should be pure. Purity of action and purity of mind depend upon the purity of association.

(c)

4

Tiruvalluvar never forgets the heart. Some authorities on *arthasastra* will look upon even sons as dangers. But Valluvar, as pointed out by Pariti believes in the efficacy of old attachment remaining with unchanging love even in adversity. Valluvar points out to the crow which shares its prey without concealing it. A sweet tongue and a liberal hand with absence of anger, gather kinsmen all around.

(c)

5

Even when rendering justice, one must be equitable and merciful. *Kaṇṇōṭṭam* is grace or considerateness. It is not restricted as Parimēlaḻakar will have it to those who are already known to one. Paritiyār will translate as *kirupai*. "They that of eyes which are not moved to graciousness are like trees that are rooted at the soil." But this does not affect one's discharge of duty. This *kaṇṇōṭṭam* is praised as *nākarikam* in Naṟṟiṇai and this precious conception is accepted by Valluvar. "Those who desire to be styled the very pink of courtesy will drink off even the poison, that has been mixed for them before their own eyes."

(c)

6

To render justice in an upright way to a friend and foe alike or punish the evil-doers for protecting the citizens is no blame;

that kind of justice is inspired by a loving heart rushing to help the society, however unpalatable that duty may be. It is like rooting out the weeds to help the crops. It is this justice and righteous punishment that make the society rich and contented. One should not, therefore, ever be negligent in the discharge of social duty.

(c)

7

But one must remember that this power of judgement of punishment should not be misused. A tyrant is a murderer. The tears of groaning citizens wear away the tyrant's prosperitry. Therefore the king must be full of compassion. The country becomes a desert and people become uncivilised when the ruler is a tyrant.

(c)

8

Even when one inflicts a righteous punishment, it should not be frightful ; it should be proportionate to the wrong committed. Though reverence for the personality of the criminal demands proportionate punishment, the aim of punishment should be to deter one from continuing a crime. But this can be satisfied if the punishment seems to be excessive though not so in reality, which is all that is necessary for the punishment being deterrent. Therefore in Tiruvaḷḷuvar's theory of punishment the principles of equality, reformation and prevention are emphasised. It is ultimately governed by love and sweet words. A frightful punishment engendered by an angry mood affects the prosperity of the State.

(d)

The necessity for watchfulness and the avoidance of negligence have already been emphasised. The Tamil State of those times had a system of spies. It is necessary even in the interest of justice to know the truth about all people—the relatives, the enemies and the employees of the king. A spy is successful when

he inspires no suspicion, and therefore he should not be honoured publicly. The spy should not merely remain in doubt. Even the spy has to be spied and the king tests one spy by another spy and finally acts only when three spies, unknown to each other, agree in making a statement. Vaḷḷuvar here makes the systems of spies justifiable because the spies form the very eye of the king.

(e)

The king is devoted to and enthusiastic in the performance of his duties. This enthusiasm is real wealth. One is great in proportion to devotion to work. The joy of munificence is denied to those who are not inspired by this devotion. Laziness is its negative aspect. It destroys the whole family. Procrastination, forgetfulness, languor and sleep are the four festive boats that tempt and lead the ill-fated to destruction. Therefore Vaḷḷuvar emphasises as a precious possession the ceaseless effort and perseverance. There is nothing impossible to perseverance. The glory of social benevolence abides in ceaseless effort. Such a man does not hanker after pleasures but lusts for work. Perseverance by-passes fate itself. In that path of perseverance man stands undaunted by opposition and failure. He laughs at misfortunes; and flood-like sorrows vanish away before such a wise man. He finds pleasure in pain, for he considers misery to be natural to man.

(f)

This portrait of a king is really a portrait of an ideal man, full of wisdom, full of heroism, full of munificence, always inspired by the high ideals of love and justice. Vaḷḷuvar has followed other authorities. He has probably adopted the conception of *upātai* and espionage. But Vaḷḷuvar's State is the State of love, kinship, compassion and justice. all of which increase the wealth, prosperity and peace of the society. It is not a world of mutual suspicion. The importance of *kaṇṇōṭṭam* 'considerateness' and *cuṟṟam taḻāl* 'bringing within one's kind hold his relatives' cannot be exaggerated. Here arises the importance of a study of Kauṭilya for comparison. The emphasis on purity of action is something unique in Vaḷḷuvar. We must also

emphasise his theory of punishment which seems to be almost *modern, inspired by love and human consideration,* though he does not go to the extent of looking upon criminals as suffering from disease as some of the modern criminologists do. The emphasis on *vēḷaṇmai* and munificence which were emphasised in *aṟam* should lead us to see the interconnection betwen *aṟam* and *poruḷ*. *Aṟam* is the very basis of *poruḷ* as well. As we shall see presently *poruḷ* is intended only as a suitable environment for the perpetuation of Dharma.

III

(a)

The six limbs of the State, according to Parimēlaḻakar are discussed in thirty two chapters. Of these the first ten deal with the ministers. The picture of the ideal man will certainly apply to all officers of State and to citizens. A minister is great for the choice of means, season and action and is skilled in the execution of rare enterprises. He is undaunted in his resoluteness. He is ever bent upon protecting the subjects. He is a learned man and has great perseverance. He is a great diplomat in international politics bringing about union and disunion in that field as he likes. His comprehension of the situation is faultless. He performs the proper action through such comprehension in the best manner possible, and his advice is always the best. Yet with all this he never swerves from Dharma. His words are full of weight; he knows the world of books. He has a subtle intuitive knowledge and he understands fully well the current waves of the world. He is fearless in giving his advice.

(b)

1

In the description of the ministers who include ambassadors, Vaḷḷuvar emphasises the importance of oratory or speech. Probably it was a society which relied on learned assemblies and councils, in local and central government. There is a chapter on *colvaṉmai* 'the power of speech', another on *avai-y-aṟita*

'understanding the audience'. and a third on *avai-y-añcamai* 'one's fearlessness of the audience'. These are worthy of study by members of assemblies of the modern world as emphasising higher ideals whilst at the same time giving us practical hints. The chapter on *tūtu* or ambassador also emphasises the powers of speech in addition to loving nature, high birth, manners that captivate princes, knowledge of politics, scholarship, personality, natural wisdom, fearlessness and understanding of the right time and place.

(b)

2

It is important to note that Tiruvaḷḷuvar here insists on *tūymai* or purity even in rhe diplomacy of the ambassador along with boldness or fearlessness and truthfulness. The ambassador should also be capable of winning the support of foreign ministers. Friendship, truthfulness, fearlessness and purity are, as already seen, the marks of a man of Dharma. Therefore the diplomacy that Vaḷḷuvar contemplates, is a dharmic one.

(c)

There are certain advices given in the chapters on *maṉṉarai-c-cērntoḻukal* 'behaviour of one attached to the king' and on *kuṟippaṟital* 'comprehending the mind or the idea of the king' which are important for even the modern government servant. 'Avoid all graver feelings so as to avoid suspicion. Do not cover things desired by the superior. Be neither too near nor too far from your superior, Avoid whispered words and interchange of smiles in his presence. Be not inquisitive to know his disposition. Seek the right time and suggest the desirable in a pleasing manner. Honour his splendour. Even with friends, avoid unseemly things. Read the mind without any doubt in the face-especially in the eye which reflects the mind whether in anger or joy.' These valuable advices are enough to prove Vaḷḷuvar's deeper concern with the practical world.

(d)

1

The ministers form the executive body of the State. There are various ways of executing a policy or an act. "Decide and then act without delay. Delay where you must; but delay not where you should not. Act in all ways and that in a fesible way changing the means if need be. But do not leave any act unfinished. Act without any clouded thought on your resources, the means, the opportune time, place, and action, only after considering the aim, the obstacles and the ultimate gain. The best way to perform an act begun is to know its secret, from one who knows it. Undertake an act which will in turn accomplish another, like making one rutting elephant capture another. Alliance of one's foes may be better than doing a good turn to the friends. The chances of reconciliation with superior foes should be welcomed". These advices therefore cover both the internal and external policy. The means and ends should be both weighed in the cause of peace and success.

(d)

2

What is important in all these matters of action is firmness in action which is really the firmness of mind. This alone leads to all glory. " For the firm in mind achieve all that they design. Avoid failures; but once an act is undertaken do not be foiled by obstacle. Do not proclaim an act except by successfully terminating it; for, speech is easy whilst action is difficult. Resolve and then waver not in acting with vigour what will yield pleasure and profit in the end, even if falsity and troubles beset you to start with. The world welcomes none but those who are firm in action".

(d)

3

This firmness had been emphasised by all authorities on *arthasāstra*. Living as we do in the Gandhian India, what is

much more interesting and significant in Tiruvaḷḷuvar is that for him the means must be as pure and desirable as the end itself. The end will not justify the means in his theory. That is the great message of his chapter on *Viṉai-t-tūymai*, 'The purity of action'.

The means should be pure in the sense of being in accordance with Dharma and of winning fame of the right type. 'Avoid therefore' he says, 'actions which bring neither good nor fame. If you care to be glorious, avoid things that may tarnish your good name. Good allies bring prosperity; but good actions yield everything desired, even if you suffer. Resist from mean things, Never do any act for which you will repent thereafter. The pinching poverty is preferred by the great to the disreputable wealth. Wealth achieved by making others shed tears vanish, making the winner shed tears in return. But good actions causing no injury to others except to oneself, ultimately prove a blessing in disguise, Therefore success through forbidden deeds causes but ultimate sorrow. To lay by wealth through deceit and evil means, is to preserve water in a pot of clay that is not baked'. Vaḷḷuvar makes it clear further that the end does not justify the means. 'Even for appeasing the hunger of your mother do not perform anything condemned by the great.' This is certainly not in accordance with *Āpad Dharma* preached by Bhiṣmācārya on his death bed to the dharmic Pāṇḍavas. It is clear that Vaḷḷuvar goes against this kind of thought. Even if it were to be shown that, this is not his original contribution, his work is unique in having chosen this theory of purity of action as against *Āpad-Dharma*.

IV

(a)

Finance is the mainspring of all actions in a state and society Vaḷḷuvar realises that wealth makes even worthless things full of worldly value, so much so the poor are despised and the wealthy are honoured irrespective of their other solid virtues. Wealth is an unfailing lamp reaching all dark corners and dispelling all enmity. Therefore one should amass wealth; for, then only any undertaking removed from all dangers, becomes romantic, even as one joyfully witnesses the elephant fight when safe on a distant

hill. Wealth is the steel that saws through the pride of your enemies. Once wealth is achieved, *poruḷ* and *kāmam* become an easy gain. Therefore the king enriches his treasury through escheat, through tax and through tributes from enemies' lands. This is indeed worldly wisdom.

(b)

But the dharmic Vaḷḷuvar will not be true to his name, if he does not insist on enriching treasury through virtuous means. Only that wealth amassed through a conscious pursuit of virtuous means and without foul practices that will beget Dharma and Kāma. That is the significance of the phrase '*poruḷ eṉṉum poyyā viḷakkam*'—' Wealth which is the light of truth '. ' Touch not the wealth that is not gathered through compassion and love '. It is in that world of higher values that compassion which is the child of love is reared by the cherishing nurse of wealth. It is thus clear that Vaḷḷuvar emphasises the purity of the means of attaining wealth, a purity which is at once Dharma and Love.

V

(a)

Vaḷḷuvar agrees with other authorities on *arthasāstra*, that ultimately force is the basis of sovereignty when internal peace and external freedom are in danger. Therefore it is the chief wealth of the king. Army is an ancient institution with a long tradition which alone remains undaunted even when repulsed, and which rushes against even the Lord of Death, with a boldness, military pride, traditional chivalry and trustworthiness. The army thus protects peace and prosperity, both within and without, by its supreme self-sacrifice in the cause of the culture represented by the State or Sovereign.

(b)

After singing the glories of the army, Vaḷḷuvar gives us a glimpse of the justifiable pride of a heroic army. In the best tradition of Caṅkam literature here also we get the dramatic monologues. This suggest a thought that perhaps that whole of the Kuṟaḷ can be looked upon as a series of monologues, but the

difficulty is that it is not possible for us at this distant time to imagine the proper context for each of the Kuṟaḷ as a dramatic monologue.

(c)

The warriors aim at unique greatness. It is glorious, even if you miss, to aim at an elephant rather than at an hare even if you succeed. Glorious valour, *pēr-āṇmai* is really *ūr-āṇma* 'the generosity to the country' when some danger threatens it. This explains that what appears to be man slaughter on the battle-field is nothing but the expression of the supreme sacrifice of love in the cause of an ideal society, *ūrāṇmai.* This is also the meaning of the Kuṟal '*aṟattiṟkē aṉpu cārpeṉpa aṟiyār*; *maṟattiṟkum aktē tuṇai*'. 'They say that love is the basis of Dharma alone. They do not know it is equally the basis of heroism'. The commentators, however, have interpreted *ūrāṇmai* in different ways either as generosity to the fallen or as refusing to wield the sword against the weak or as crushing down the enemy's onslaught. Unfortunately these interpretations do not bring out the dharmic aspect of the army inspired by love. Even if the king were to prohibit, the real warrior will not desist from his duty. Even at the moment of death the warrior enjoys the opportunity of his doing his mite for the great cause. 'The heroic death on the battle-field is so precious that one may pray for it as the greatest boon: for it brings tears in the eyes of all those who have protected him, for he dies for them all'.

IV

(a)

Vaḷḷuvar passes on to consider international relationship under the term *naṭpu* which, as the commentators point out, he discusses from its positive and negative aspects.

(b)

In the treatment of this intricate problem of diplomacy, he shows his greatness which arises again from his basic human

approach. If universal love should be a permanent achievement for all, international fellowship should be achieved in all the States of the world coming to live as a family of friendly States. Looked at thus, what has to be aimed at is nothing more than what every human being knows as friendship in this wordly relationship with others. Therefore though Valluvar discusses international fellowship, the chapters seem to suggest, because of this fundamental approach, that he, as it were, dealing with the individual friendship of men. The Value of this approach in making the abstruse diplomacy clear to and understandable by the ordinary man in the street cannot be easily exaggerated. It is only when the common man understands and appreciates the necessity for international fellowship that it can be really established in this world.

(c)

'True friendship hastens to relieve the distress as readily as the hand of the man whose garment has slipped away'. This is a truth any man will appreciate. Valluvar enriches this conception by his own experience. 'Like the beauty of a book revealing newer depths and pleasures every time it is studied a new, friendship reveals unexpected depths and sweet aspects at every new contact'. It is not contact which is necessary in international fellowship, for instance; it is the identity of feelings which alone creates the right to friendship. Such a friendship grows day after day like that of the waxing crescent moon. The dharmic aspect is emphasised when Valluvar asserts that friendship is not for pleasant contact, but for harsh advice when one swerves from the path of virtue. " Reflect before you decide on friendship. The old allies have a sweetness of their own, especially when there is an identity of feeling, welcoming even their offences towards them. But the friendship of selfish men has an eye only on profit. It never helps one; so is the intimacy of the fools. Bitter indeed is the relation of those who say one thing in private and another in public and who do something else in action. There is also the outward friendship without any inner contact; they are the dissemblers with a smile on their face but a hatred within their heart. The folded hands of such an enemy, even in an attitude of devotion, may conceal a weapon'.

(d)

1

There are twelve chapters which Maṇakkuṭavar and Parip-perumāḷ will classify as *tuṉpa-v-iyal* or that part which deals with the sorrows of the State. But Parimēlaḻakar rightly includes them all under *naṭpu*. He feels it is the negative aspect of *naṭpu* which is enmity that is emphasised according to the Pan-Indian theory of State. *Tuṉpa-v-iyal* according to him has no separate place. International fellowship may be affected by the individual faults of the statesmen or kings. Therefore these faults have to be looked upon as the internal enemies within one's own mind.

According to Paripperumāḷ, the first eight chapters herein relate to dangers which arise because of others; the last five chapters describe the miseries caused by one's own acts and tendencies, Parimēlaḻakar relies upon the three basic defects in man, viz. ignorance, attachment and hatred. Foolishness and what is more intolarable, the fools' pretension of wisdom arise because of ignorance. 1. Malice, 2. inciting hatred. 3. the various aspects of enmity, 4. internal enmity, and 5. the misbehaviour towards the great are the five evils flowing from hatred. 1. Being a henpecked husband, 2. living with prostitutes, 3. intoxication, 4. gambling and 5. disease which can be cured only by medicine, arise from one's attachments to desires.

(d)

2

Foolishness binds the harmful and loses the good ; it aspires for the forbidden or the impossible. The fool may be great but does not govern himself. He does not know good conduct and ultimately gets himself fettered. Shamelessness, indifference (to right and wrong) callousness and aversion (from what is desirable)—these are the marks of a fool.

(d)

3

'The fool, proud of his wisdom is a greater danger. Foolishness is the greatest poverty. The real nakedness of foolishness

is not covered by that fool who covers only the nakedness of his body. He knows nothing wise and he does not follow other's advice. He is a plague unto himself till death. Wisdom feels its identity with the world, but foolishness is the evil spirit which goes against the world'. It will be thus seen that Valluvar does not forget the emphasis on universal consciousness.

(e)

1

Malice fosters the evil of disunion among all creatures. It is the greatest disease. Fame comes in only when it is cured. It is the misery of miseries. Hatred leads to all miseries; and friendship leads to all that is good.

(e)

2

Next come the innate tendencies and activities which multiply enmities, when there is no love, when there is no friendship, when there is no enjoyment, when there is nothing but fear, ignorance, miserliness and disagreement with others. A man then is full of anger. He keeps no secrets; he does not care for infamy; he has no good qualities; his excessiveness in lust is very marked. Such a one is an easy prey to his enemies. 'His enmity is surely to be purchased even at some cost.'—so think the politicians.

(e)

3

Next follow the varieties of enmity incited and developed. Even in jest, enmity should not be desired. Never incur the hatred of those whose ploughs are words. He is mad who creates many enemies whilst the world abides in him who turns hatred into friendship.

(e)

4

Then there is the concealed enmity which pretends to be firendship till the opportunity comes in for attack. 'Avoid this

secret enmity arising among the kindred. After this secret enmity, there can be no reunion. The association with such enemies is like living with a cobra'.

(e)

5

The greatest hatred kindled results from insulting the Great-great in power, physical and material. To incite them into hatred is like beckoning the god of Death. One can escape fire but not the hatred of the Great.

(f)

1

To follow the advice of a wise wife is different from becoming a slave to her lust. What she cannot do openly she gets it done through her henpecked husband who is indeed a great shame to society. He is afraid of doing any good deed. The modest woman herself is more dignified than the manliness of him who is slave to her lust. There is no Dharma, Artha, or Kāma for him.

(f)

2

An attachment to a prostitute is much worse for what she desires is not love but money. Her embrace is an embrace of unknown corpse. Those who seek uuiversal love will not fall a prey to the worthless charms of harlots.

(f)

3

' Intoxication makes one mean enough even in the eyes of one's own mother. What foolishness that one should purchase unconsciousness thus ! Those who drink liquor drink but poison.'

(f)

4

Gambling is another great evil inspired by desire. The gain from gambling is the baited iron-hook which the fish swallows. Gambling leads to misery and destroys all reputation.

(f)

5

Diseases cripple a man. Gluttony is the greatest evil. Eat only when you feel hungry and even then not in excess. Moderation here as elsewhere is the greatest virtue. Otherwise man becomes a prey to infinite diseases. How can social virtues thrive ; how can social duties be performed when one cannot be himself healthy ?

(g)

In all these ways the social duties require certain individual restraint and perfection. Here again one sees the intimate connection between Dharma and Artha. It is significant that this individual perfection is emphasised under the topic of international relationship. Here again it will be seen that Vaḷḷuvar's approach is from the ordinary human point of view. The ordinary man has to guard himself against these evils. How much more is the necessity on the part of the leader of a state, for warding off these dangers !

VII

(a)

1

The theory of the State is that its soverignty resides in the Head of the State who is an ideal man ; he relies upon the Executive council of ministers full of dharma, knowledge and executive control. The sovereignty ultimately depends on the force of an army for keeping the peace within and from defending the country from others. The State builds up its treasury for the sake of culture, State and society. It occupies a specified and well defined geographical region, well fortified in peace and war. The State is full of worthy citizens. It remains in international relationship with the other States of the world.

(a)

2

We have discussed all the limbs of the State except (1) *araṇ* or fortification and (2) *kuṭi*. In the *arthasāstras* some-

times the geographical region is emphasised and sometimes the citizens who occupy that geographical area are emphasised. There is a chapter called *naṭu* in Tirukkuṛaḷ and the commentators have interpreted this to refer to one of the six limbs. According to some of them, *nāṭu* has to be equated with *kuṭi*. But unfortunately some of the commentators like Maṇakkūṭavar themselves refer to thirteen concluding chapters in *poruṭpāl* as *kuṭi-y-iyal*. In the opening verse, Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of *kuṭi* and not of *naṭu* and therefore *knṭi-y-iyal* must deal with *kuṭi*. There is the older tradition preserved in Tiruvaḷḷuva malai where the verse (26) attributed to Pōkkiyār gives the following arrangement of *poruṭpāl*. First twenty five chapters deal with the king; next ten with the ministry; next two deal with fortification; the next one chapter deals with finance; the succeeding two with army; the next seventeen with *naṭpu* or international relationship; and the last thirteen with *kuṭi*. According to this tradition, the last thirteen chapters deal with *kuṭi* or citizens. Again, according to this tradition, both the chapters on *nāṭu* and *araṇ* deal with fortification. This is very significant. Kālinkar also follows this tradition. He interprets *naṭu* 'the country' as *nāṭṭaraṇ* 'the fortification of the country' and *araṇ* as the fortified city. A contented and prosperous country is the best fortified place.

(a)

3

We have seen the conception of the limbs of State. Vaḷḷuvar speaks of the limbs of a country viz.. the flowing rivers, the rich mountains, the rain-fed reservoirs and strong forts. He also speaks of the five beauties of a country viz. wealth, natural yield, happiness, safety and absence of disease. Nature, Capital and Labour are there and the people believe in just distribution after production and accumulation of wealth. The country is free from faction, internal enemies and civil war. There is no chronic hunger, incurable disease or ravaging enemy. All these emphasis that peace and prosperity are the greatest fortification for an extensive country.

(b)

But within this geographical boundary we have fortified places, which are the cities. It is this kind of fortification apart

from the fortification of peace and culture that is discussed in the chapter on *araṉ*. A fortress is an offensive and defensive contrivance. It is full of waters, mountains, forest and a fortification of earth. The fortification has height, thickness, solidity and impregnability. It has an extensive space but the places to be guarded are small. It cannot easily be attacked. It is full of food; it is easy to defend. It has everything within it. Above all it has the warriors to defend in times of need. It cannot be overthrown either by a regular siege or by storm or by treachery.

(c)

Here are two important things to be noted. The one is that Vaḷḷuvar speaks of prosperity and peace of the country as a great fortification. This is a truth whose importance is being slowly realised in modern times. The second is that its description of actual fortification is not as detailed as in other *arthaśāstras* like Sukranīti. That reveals to us another characteristic feature of Tirukkuṟaḷ. He emphasises only the basic principles. But one cannot build a fort with the help of Tirukkuṟaḷ. For that, we must go to practical hand books on fortification. This is true of all aspects of statecraft discussed by Tiruvaḷḷuvar. Nobody can with the help of Tirukkuṟaḷ alone govern a State or levy a number of taxes or organise a secretariat or an army in the practical world. For that we require in addition the Board Standing orders, the criminal and the civil Codes and numerous Manuals with detailed rules and regulations. Some of these rules and regulations are found in works like Kauṭilyā's, Arthasāstra, Sukranīti and Manu Dharma Sāstra. They are in that way of greater practical importance than Vaḷḷuvar. But unfortunately their practical instructions and details are no longer valid. They have become antiquated. That is why Tiruvaḷḷuvar refuses to deal with these ever changing details. He concentrates himself on the unchanging realities of human nature and the eternal verities of life which are eternal ideals. In this way what at first sight appears a defect, from the practical side. becomes Vaḷḷuvar's eternal glory. Here again it is the Pan-Indian background that suggests this unique greatness of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

VIII

(a)

One may conclude this study with a discussion on the last part of *poruṭpāl*. Parimēlaḻakar has interpreted *kuṭi* as *nāṭu*. He has taken the chapter on *nāṭu* to refer to this limb of the State viz. *kuṭi*. For one thing Vaḷḷuvar uses the specific term *kuṭi* and not *nāṭu* in the opening Kuṟaḷ of *porùṭpāl*. Secondly all except Parimēlaḻakar call the last part *kuṭi-y-iyal*. Thirdly the old tradition preserved in Tiruvaḷḷuva mālai is very specific that this last part of the book deals with the limb of the state referred to as *kuṭi* in the opening Kuṟaḷ. Fourthly it has already been explained, according to the old tradition, that the chapter on *naṭu* along with that on *araṇ* refer to a beautiful conception of fortification. If this is correct *kuṭi* remains to be explained only in this last part.

According to Parimēlaḻakar, however, there is nothing more to be explained and therefore he feels that the last part is a miscellaneous one, where subjects not elsewhere dealt with are discussed. Apart from the fact that this kind of treatment is against all tradition, it misses the great contribution of Vaḷḷuvar. This last part of *poruṭpāḷ* according to tradition should be taken as dealing with *kuṭi,* the citizens who make up the State. This purpose of the State is fulfilled only when the citizens become perfect human beings. Because of the perfection spoken of here, Parimēlaḻakar is misled into thinking that this portion is miscellaneous in that it mentions the greatness of human beings, a greatness to be achieved by all the limbs of the State. Since all the limbs of the State from the basic point of view are human beings and citizens, there is no necessity for calling this part a miscellaneous section or *oḻipiyal*.

In the modern conception, especially in the democratic world, the State exists for the peoples' welfare, which is interpreted by Tiruvaḷḷuvar in the widest sense of the term as including the human perfection described in *aṟattu-p-pāl*. Taking it in this sense, *poruṭpāl* becomes subsidiary to *aṟattu-p-pāl* in that it creates the proper environment, social and material, for the achievement of such a perfection. All the other limbs of the State are the trustees, if we were to use a term Mahatma Gandhi

has used for his purpose; and the citizens are the beneficiaries. Others exist for the sake of the citizens for making the latter live a perfect human life. It is this conception of Tiruvaḷḷuvar which has suggested to Kambaṉ the idea that the real soul or life of the State consists of the citizens whilst all other limbs of State represented by the king, as the concrete embodiment of sovereignty, form but the body which provides the means and forms the source of all kinds of enjoyment for that life. The very fact that the citizens are described in terms of perfection at the end of *poruṭpāl* shows that the citizens form the crown and glory of the State. This is the greatest contribution Tiruvaḷḷuvar makes and it is unfortunate that Parimēlaḷakar's commentary misses the importance of this part of the book.

(b)

The first chapter in *kuṭi-i-yal* emphasises the high birth. It has no reference to any caste or community. In India as in ancient China, family is the cradle for all human perfection. Mother's love and the responsibilities of the family instil in the mind of the child, the natural rectitude and abhorrance of evil action, correct conduct and truth, which make them all, always cheerful, liberal, ever speaking the pleasant words, without reviling anybody or indulging in deceit. The importance of family for the perfection of human being, whatever be the status one occupies in society, is thus brought out clearly and this has to be understood with reference to the family and love, described in *aṟattu-p-pāl* and *kāmattu-p-pāl.*

(c)

Māṉam refers here to a deeper conception of honour which consists in living up to the ideal and sacrificing one's life rather than the ideal, if ever there were a competition between the two. That is the glory and real heroism of the great citizens. They never dream of any disreputable act. That is their dignity even in great adversity; for, they know that men who fall from a high estate are like the lock of hair fallen from the head. This is their great fame and they will never descend to follow those they despise, though they themselves are humble in their prosperity.

(d)

With this high conception of honour of living up to the ideal, they are great, always doing great and famous things. All men are born equal, but great acts make for real greatness. Even one who occupies a lowly state thus becomes great. A woman's chastity is in her hands and similarly one's greatness is in one's own hands. In spite of achieving the impossible, real greatness is modest whilst littleness is extremely proud. Such a great man is perfect in that he is full of all good human qualities. Because of the high sense of his duty these qualities become his second nature. The greatest good is the goodness of character which is full of love, benignance and truth, which abhors evil, and identifies itself with the society. Refraining from killing is the greatness of *tapas*; refraining from even mentioning other's faults is the glory of human perfection. The great man willingly accepts defeat even at the hands of his inferiors. Therein lies the touchstone of perfection; for humility is the strength of the great which disarms any enemy. The ages may change but not perfection. The perfection reached reminds us of the saints described in *tuṟavaṟam*. It is the same perfection which is possible to be achieved in a welfare State. What is perfection worth if Man does not do good to even evil-doers?

(e)

This perfection is exhibited in his own behaviour which shows that one has become one with others. His heart beats in unison with the hearts of others. He is easy of access and full of love, perfectly nurtured in a family of high reputation. It is not physical resemblance but the identity of human feeling that is found amongst the great people. They pour oil on disturbed waters, exhibiting their pleasing qualities even when others hate them. But for them, the harmony of this world would be buried in the dust. They brighten up the world with their smile, otherwise the world will be steeped in darkness.

(f)

The munificence of such a man has been already discussed, in the chapter on *oppuravu* in *aṟattu-p-pal*. Its negative aspect

is described in *naṉṟiyil celvam* or the ungrateful wealth. The title itself is significant. Wealth is made possible by the whole society at large and the grateful citizens should share it with others in loving gratitude, for otherwise the selfish enjoyment of wealth is a mark of ingratitude. One who does not possess the human feeling or what Shakespeare calls 'the milk of human kindness' cannot feel one's own duties towards one's own body politic. He is no man but a demon, more dead than living, really poor though rich, verily a dog in the manger or like unto a woman fair growing old in lonelihood. Vaḷḷuvar has compared the munificent man to a fruit bearing tree and to a medicinal plant just in the centre of the village. The miser's wealth is also a tree full of fruits in the midst of the village; only it is a poison tree. Therefore one has to bring in the chapter on *oppuravu* in this part of the book on citizens.

(g)

Shying at things evil has become natural to the perfect man. It is said of Ramakrishna Paramahamsa that this feeling of renunciation was so great that his body would shrink at the touch of money even when he was unconscious. This cultivated feeling of abhorence at anything evil is real modesty; for modesty is not merely the blush of women. This higher modesty is a sign of perfection. His flesh itself shrinks and that is why perhaps all spirits claim his home of flesh as habitation. The perfect man shrinks from others' guilt as much as his. In the absence of this natural shrinking from evil, majestic gait becomes a disease. The perfect man will give up his life rather than this modesty. In the absence of this modesty man is but a marionette.

(h)

This feeling of human kindness expresses itself in varied ways—trying to help the perfection of others and to help the family and the State through all their activities. Action thus is the touchstone of human perfection—a never ceasing action aiming at the exaltation of the family and society. Parippérumāḷ will interpret this to mean that such a great man has no time to satisfy fully even his hunger. Manly exertion and a wider intellectual vision thus become useful for others, and God Himself hastens to

help such a man. His ideal is thus spontaneously achieved and the whole world will cling to him and claim kinship with him. He is a great warrior; for he bears the brunt of all natural attacks on his family and suffers all miseries that may arise therefrom.

(i)

The incessant human effort inspired by the concern for the common weal should result in producing wealth, which as a social institution solves all problems of family and society. Has not Vaḻḻuvar praised it as the great light of truth which dispells all darkness of misery and ignorance? At this point, therefore, the significance of *poruḷ* is realised. The great man is active. Activity seems to be his very breath inspired as he is by love. This activity should take the form of works. In that age of agriculture, that activity was considered the best. In modern age we may take *uḻavu* as labour in the descriptive and illustrative sense rather than in an exhaustive sense. However, even in the modern world agriculture has its own virtues not shared by other professions. Agriculture is the back-bone of a nation. "Whirl as the world will, it must after all rely on the plough. The agriculture is the linch-pin of the progressive van of society for agriculturists support all, whilst others are subservient. One who works by his own hand knows the sufferings of life and therefore hastens to help the beggar though he himself will never beg." It would have been noticed that in praising the perfect man who has not renounced the world, Vaḻḻuvar often tries to point out that he is superior to one who has renounced. Therefore here also he points out, that if the husband-man sits still with folded arms, even they who have renounced will have no place in this world. Every aspect of agriculture has to be cared and watched. Land is an exacting mistress who demands the presence of the agriculturists always by her side. She laughs at those who plead poverty and lead an idle life.

IX

(a)

Thus far, the glories of the good citizens have been sung. But when that perfection is not reached by the citizens, certain

evil effects flow and the land is steeped in poverty. One has then to live by begging. Vaḷḷuvar shudders at the very idea of begging at other's doors which is the most powerful dehumanising force in society. Under such an environment instead of human perfection, there is degradation. Therefore, in the remaining four chapters, he emphasises the greatness of human perfection nurtured by the State and society through the proper environment they have provided, and points out its contrast with the picture of a society leading to human degradation. It has already been pointed out that Vaḷḷuvar believing as he does, in the innate divinity of Man, does not forget the importance of Nature and environment in human progress. Poverty is the greatest enemy of man; for, then man ceases to be human. As Avvaiyār sings, 'when there is chronic hunger, honour, munificence, nobility, greatness, education, wisdom, helpful effort, *tapas*, and love, all fly away'. Therefore Vaḷḷuvar asserts there is nothing more painful than poverty, except if it be poverty itself. Poverty as a chronic hankering, destroys all tradition and all human speech and leads to infinite miseries. Even the mother looks upon the *unrighteous poor* as a stranger. Mark the words unrighteous poor. Poverty is veritable death. One may sleep peacefully in fire but not in poverty; it is indeed the depth of human degradation. That this misery does not inspire the poor to welcome renunciation is what Vaḷḷuvar has referred to elsewhere. They are fated to be demons wasting other men's salt and gruel or, as Kālinkar puts it, "they become death unto their own erstwhile propriety and good behaviour."

(b)

Vaḷḷuvar, however, recognises the duty of the good citizen to help the unfortunate. What else can the unfortunate do than beg, if there are those who may be begged of? If the latter withhold any help, the blame is theirs and not the beggars. Begging becomes a pleasure when the help comes without causing pain. There is a charm in begging before those who know their duty. Begging is as blissful as munificence before those who will not withold anything even in their dreams. Does not this begging bring out all that is good in man? Where will munificence be if there is no one to receive the gift? In the Buddhist epic, Maṇimēkalai therefore the munificent Āputtiraṉ is so cursed to have no

one to receive his kindness. In the absence of those who seek help from others, where can be cooperation and where can be the exhibition of human virtues? In its absence the world becomes a stage wherein strut wooden dolls.

(c)

This ought not to be interpreted as glorifying beggary; for, Vaḷḷuvar shudders at the very thought of begging. Though from the point of view of the munificent citizen it offers an opportunity for the spontaneous expression of human perfection, from the point of view of the beggar, it is the most dehumanising force. Not to beg is million times better than begging. There is nothing harder than the foolhardiness that believes in ending its indigence by begging. The contentment which refuses to beg even in want, is greater than all the Universe put together. Nothing is sweeter than even the watery gruel earned by one's own toil. Seeking help even for a righteous cause is degrading. The beggar's life is almost dead at a rebuff. But where hides the life of the man who denies help? For verily the latter cannot be a living human being. Vaḷḷuvar explains in a spirit of righteous indignation against whoever is responsible for a society which tolerates begging. "May the ordainer" he cries, "of the present world perish, if the society is, so organised that one has to live only through mendicancy'". Therefore it is the duty of man to rectify such an organisation. Coming in the best tradition of Vaḷḷuvar, Bharathi sings 'If there is no food for a single individual, let us destory this dying world and reshape a new world'.

(d)

The last chapter deals with the degradation of Man, the very opposite of human perfection. The degenerate resemble the perfect men in appearance. What an exact resemblance! They are indeed fortunate, for they feel no qualms of conscience. They are like gods doing whatever they like. They compete in degradation. Fear is their only virtue; perhaps there is also a little amount of strong desire, as a motive. They will never help except when the robber breaks their jaws. They are like the sugar cane which yields its sweet juice only when it is crushed to death. If others are prosperous, the reprobate hastens to slander.

Valḷuvar therefore exclaims: "When suffering presses them down, the degenerate rush to sell themselves away. What other purpose do they serve?" Thus ends *porutpal*.

X

The political philosophy of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is unique in that it makes society and government, the cradle for perfect men, the ferfect men described in *arattu-p-pāl*. That is why Tiruvaḷḷuvar insists on the means being as ennobling as the ends themselves. Even the most intricate problems of Statecraft and diplomacy are discussed from their basic human point of view so as to be understood by all without any mystery or mystification.

XI

Thus the philosophy of Tiruvaḷḷuvar is a well integrated one, where Kāma or the experience of idealised Love becomes the starting point of Dharma or human perfection reaching the stage of universal love and where Artha provides the proper environment for the development of that perfection. Nothing is repressed; nothing is negatived. Everything is given its proper place so that in the end there is complete harmony, the harmony which is experienced at the end, as universal Love. That is the unique contribution of Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

It has been possible to evaluate his philosophy in this way only within the Pan-Indian background of *puruṣārtha*. Valḷuvar works within that background; but by varying emphasis on certain aspects, he has given us a new portrait of the ideal human life which attracts the attention of all and which inspires in us all, the hope that we can achieve that success with the practical advice he has given.

THE ETHICS OF THE TIRUKKURAL

BY

Dr. V. A. DEVASENAPATHI

My grateful thanks are due to the Vice-Chancellor and the other authorities of the Madras University for the honour they have conferred on me by inviting me to deliver the Sornammal Endowment Lectures this year. I have chosen the *Ethics of the Tirukkuṟaḷ* as the theme of my lectures. It was the desire of the late Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, the donor of this Endowment, that the Tirukkuṟaḷ should be more widely studied and made known to the world. I trust that the choice of my theme will be in conformity with his desire.

The Tirukkuṟaḷ has been acclaimed as a world classic and its author, Saint Tiruvaḷḷuvar, as a bard of universal man. Whatever its date of composition, the Tirukkuṟaḷ has been a source of inspiration for several centuries now. It is generally listed among the ethical works in Tamil and is considered to be the greatest of them. Its chapters are classified under three main sections, dealing with the first three out of the usually accepted four Ends of Life - *Virtue, Wealth, Enjoyment* and *Heaven* or the state of Release. The reason for the omission of the fourth viz., Heaven or the state of Release is said to be this—that as Heaven is beyond the ken of thoughts or words, its nature cannot be dealt with except in relation to what leads to it - viz., Asceticism. However, if Heaven or Release is not necessarily a *post mortem* state but can very well be *here and hereafter*, if Heaven is the quality of our life, if the Kingdom of God is within us and, if release is a matter of release from egoism or self centredness, from the sense of 'I' and 'Mine'-I submit that this Heaven or State of Release is the underlying theme of the whole work. Not only the first chapter which is in *Praise of God* and other chapters in the first two sections emphasising ethical virtues which help to bring about freedom from egoism, not only the chapter on *Knowledge of the True* (மெய்யுணர்தல்) which is a marvel of

a Metaphysics in miniature, but the whole of the third section, காமத்துப்பால், is also concerned with Heaven or Release. If I am right in understanding the central theme of the Tirukkuṟaḷ to be non-attachment and love, the evolution of the personality from a state of self centredness and narrow attachments to a state of God centredness and boundless love or compassion or benevolence, then the third section காமத்துப்பால் is the best description of such a state.

Dr. G. U. Pope is not inclined to accept this view. He says, 'Many give to the whole a mystical interpretation, an idea with which commentators on the book of Canticles have made us familiar. Its interpretation as an allegory exhibiting the play of the Divine Spirit with the embodied soul, would be in harmony with much that is found in Muhammadan literature as well as in Sanskrit, especially in Buddhist writers. Yet I can hardly think that Tiruvaḷḷuvar's tone of mind would lead him to this method of teaching spiritual truths. However I should like to urge two considerations in this context, one regarding the genius of Tamil Language and the other regarding ancient Tamil literary tradition. As for the first, let me quote F. W. Ellis: 'The Tamil, the genius of which is to hint rather than to define the signification of its words, selects generally a single idea to indicate class or series; and the author accordingly comprehends under a phrase, expressive of their principal characteristic இன்சொல் or இனியவை கூறல், '*pleasing speech*', the several modifications of the primary notion conveyed by affability, courtesy and similar terms'.[1] As for the Tamil literary tradition, the treatment of life in terms of its inner and outer phases (அகம் & புறம்) is well known. I believe that the ancient Tamils practised economy in thought as well as in word, Hence both the inner and the outer aspects of life may be taken to deal with two stages of spiritual evolution. *In the first stage* the inner and outer aspects stand for human love and external warfare. *In the second stage*, they stand for consummation of human love in divine love and for external conquest yielding place to conquest of the self. There is no sharp cleavage between the two stages, the first is a preparation for the second. Hence, for example, many of the

1. Ellis: Commentary on the Thirukkural, p. 335.

virtues which are useful in overcoming external foes are also of help in conquering vices which are enemies of the spirit.

The Tirukkuṟaḷ is a book of life—of the whole of life. Chapters on ethics, politics, economics and human enjoyment are all actuated by one underlying purpose—viz. development of the human personality in terms of love and compassion. Even as Spinoza's most important work *Ethica*, implies that it is a practical philosophy of life and of redemption, the Tirukkuṟaḷ is ethics in the sense of such a practical philosophy. To understand how a work dealing with ethics and politics, may be concerned with something more, we may recall what Sir R. W. Livingstone says about Plato's *Republic*: 'He (Plato) created in the intellectual chaos of the fifth century a clear and closely reasoned philosophy of the supremacy of the spiritual life, out of which all later philosophies of the spirit ultimately spring, and which most people will feel to be not only the first but the greatest statement of the belief that the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are not seen are eternal.

'Plato lived in two worlds, and his intense sense of the world of the spirit drove him on to create a state in which the spiritual life may be possible on earth. Hence his masterpiece, the *Republic* (or the State) into which he put all his thought on life and politics and almost all himself—the greatest of all secular prose works, equally remarkable for the wealth and depth of its ideas and for the superb literary art which has combined them to a whole. It is characteristic that its real title is ON JUSTICE–so far is Plato from the modern view that politics is not concerned with ethics. The aim of the Platonic State is to embody justice, the condition of its existence that it should succeed in the attempt.'[2]

The question, 'Why this preoccupation with the spirit?' may very well be raised at this stage. Is not a humanist ethics enough? Why should we talk of the spirit? The answer depends on what we mean by a human being. If we mean by a human being, just his body—muscles, bones, and glands—even a humanist ethics is uncalled for. Satisfaction of physical wants will be all

2. Plato: Selected Passages, Introduction, pp. XXVIII—XXIX.

that is necessary. Each one can go his own way, not caring for anyone else. If, however, man is something more than his body, if he has desires other than the mere satisfaction of his physical wants, what is it that will satisfy him? Thus, even those who accept pleasure as the only thing of absolute worth, are sooner or later, forced to distinguish between higher and lower pleasures. Intellectual pleasures may be rated more highly than physical pleasures. Again, granting that pleasure is to be sought, is it one's own pleasure or the pleasure of others? Thus we seem to be forced *from pursuit of lower pleasures into pursuit of higher ones*; *from* pursuit of pleasure for oneself into pursuit of pleasure for others. The pursuit, on analysis, seems to be, for living a full or perfect life – 'to have life and to have it more abundantly' and to share this abundance with others. But this will be successful only when he recognise the spirit. A total picture of man includes his body, mind and spirit. Life must include all these. To stop at the level of the mind alone or to stop with an enthusiasm for mere humanity is not to live a full life. Life has to be *atleast* human— not *almost* human. Anyway, what is the record of Humanism? Here is what a historian, Professor A. L. Basham, has to say; 'Twentieth century Europe and America are no advertisement for humanism which since the days of Rousseau, has in one form or another been its most significant ideology'.[3] The conclusion obviously is that the world requires something more than Humanism.

Looking at the sections of the Tirukkuṟaḷ, we may say that the section on Virtue is concerned with the morality or conduct of the individual; the section on Wealth is devoted to morals in relation to society; and the section on enjoyment is interested in love, ostensibly human but in the course of spiritual evolution, divine. Love is not discontinuous. It spans time and eternity, the human and the divine.

The first chapter, IN PRAISE OF GOD, is not a loose adjunct to the Tirukkuṟaḷ or an interpolation. It is organic to the whole work. It portrays God in a manner acceptable to all faiths,

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3. *A Moulder of the Modern World* in Vedanta for the East and the West Vol. XII, No. 6 & Vol. XIII, No. I for July, August & September, October 1963— p.228.

as a Supreme Being of auspicious qualities and teaches worship of God in thought, word and deed or with body, mind and spirit. It is remarkable that the need for the integration of the human personality—on the highest level, viz., the divine, is so clearly stressed. The head has to bow in worship of the Lord with the eight qualities ; the mouth has to utter His praises and the mind to be concentrated on Him. It is of special significance to the modern world where advance in medical science has given us control over physiological diseases only to be baffled by increase in mental or psychological diseases that the Sage Tiruvaḷḷuvar says in the clearest possible terms :

> " தனக்குவமை யில்லாதான் தாள்சேர்ந்தார்க் கல்லால்
> மனக்கவலை மாற்றல் அரிது."
>
> " *They alone can escape from anxieties of the mind*
> *who take refuge in the feet of Him who has no equal.*"

The second chapter on the Excellence of Rain shows that Tiruvaḷḷuvar is not a dreamy idealist but a practical visionary. He recognises the material requirement for good conduct in this world. Alike to ascetics and to men of the world, food is necessary. Without rain, no food can be produced. If there is no rain, there will be neither the giving of properly acquired wealth, to those who need it nor deeds of penance. While thus Tiruvaḷḷuvar states the *common* economic requirement for good conduct, he is keenly aware of the converse truth that good conduct can produce rain. It may sound incredible but let Tiruvaḷḷuvar speak for himself.

> " தெய்வம் தொழாஅள் கொழுநன் தொழுதெழுவாள்
> பெய்யெனப் பெய்யும் மழை."
>
> " *Waking up she worships no God other than her husband*
> *The rain falls instant at her word.*"

This is the power of single-minded love and chastity of righteousness at work! What happens where there is no righteousness ?

> " முறைகோடி மன்னவன் செய்யின் உறைகோடி
> ஒல்லாது வானம் பெயல்."
>
> " *Where king from right deflecting, makes unrighteous gain,*
> *The seasons change, the clouds pour down no rain.*"

It is unnecessary to call down thunder from heaven for ignition when a match will do. But it is idle to deny that there is fire in thunder and that on extraodinary occasions, thunder could serve the purpose of ignition. Physical laws operate on one level. There is a higher level whose laws seem to override the physical laws but really are their fulfilment. Even in physical science, a law which explains a large number of facts is superior to one which accounts for a smaller number. Rain normally sustains physical life and provides the economic basis for moral and spiritual life. But rain itself is sustained by moral and spiritual laws. Men of good and godly character create an atmosphere which is even more necessary for rain than certain physical conditions. In this context, it my be of interest to read the following: 'The raising of the Indian peasantry's material standard of livings is not a materialistic objective. It is one of prime spiritual importance, because it is a necessary enabling condition for spiritual activity. But Gandhiji's example shows that it is possible to do arduous practical work without allowing one's spiritual life to be smothered and choked by the cares of the world. More than that, Gandhiji demonstrated that spiritual activity is the well-spring of practical activity, and that this inspiration is what makes practical activity bear fruit and not work havoc'.[4] An ascetic may ask for food. But he is capable, if the occasion demands it, of providing not only physical food but also spiritual food. Did not Jesus who asked the woman at the well for a drink of water, turn water into wine on another occasion to meet a sudden demand? What is more, he tells the woman at the well, 'Whosoever drinketh of the water shall thirst again. But whosoever drinketh of the water that I shall give him shall be, in him, a well of water springing up into everlasting life.' Thus rain indirectly points to the core of these laws viz., penevolence. Tiruvaḷḷuvar says:

> " *கைம்மாறு வேண்டா கடப்பாடு மாரிமாட்டு*
> *என்ஆற்றுங் கொல்லோ உலகு?*"

> " *Benevolence seeks no return. What does the world give by way of recompense to the clouds?* "

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4. *One World and India*, Arnold Toynbee (Azad Memorial Lectures), p. 62—63.

Thus from rain which is an example of benevolence on the physical level, we are taken to the chapter on *The Greatness of the Ascetics*. It is noteworthy that the ascetics spoken of in this chapter are those who have renounced their attachments. It is not always necessary to become a recluse to practise non-attachment. The true ascetics have mastery over their senses. They are men of vision who know the nature of the world. The fullness of their utterance stems from the fullness or perfection of their life. The fullness of their life is such that it overflows into love and compassion for all beings. They are the great ones because, unlike the small ones who can never achieve big things, they can accomplish the wellnigh impossible. Renouncing attachments, rooted in righteousness, they are the gentle, loving ones (அந்தணர்)[5]—seeking no return for their love. They love all beings because such love is the very breath of their being. They have renounced—not trifles—not claims to property, animate or inanimate; but they have renounced their claims on the affections of others in return for their own affection for them. In short, their love is not possessive but is sacrificial. Like the Lord and the rain, they enable others to live.

The last chapter of the introductory part of the Tirukkuṟaḷ is on the *STRENGTH OF VIRTUE* (அறன் வலியுறுத்தல்).

> " மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல்; அனைத்தறன்;
> ஆகுல நீர பிற."

> " *Spotless be thou in mind! This only merits virtue's name.*
> *All else, mere pomp of sound, no real worth can claim.*"

The idea of reward for virtue has a place in the Kuṟaḷ. We find the view that virtue leads to better reincarnation or to release from birth. There is also reference to the relation between virtue and earthly welfare and between immorality and misfortune. But above all, there is, as Albert Schweitzer has noticed, the knowledge that good must be done for its own sake. Schweitzer quotes

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5. Commenting on the word அந்தணர், Ellis says,... அந்தணன் is derived from அம் beauty and தண்மை literally coolness, freshness; figuratively kindness, mercy; and the compound means therefore 'beautifully merciful' (*Commentary on the Tirukkural*, pp. 10—11) Like the phrase ' 'beauty of holiness,' we have here 'beauty of mercy '.

the couplet which says that benevolence, like the rain does not demand recompense and also the following couplet :

> " நல்லாறு எனினும் கொளல்தீது ; மேலுலகம்
> இல்லெனினும் ஈதலே நன்று."

> *"Though men declare it heavenward path, yet to receive is ill,*
> *Though upper heaven were not, to give is virtue still."*

Schweitzer notices also the couplet which says that all the wealth acquired with perseverance is for the practice of benevolence.

> " தாளாற்றித் தந்த பொருளெல்லாம் தக்கார்க்கு
> வேளாண்மை செய்தற் பொருட்டு."

He observes with satisfaction that the motive or remaining in active life, according to the Kuṛaḷ, is the idea of ethical activity What evokes his appreciation most is his discovery that in the Kuṛaḷ in addition to the ethic of inwardness, there is the living ethics of love.

It may be interesting in this context to recall the following couplet :

> " அறத்தாறு இதுஎன வேண்டா சிவிகை
> பொறுத்தானொடு ஊர்ந்தா னிடை."

> *"Needs not in words to dwell on virtue's fruits, compare*
> *The man in litter borne with them that toiling bear."*

Would it be in keeping with the spirit of the Tirukkuṛaḷ to say that the virtuous ride in palanquins and that the wicked ones bear these palanquins ? Has even Saint Śivaprakāśar been misled when he says that he who bore the palanquin of Saint Sambandhar refuted this Kuṛaḷ ? It does not seem to be so. Perhaps it was a rhetorical device to refute, not this Kuṛal but its popular misinterpretation. Śivaprakāśar could not have been unaware, either of the spirit of the Tirukkuṛaḷ or of the greatness of service exemplified in Appar's life. The idea of selfless service could not have been unfamiliar to Śivaprakāśar. Nor did Sambandhar and Appar, on this memorable occasion, stand, on grounds of personal dignity, precedence, protocol and the like. Appar, willingly took up the role of palanquin bearer (without letting others know of it,

for fear that their respect for him would prevent his doing so) and considered himself fortunate in getting this chance. To him, it was a privilege and a reward for his matchless penances, not a punishment for his lapses.[6]

Taking up for detailed consideration, after the introductory part, the first main section on Virtue, Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of virtues relating to the householder's life and those relating to the ascetic. It is worth bearing in mind that although the Kuṟaḷ is analysed into sections and sub-sections, these are not, so to say, water-tight compartments. It is not as if we have a stratification of society into well-defined classes and individuals labelled as house-holders, ascetics, kings, ministers, friends—good and bad,

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6. 'அறத்தா றிதுவென வேண்டா சிவிகை
பொறுத்தாரொ டூர்ந்தான் இடை'யை—மறுத்தார்சம்
பந்தன் சிவிகை பரித்தார் திரிகுவர்மற்
றுந்தும் சிவிகையினை ஊர்ந்து. (நால்வர் நான்மணி மாலை)

Of the following lines in the *Tiruttoṇḍarpurāṇam.*

"வந்தணைந்த வாகீசர் வண்புகலி வாழ்வேந்தர்
சந்தமணித் திருமுத்தின் சிவிகையினைத் தாங்கியே
சிந்தைகளிப் புறவந்தார்......

"'அப்பர்தாம் எங்குற்றார் இப்பொழுது'என் றருள்செய்யச்
செப்பரிய புகழ்த்திருநா வுக்கரசர் செப்புவார்:
'ஒப்பரிய தவஞ்செய்தேன் ஆதலினால் உம்மடிகள்
இப்பொழுது தாங்கிவரப் பெற்றுய்ந்தேன் யான்'என்றார்.

"அவ்வார்த்தை கேட்டஞ்சி அவனியின்மேல் இழிந்தருளி
'இவ்வாறு செய்தருளிற் றென்னும்?'என் றிறைஞ்சுதலும்
செவ்வாறு மொழிநாவர் 'திருஞான சம்பந்தர்க்கு
எவ்வாறு செயத்தகுவது?' என்றெதிரே இறைஞ்சினார்.

What was the reaction of those who witnessed this remarkable scene?

"சூழ்ந்துமிடைந் தருகணையும் தொண்டரெலாம் அதுகண்டு
தாழ்ந்துநிலம் உறவணங்கி எழுந்துதலை கைகுவித்து
வாழ்ந்துமனக் களிப்பினராய் 'மற்றிவரை வணங்கப்பெற்று
ஆழ்ந்தபிறப் புய்ந்தோம்'என் றண்டமெலாம் உறஆர்த்தார்."

women—chaste and unchaste, and so on. It will be strange to argue that because the chapter on *Education* belongs to the section on *Wealth* and the sub-section on *Politics*—relating mainly to the King or the Ruler, that therefore it does not apply to subjects or ordinary folk. Likewise, because the chapter on *Non-killing* comes under the sub-section on *Asceticism*, it will be ill in keeping with the spirit of Tiruvalluvar's teachings to say that he exempts householders from practice of non-killing. Monarchy must have been the prevailing type of government in Tiruvalluvar's days. Hence he speaks of the qualities necessary for the ruler. But in these days when democracy or republicanism is the dominant type of government the world over, these qualities are as necessary for the people who, atleast in principle, are the sovereign, and of whom any individual or group, may be called upon to assume the reins of government. Again in the sub-section relating to the ministers of the state, we have chapters relating to *Power of Speech, Purity in Action, Power of Action* etc., Not only in the event of being associated with the government of one's country are these qualities and qualifications necessary for every one but they are also necessary for that other government which is the kingdom of one's own self. The body politic is, so to say, the individual writ large. Each individual has to govern himself, be at once in himself, king, minister and subject.

It may be of some interest at this stage to consider the question whether Tiruvalluvar considers the householder's state or the ascetic's state to be the ideal one. In fact, a lively debate is carried on from time to time on this subject. To urge the superiority of the house-holder's life, the following couplets are quoted.

> " இல்வாழ்வான் என்பான் இயல்புடைய மூவர்க்கும்
> நல்லாற்றின் நின்ற துணை."

> " *The house holder is the mainstay of the three other orders, the bachelors, the anchorites and the ascetics.*"

> " தென்புலத்தார் தெய்வம் விருந்தொக்கல் தானென்றாங்கு
> ஐம்புலத்தாறு ஓம்பல் தலை."

> " *It is the paramount duty of the householder to fulfil his obligations to his ancestors, God, guests, relatives and himself.*"

" அன்பும் அறனும் உடைத்தாயின் இல்வாழ்க்கை
பண்பும் பயனும் அது."

" *If love and virtue in the household reign*
This is of life the perfect grace and gain."

" அறத்தாற்றின் இல்வாழ்க்கை யாற்றின் புறத்தாற்றின்
போஒய்ப் பெறுவது எவன்?"

" *What will he who lives virtuously in the domestic state gain by going into the other state?*"

The last couplet of this chapter seems to clinch the issue :

" வையத்துள் வாழ்வாங்கு வாழ்பவன் வானுறையும்
தெய்வத்துள் வைக்கப் படும்."

" *Who shares domestic life, by household virtues graced*
Shall mid the gods in heaven who dwell, be placed."

This couplet has made many come to the conclusion that a successful house-holder's life is crowned by transfer to the celestial sphere! It is necessary to point out that if Tiruvalluvar has been using the traditional conception of life in the celestial sphere, he could not have considered it to be the final or perfect consummation of earthly life. The traditional conception envisages the possibility and even the inevitability of return to this world. Perfection is to be achieved only in and through life in this world. Therefore everything depends on the quality of life in this world. We may recall the following couplet on *Renunciation* in the subsection relating to *Asceticism.*

" யான்எனது என்னும் செருக்கறுப்பான் வானோர்க்கு
உயர்ந்த உலகம் புகும்."

" *He who destroys the conceit which* says '*I*' *and* '*Mine*' *will enter a* world *beyond that of the gods.*"

It is clear that though this couplet comes under *Asceticism,* the state of mind referred to is not ruled out for the householders. A house-holder may be *in* worldly life and yet, *not of it.* He may be like a drop of water on a lotus leaf. The last couplet in this chapter is worth calling to mind.

“ பற்றுக பற்றற்றான் பற்றினை ; அப்பற்றைப்
பற்றுக பற்று விடற்கு.”

“ Cling to Him who is free from all attachment.
Cling to this attachment to Him so as to be free
from all other attachment.”

What Tiruvaḷḷuvar teaches here is not only that attachment to God brings about detachment from everything else but also—and this is most important—that attachment to God generates disinterested love for God's creatures. It cannot be otherwise. When our loyalty is to God only, we are filled with the right sort of love for every one. When love arises from narrow attachment—strictly speaking it cannot be called love if it is restricted in its scope or is calculating its own self-interest in its function—this pseudo-love is only self-love trying to annex everything to itself. Hence frustration is inevitable, when demands are resisted. On the other hand, where there is no attachment, love tries to serve others, not to be served by others. There is no sense of attachment, of possession or of property, in love. Those who have read John Galsworthy's *Forsythe Saga* will remember Soames being called ‘the man of property’. He marries a beautiful woman, not for love but because he wants her as one more object in his collection of beautiful objects. It is not surprising, therefore, that his marriage is a failure.

The truth, as sages tell us, is that renunciation is possible both in the house-holder's state as well as in the ascetic's. Just because renunciation is essential, one should not make the mistake of donning the saffron-robe to achieve renunciation. It is tempting to quote almost the whole chapter on *Inconsistent Conduct* (கூடா ஒழுக்கம்) to show how strongly Tiruvaḷḷuvar condemns pseudo-renunciation. But the following will suffice :

“ வலியில் நிலைமையான் வல்லுருவம் பெற்றம்
புலியின்தோல் போர்த்துமேய்ந் தற்று.”

“ For one who has no self-control to put on an appearance
of moral strength is like a cow wrapped in a tiger's skin
grazing with impunity.”

"தவமறைந்து அல்லவை செய்தல் புதல்மறைந்து
வேட்டுவன் புள்சிமிழ்த் தற்று."

"Behold the man who takes cover under an ascetic's garb and does evil. He is like a fowler hiding in the bush and decoying birds."

"நெஞ்சில் துறவார் துறந்தார்போல் வஞ்சித்து
வாழ்வாரின் வன்கணார் இல்."

"None can be so hard-hearted as those who, without renouncing in their heart, falsely assume the ascetic's garb of renunciation."

"மழித்தலும் நீட்டலும் வேண்டா உலகம்
பழித்தது ஒழித்து விடின்."

"What's the worth of shaven head or tresses long
If you shun what all the world condemns as wrong."

Tonsorial alteration are unnecessary so long as one's heart is in the right place!

It will be of interest to the younger generation to know how the practice of renunciation is, or used to be, inculcated in the house-holders. As part of their religious duty on a pilgrimage, usually to Rāmēśvaram, they are asked to give up some one thing which they like most, say, their favourite vegetable. Too often this results in giving up not what one likes but what one dislikes! This defeats the very purpose of renunciation. Again, the purpose, it must be remembered, is not so much physical deprivation as mental detachment or the spirit of renunciation. Renunciation should not be that of one who has nothing to give up. There is precious little virtue in pretending to give up what one does not have anyhow. The point is whether one can do without something to which one has become attached and, whether one can give it up in favour of or for the benefit of some one else. Professor S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri observes that the word 'faquir' has become a term of derision not merely in English but also in the vernacular. He says, '...that distinctively Indian figure, the ascetic, has been seen mostly in a negative garb, he appears as

one that has nothing, not the one who has given up everything, he is not a *parivrajaka* except in name, for you cannot renounce what you do not have. For all our vaunted spirituality, the sannyāsin to day is an object of superstitious awe or tolerant contempt, not of loving devotion.' [7]

Renunciation, is thus more in the spirit of it and hence not out of bounds for the house-holder. Likewise penance also—though treated as a part of the sub-section on *Asceticism*—is not ruled out for the house-holder. His life may be lived in the spirit of penance. Let us consider what Tiruvaḷḷuvar has to say. He asks,

> " துறந்தார்க்குத் துப்புரவு வேண்டி மறந்தார்கொல்
> மற்றை யவர்கள் தவம் ? "

> *"Is it to provide etc., for the asceties that*
> *others have forgotten to perform penance ?"*

This is a clear call to all-ascetics as well as non-ascetics to realise the value of penance. What is penance, anyway ?

> " உற்றநோய் நோன்றல் உயிர்க்குறுகண் செய்யாமை
> அற்றே தவத்திற் குரு. "

> *"The true form of penance is to endure one's own*
> *suffering and to abstain from injuring others."*

Why is penance performed ?

> " வேண்டிய வேண்டியாங் கெய்தலாற் செய்தவம்
> ஈண்டு முயலப் படும்."

> *"Penance is performed because it secures attainment*
> *of whatever one wants in the manner one wants it."*

Who are those who perform penance ? Are the ascetics alone given to performance of penance ? Or, should they alone do it ? Tiruvaḷḷuvar's answer is comprehensive.

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7. *Collected papers*, pp. 75-76 (University of Madras)

" தவஞ்செய்வார் தம்கருமம் செய்வார்மற் றல்லார்
அவஞ்செய்வார் ஆசையுட் பட்டு."

"Those who do their duties are those who perform penance. All others, in passion's net ensnared, toil but in vain."[5]

The frittering away of one's energies in worthless persuit is beautifully brought out in the word 'avam' (அவம்) in this couplet.

Performance of one's duty, inspite of pain and suffering has a chastening effect. As the sage says:

" சுடச்சுடரும் பொன்போல் ஒளிவிடும் துன்பம்
சுடச்சுட நோற்கிற் பவர்க்கு."

" The hotter the refining fire, the brighter gold shines. Likewise, the greater the suffering, the purer becomes the man who performs penance."

The man who has attained mastery over himself becomes an object of worship to all others. One of the commentators brings out the real import of this couplet, 'He who has ceased to consider his life as his own'—in these words, 'He who ceasing to live in and for himself, lives in and for others'—it is such a one that all people worship.[8]

Tiruvalluvar expresses forcefully the power of those who perform penance. They who have gained power by penance, can jump over death also.

" கூற்றம் குதித்தலும் கைகூடும் நோற்றலின்
ஆற்றல் தலைப்பட் டவர்க்கு."

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8. 'தன்னுயிர் தானறப் பெற்றானை ஏனைய
மன்னுயி ரெல்லாந் தொழும்'
'தன்னுயிரானது தான் என்று கருதும் கருத்து அறப்பெற்றவனை, ஒழிந்தனவாகிய நிலைபெற்ற உயிர்களெல்லாம் தொழும் என்றவாறு ....தானறுதலாவது அகங்காரம் அறுதல்'

—மணக்குடவர்

Whether conquest of death here means capacity to postpone death of the body or to achieve deathlessness of the physical body may not be determined to everyone's satisfaction. What is clear however, is that one who is devoted to performance of one's duty, inspite of all suffering and one who caring least for oneself, lives solely for others is so dead to sense of 'I' and 'Mine' that the death of his body can have no terrors for him.

We have seen so far what Tiruvaḷḷuvar has to say of virtues—renunciation etc. All these imply that the agent—or man in question, is free to do what he likes. How is this consistent with the general background of the theory of karma which Tiruvaḷḷuvar seems to accept? Anyhow, is not one startled when one comes to the last chapter of the first section? This chapter is entitled *Destiny* (ஊழ்). Is there any point in calling upon men to do certain things or refrain from doing certain other things—is there any meaning in giving a series of 'dos' and 'don'ts', if men are subject to a destiny which has already foreordained their course of action? Even without acceptance of the doctrine of Karma, Western Ethics is exercised about the problem of liberty versus necessity. But with the acceptance of not only determinism but also fatalism, where is there room for ethics at all? There is a story of Aristotle beating a servant for theft. The servant cried piteously saying, 'Alas, master don't beat me. It was fated that I should steal!' Aristotle was not to be outwitted. He continued the punishment saying, 'Alas, it was also fated that I should beat you!'

Let us turn now to Tiruvaḷḷuvar to find out what destiny or fate is, according to him.

> "ஆகூழால் தோன்றும் அசைவின்மை ; கைப்பொருள்
> போகூழால் தோன்றும் மடி."

> "*Good destiny through perseverance will produce prosperity.*
> *Evil destiny through sloth will produce adversity.*"

It looks as if perseverance and sloth are beyond our control because they are already determined by destiny!

> "பேதைப் படுக்கும் இழவூழ் ; அறிவகற்றும்
> ஆகலூழ் உற்றக் கடை."

" *Adverse destiny begets ignorance.*
Favourable destiny enlarges one's knowledge."

Are we powerless, then against ignorance? Can we never overcome it?

" நுண்ணிய நூல்பல கற்பினும் மற்றுந்தன்
உண்மை அறிவே மிகும்."

" *Though one may be well-versed in subtle learning,*
one will have only that much knowledge one's fate
would permit."

What is the use of any effort, then, to acquire knowledge?

" இருவேறு உலகத் தியற்கை : திருவேறு ;
தெள்ளிய ராதலும் வேறு."

" *Twofold is the nature of the world—one is destiny*
for wealth and the other is destiny for wisdom."

If so, are the materially wealthy condemned to folly and the wise to poverty?

Tiruvaḷḷuvar says that in pursuit of wealth all good becomes evil and even evil becomes good, in accordance with fate. Does this mean, then, that all effort to acquire wealth is foreordained to success or failure? When he says again that even with the utmost care, we can never retain what is not ours by destiny and likewise what is ours can never be lost even if we throw it away, does it sound like good sense? As we go on wondering as to what all these mean, we hear the final couplet of this chapter.

" ஊழிற் பெருவலி யாவுள மற்றொன்று
சூழினுந் தான்முந் துறும்."

" *What is there so potent as fate? Even if we devise*
some way of counteracting it, it takes us by surprise."

At this point we may remember another couplet in the second section which says:

" ஊழையும் உப்பக்கம் காண்பர் உலைவின்றித்
தாழா துஞற்று பவர்."

' They who strive ceaselessly and undismayed by failure can defeat even fate'' (literally, ' make even fate turn its back in flight.')

Are these two last couplets mutually contradictory ? The answer is that they are not. From the Chapter on " *The Strength of Virtue*", almost till we reach this chapter on *' Destiny '*, virtues and vices have been listed and dealt with. It will be evident to those who analyse the position that we are free to act but that once we have acted, we have created a pre-disposition for a recurrence of action on the same pattern. Acting well, we find it easy to continue doing so. Wrong action likewise tends to become a habit. Action or deed, again, it must be noted, stands not only for what is *done* but also for what is *thought* and *said*. Though the effect of what is done alone is more easily seen, the other two are no less potent. They are, in fact, much more insidious. Is it, for example, theft, only when we stealthily transfer another's property to ourselves ? Tiruvaḷḷuvar asks us to guard our hearts against entry of even ideas of theft. He says :

" உள்ளத்தால் உள்ளலும் தீதே பிறன்பொருளைக்
கள்ளத்தால் கள்வேம் எனல்."

" It is sin evn if we covet within the heart. Say not therefore, ' we will possess by fraud what belongs to another '."

As for *words*, we are reminded of the chapter in the Tirukkuṟaḷ on *Not speaking profitless words*. Those who speak profitless words are castigated.

" பயனில்சொல் பாராட்டு வானை மகன்எனல்;
மக்கட் பதடி எனல் "

"Call them not men. Call them human chaff," says Tiruvaḷḷuvar. He contrasts such human chaff with those of unclouded pure vision, who never, even in self-forgetfulness, speak profitless words. This chapter is followed by the chapter on *Dread of Evil Deeds*.

Evil begets evil. Therefore evil is to be dreaded even more than fire. This may be allright. But, what if some one does

something evil? Why should we not return evil for evil? What other language will the evil ones understand? Tiruvaḷḷuvar thinks that doing evil in return for evil does more harm to the aggrieved person than to the aggressor. Hence he says that it is wisdom's highest law not to return evil for evil.

> " அறிவினுள் எல்லாந் தலையென்ப தீய
> செறுவார்க்கும் செய்யா விடல்."

This may be conceded reluctantly but doubt arises in another way. What is one to do in poverty?

> " இலனென்று தீயவை செய்யற்க ; செய்யின்
> இலனாகும் மற்றும் பெயர்த்து "

'Commit not evil saying "I am poor", Tiruvaḷḷuvar warns us, 'because thereby you will become poorer'. Needless to say, what he means here is that one will become poorer in character, no matter what the temporary msterial gain is. As one's shadow dogs one's footsteps, so will evil pursue its author and bring about his destruction. In the name of self-love he appeals to us:

> " தன்னைத்தான் காதல னாயின் எனைத்தொன்றும்
> துன்னற்க தீவினைப் பால் "

> "*If you love yourself, refrain from causing even*
> *the least harm to others*".

Action in thought, word and deed, leaves its mark on one's character and creates a pre-disposition for its recurrense. Hence we are said to sow a character and reap a destiny. Let us not make our character our enemy. Destiny is not an alien power, because it is the power of our own character and our character is what we ourselves fashioned.

There is yet another important factor. The influence of character is felt not only in one life time but in several. The cumulative effect of good and bad actions makes itself felt through long ages. This should not unnerve us. We should remind ourselves that our destiny is of our own making. Even if there is a strong tendency to evil thought, word or deed, it

must be countered by others which are good. Hence we must try to make our thoughts, words and deeds *always* good. The struggle between the two dispositions may seem to be long and unequal, but for all that, perseverance is bound to bring success. Hence that other Kuraḷ we recalled a while ago, which speaks of perseverance overcoming even destiny. What is more, when there is a heroic resolve to raise the quality of life—of the family into which one is born, by the quality of one's own life, God Himself girds up His loins to rally to the support of such a heroic person. Verily God helps those that help themselves. While Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of a favourable destiny and an unfavourable destiny, in the chapter on *Destiny* he shows their relation to human effort in the following couplet :

"மடியுளாள் மாமுகடி என்ப மடியிலான்
தாளுளாள் தாமரையி னாள்."

"*They say that the black goddess of ill-luck abides in sloth and that the goddess of the wealth whose abode is the lotus on the effort of them who are not slothful.*"

All doubt about the need for human effort is set at rest by the following :

"பொறியின்மை யார்க்கும் பழியன்று; அறிவறிந்து
ஆள்வினை யின்மை பழி."

"*To be without a fate that is favourable is no disgrace to anyone; but to be without manly effort based on right knowledge is indeed disgraceful.*"

Incidentally, we may notice that the theory of karma invariably goes with the theory of transmigration. Character and personality are not fashioned in one life time but in several.

That the chapter on *Destiny* is not Tiruvaḷḷuvar's last word on the subject is realised when we call to mind such chapters as *Energy for Action* (ஊக்கம் உடைமை), *Unsluggishness* (மடி இன்மை), *Manly Effort* (ஆள்வினையுடைமை), and *Not being overwhelmed by difficulties* (இடுக்கண் அழியாமை). Equally significant

are the chapters, *Purity in Action* (வினைத்தூய்மை), *Power in Action* (வினைத்திட்பம்) and *The Method of Acting* (வினை செயல் வகை).

Albert Schweitzer says, 'Maxims about joy in activity, such as one would not expect from Indian lips, bear witness to the strength of world and life affirmation present in the Kuṟaḷ.' He quotes the following:

" தெய்வத்தான் ஆகா தெனினும் முயற்சிதன்
மெய்வருத்தக் கூலி தரும்."

" *Although fate may make one's labour vain, yet the reward may be proportionate atleast to the extent of one's bodily exertion.*"

" இன்னாமை இன்பம் எனக்கொளின் ஆகுந்தன்
ஒன்னார் விழையும் சிறப்பு."

" *Who pain as pleasure takes, he shall acquire*
The bliss to which his foes in vain aspire."

There is yet another consideration. It is only so long as we act with a sense of agency, trying to claim reward for good actions and to escape punishment for evil ones that Karma can keep us under its control. When through long ages, we realise that duty has to be done irrespective of consequences, when duty means for us all that is good, we cease to be under the control of Karma. It may be asked: What is the motive for our action? Can there be action without a motive? Having given up our sense of agency, how can we act? The answer is that love for God and His creatures has taken the place of self-love; a sense of duty has taken the place of rewards and punishments. In the early stages of moral evolution, there is a conflict between rights and duties. The tendency is to fight for one's rights and to shirk one's responsibilities. But the morally perfect person overcomes the conflict by claiming his duties as his rights. He claims the right to serve others. Normative ethics becomes natural ethics for him.

The transition from self-love to love for all is usually through love for one's kith and kin. We shall return to this subject in the

third lecture. For the present we may notice that in the process of this moral and spiritual education, moral law is the guiding principle first and then it is love. It is a great advance when a person learns to respect the moral law without consulting his own convenience. Yet even this is not enough. Righteousness or moral law without love is scorching in its effect. That is why Tiruvaḷḷuvar says :

> " என்பி லதனை வெயில்போலக் காயுமே
> அன்பி லதனை அறம்."

> " *Virtue will burn up the soul which is without love*
> *even as the sun burns up the creature which is*
> *without bone.*"

Hence, the moral agent has to progress from unrighteous to righteous conduct informed by love or affection exercised within limits the thence to righteous conduct illumined by compassion. In the early stages he fashions his destiny to his own detriment ; in the later stages, when he learns to attune his will to that of God, his destiny is what God meant it to be—a source of light and love. He may miss the pleasures of life but he gains the joy of doing God's will and of serving His creatures. Thus the postulate of Karma or destiny is freedom--freedom in the highest sense of that term, *freedom from* narrow attachments and sense of agency *and freedom for* doing God's will.[9]

II

Dr. G. U. Pope quotes the following words of Sir A. Grant : "Humility, Charity and Forgiveness of injuries, being Christian qualities are not described by Aristotle". Dr. Pope goes on to say, 'Now these three are everywhere forcibly inculcated by

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9. When man has learned to attune his will to God's and becomes compassionate like Him, he is able to chase away destiny. cf.

> " யானும்என் நெஞ்சும் இசைந்தொழிந்தோம் வல்வினையைக்
> காணும் மலையும் புகக்கடிவான்—தான்ஓர்
> இருள்அன்ன மாமேனி எம்இறையார் தந்த
> அருள்என்னும் தண்டால் அடித்து."

—பெரிய திருவந்தாதி, 26.

the Tamil moralist. These are the themes of his finest verses. So far, then we may call this Tamil poet a Christian '.

It may be worthwhile to consider Greek and Christian conceptions of morality—social and individual before we take up for study Tiruvaḷḷuvar's conception of society and of man.

Turning to the Greeks first we notice the identification of the individual with the corporate life of the state. This enabled the Greek to enlarge the circle of his personal interests. The age of Pericles is considered to be the Golden Age of the Greeks. The Greek citizen was, in what is called the best age of the best of states, a soldier and a citizen. He placed himself completely at the service of his country and he was free from the modern preoccupation with one's family and business concerns - 'the greasy domesticity' that limits and clouds one's vision! We may be tempted to consider this an ideal condition and wish to achieve something like it. But is it possible? Or atleast, how was it possible in Greece? History tells us that in Greece the citizen depended upon a servant class, an inferior class, regarded not as an end in itself but as a means to the perfection of the Greek citizen. Whatever the actual condition to-day, we cannot accept - atleast in theory - a twofold classification of society, of a superior and an inferior class, of a first class citizen and a second class citizen. In theory atleast, we speak of equal opportunities, equal privileges and equal burdens for all. There is yet another factor. The Greek city state was ideally small and so it was possible for the citizens, all of them, to participate in its life. Modern states are huge in comparison. That is why the Greek idea of democracy, of actual citizen-participation in government, is inapplicable to modern states. At best we have indirect participation of the citizens through their elected representatives. It may be argued that atleast in the administration of local institutions, municipalities and the like, there could be citizen participation. Lowes Dickinson observes, "Local business after all is a matter of sewers and parks; and however great the importance of such matters may be and however great their claim upon the attention of competent men, yet the kind of interest they awaken and the kind of faculties they employ can hardly be such as to lead to the identification of the

individual ideal with that of public activity. The life of the Greek citizen involved an exercise, the finest and most complete, of all his powers of body, soul and mind; the same can hardly be said of the life of a county councillor, even of the best and most conscientious of them".[1] He comes to the conclusion that *the fusion of public and private life involved in the ideal of the* Greek citizen was a passing event in the history of the world. He thinks it would be an anachronism to try to revive this ideal.

The Greek ideal of man was determined by the existence of a privileged class. Freed from mechanical toil, thanks to the existence of an inferior class, the Greek citizen used his talents and leisure in the service of the state. More often than not, he had health, wealth, and social influence. These were of advantage to him in his endeavour to develop his personality and to serve his state. But when the political structure changed, these favourable conditions ceased to exist. No longer was it a quesion of a superior citizen trying to perfect himself in an ideal state. It became a question of the ideal conduct for *man as such.* Change in economic conditions also had its effect. It was no longer a matter of the wealthy or the well-to-do. Irrespective of economic conditions man had to be virtuous. According to the Stoic ideal which replaced the Greek ideal, the virtuous man would be indifferent to the changes and chances of this life. He was a master of himself and, free—whether he was crowned or crucified.

Thus the Stoic conception extended the possibility of virtue to all men, not making it the privilege of a select few. Theoretically, the Stoic ideal appears to be sound. But in actual practice and for the general run of mankind, privations - economic, physiological etc., cannot but be formidable obstacles. Poverty, disease. and the like may be a matter of indifference to a few choice souls, but not to others. This is not to say that virtue is possible only under favourable conditions. All that is meant is

1. *The Greek View of Life.* G. Lowes Dickinson : (Methuen) Perhaps conditions have changed since Dickinson wrote these words. Municipal administration of a big city may now be comparable to administration of a small state!

that the Stoic ideal is too lofty for the average man. Can we, by such attempts as the welfare state, provide equal opportunities for all so that what Greece achieved in her city states,—harmony of body, mind and soul—may be achieved the world over? Time alone can tell!

When we turn to Christian ethics, we notice a difference. Jesus require men to aim at excellences, not because they owe it to their humanity,—their very nature as men—to do so, but because it is a part of their service to God, to be perfect as the Father in Heaven is perfect. The Greek moralists think of man as the architect of his own life, fashioning the various elements of human nature into a thing of beauty and harmony. Hence each virtue must be developed *in relation* to the whole, not out of proportion. Harmony, balance, proportion—these are the guiding factors. But with Jesus the criterion is service to God, not mere harmony of character with itself. Virtues are what fit a man for the service of God.[2] If it is not an over-simplification, we may say that the aesthetics motive governs Greek morality where as the religious motive governs Christian morality.

Turning to the social and individual aspects of Christian morality, we may notice that both of them are determined by the conception of the Kingdom of God. The Kingdom of God is at once within oneself and in the community that should inherit it. Jesus gathered around himself a group of disciples who were to be the nucleus of the future society. They were to exemplify by their life, conduct which was to become universal. Christian morality was to be realised in a community consisting of diverse elements. Thus the emphasis on society is not negligible. But for all that, Jesus did not subordinate the individual to society. Individuals were not for him mere units in society. Every individual is a soul of absolute and eternal worth. Two points emerge from this: (*a*) Everyman must recognise the rights of other men to be treated as persons of similar absolute worth—as *ends in themselves, not means* to serve his purposes. (*b*) If every man has a relation to God like

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2. *The Ethical Teaching of Jesus*—Ernest F. Scott (Macmillan).

himself, all of them must constitute one family. Distinctions based on wealth, class etc., cannot affect the status of men as children of God.

Christianity has provided tremendous impetus for social progress. But this must not make us think of Christianity mainly as a gospel of social progress. It is not a social machinery. Its dynamism is due to its concern with the central meaning of life. Jesus asserted the rights of the human personality. He came into the world so that men might have life and have it more abundantly. He taught men, "Seek ye the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you."

From this all-too-brief survey of Greek and Christian morality, we may turn to the ethics of the *Kuraḷ*, recalling the three virtues which, according to Sir A. Grant distinguish Christian morality from Greek morality but which as we saw, are according to Pope, the themes of the finest verses in the Kuraḷ. Perhaps a word about these three—*Humility, charity and Forgiveness of Injuries*—may not be out of place before we turn to the social and individual aspects in the ethics of the Kuraḷ. First of all about humility, the following lines occur readily to our minds.

"எல்லார்க்கும் நன்றாம் பணிதல்; அவருள்ளும்
செல்வர்க்கே செல்வம் தகைத்து."

"*To all humility is goodly grace; but chief to them*
With fortune blessed—'tis fortune's diadem."

"பணியுமாம் என்றும் பெருமை; சிறுமை
அணியுமாம் தன்னை வியந்து."

"*Greatness humbly bends, but littleness always*
Spreads out its plumes and loads itself with praise."

"பெருமை பெருமிதம் இன்மை; சிறுமை
பெருமிதம் ஊர்ந்து விடல்."

"*Greatness is absence of conceit; meanness we deem*
Riding on car of vanity supreme."

As for charity, we have to notice that it is not gift to the poor in expectation of reward in heaven. The very first couplet disillusions us on this matter.

> " வறியார்க்கொன் றீவதே ஈகை;மற் றெல்லாம்
> குறியெதிர்ப்பை நீர துடைத்து."

> *" To give to the destitute alone is true charity.*
> *All other gifts are characterised by an expectation*
> *of recompense."*

Tiruvaḷḷuvar goes on to say that to give is good even if it does not lead to heaven. It is a great thing to be able to endure hunger but not as great as the capacity to satisfy another's hunger. If a man has a treasure, the proper place to lodge it is in acts to remove the hunger of the destitute. Tiruvaḷḷuvar concludes this chapter by remarking.

> " சாதலின் இன்னாத தில்லை; இனிததூஉம்
> ஈதல் இயையாக் கடை."

> *" Nothing is more painful than death. Yet even*
> *death is pleasant where charity cannot be exercised."*[3]

This remark and the general teaching of the Kuṟaḷ remind us of the princes of charity—வள்ளல்கள்—celebrated in tamil literature. Till we realise that at the mere sight of need, or what appeared to be so, their hearts went out to relieve distress, not bothering about the cost of the means employed, we cannot appreciate their acts. One of them, for example, threw his costly robe over a dancing peacock, under the impression that it was shivering in cold and another left his chariot as a support for a creeper that was fluttering without support. These were

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3. Appar takes this thought one step further. It is hell if one conceals what is in one's possession and does not give it away in charity when the occasion demands it.

> " கரப்பவர் தங்கட் கெல்லாம் கடுநர கங்கள் வைத்தார்."

Those who give are actuated by compassion

> " ஈபவர்க் கருளும் வைத்தார்."

not cases of exhibitionist prodigality. These were cases of a spontaneous fellow-feeling that these immortal princes of charity felt with even sub-human nature. The Tamil conception of charity invites comparison with the Christian conception. R. A. Knox says that charity is the bond of fellowship which unites us to God and unites us to our fellow creatures. He observes that it will go on eternally. He concludes, "It is the atmosphere of the condition of heaven, it *is* heaven." Thus, then, alike to the Christian and to the author of the Kuraḷ charity is not just alms-giving, it is fellow feeling with creatures in distress, resulting in deeds to relieve suffering.

In regard to forgiveness of injuries and forbearance we may notice the following :

> "பொறுத்தல் இறப்பினை என்றும்; அதனை
> மறத்தல் அதனினும் நன்று."

> "*Forgiving trespasses is good always ;*
> *Forgetting them hath even higher praise.*"

We have here not only sublime ethics but also sound mental hygiene. The phrase 'forget and forgive' is frequently heard. There is danger in forgetting if it is not accompanied by forgiving because the injury that is forgotten may disappear from the conscious part of the mind but, burrowing deep into the sub-conscious or the unconscious part of it, this injury starts festering. On the other hand, where the injury is freely and consciously forgiven, there is no such danger. It must be forgotten thereafter, for, otherwise, the memory of it is likely to fill us with a sense of our own magnanimity. Magnanimity is certainly called for, but only in action, not in self-praise! The complement to forgiveness of injuries is the cherishing of gratitude for benefits received. We are to fill ourselves with a sense of the goodness of others even for a trifling act of kindness. This will prevent reprisals against them when they do us evil. To forget the good anyone has done is the height of ingratitude.[4] There can be expiation for other lapses but not for ingratitude because ingratitude dries up the very source of goodness in us.

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4. "எந்நன்றி கொன்றார்க்கும் உய்வுண்டாம்; உய்வில்லை
செய்ந்நன்றி கொன்ற மகற்கு."

It is the mark of a noble character to forget injuries; the mark of a base character to forget benefits.

> " ஒருநன்றி செய்தவர்க்கு ஒன்றி எழுந்த
> பிழைநூறும் சான்றோர் பொறுப்பர் ; கயவர்க்கு
> எழுநூறு நன்றிசெய்து ஒன்றுதீ தாயின்
> எழுநூறும் தீதாய் விடும்." (நாலடியார்)

There are some men of high intelligence who, as the saying goes, "cannot suffer fools gladly". But surely here also there is need for forbearance!

> " இன்மையுள் இன்மை விருந்தொரால் ; வன்மையுள்
> வன்மை மடவார்ப் பொறை."

> " *The sorest poverty is bidding guest unfed depart*
> *The mightiest might to bear with men of foolish heart.*"

The desire to return evil for evil and to harden one's heart against the offender is understandable. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar counsels us not to deviate from the path of virtue and not to become callous.

> " திறனல்ல தற்பிறர் செய்யினும் நோநொந்து
> அறனல்ல செய்யாமை நன்று."

> " *Though others work thee ill, thus shall thou blessing reap*
> *Grieve for their sin, thyself from vicious action keep.*"

When we realise that a wrong doer injures himself by his act we are moved to pity him, not to hurt him.

> " இன்னாசெய் தாரை ஒறுத்தல் அவர்நாண
> நன்னயம் செய்து விடல்."

> " *The punishment to those who have done evil is to*
> *put them to shame by showing them kindness in*
> *return and to forget both the evil and the good*
> *done on both sides.*"

To put them to shame does not mean to humiliate them. It is to quicken their moral sensibility. As we saw earlier, there is

need to *forgive* and *forget*. We have to forget the wrong doing of others as much as forget our own goodness on these occasions. Otherwise our righteousness will become self-righteousness.

With this background of similarity to Christian ethics, we may now take up Tiruvaḷḷuvar's conception of society and of the individual. Bhārati cried out in righteous indignation that if a single person had to go without food, he would destroy the world.[5] Tiruvaḷḷuvar goes farther. He wants a society in which, to use a modern expression, there will be employment opportunities for all and honest living but if life has to be maintained by begging, then Tiruvaḷḷuvar calls down a curse on the creator of the world !

" இரந்தும் உயிர்வாழ்தல் வேண்டின் பரந்து
கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான்."

" *If he that shaped the world desires that men should*
begging go,
Through life's long course, let him a wanderer be
and perish so."

Turning to those who are obliged to beg, who have no other go, Tiruvaḷḷuvar makes a personal appeal (perhaps this is the only case of use of the first person singular in the first two parts of the Kuṟaḷ):

" இரப்பன் இரப்பாரை எல்லாம் ' இரப்பின்
கரப்பார் இரவன்மின் ' என்று."

" *One thing I beg of beggars all, 'If beg ye may,*
Of those who hide their wealth, beg not I pray."

The poignancy of his feeling is very clearly seen in the following Kuṟaḷ.

" இரவுள்ள உள்ளம் உருகும் ; கரவுள்ள
உள்ளதூஉம் இன்றிக் கெடும்."

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5. " தனியொருவனுக் குணவில்லையெனில்
ஜகத்தினை அழித்திடுவோம்."
—பாரத சமுதாயம் : தேசிய கீதங்கள்.

" To think of the evil of begging is enough to melt one's heart ;
But to think of refusal is enough to break it."

Tiruvaḷḷuvar allows begging under certain conditions. Although he does not say it in so many words, it looks as if we may beg only of God or of His saints. "How can generosity be exercised," he asks, "if there were no beggers, to ask for gifts ?"[6] Though this rhetorical question is to be found in the chapter on *Mendicancy*, in view of what follows in the chapter on the *Dread of Mendicancy* one feels that Tiruvaḷḷuvar's aim is to encourage giving, *not* begging. The two, are correlative, no doubt. But Tiruvaḷḷuvar favours giving, not begging. This atleast is the ideal. To recall a couplet already quoted in another context.

" நல்லா றெனினும் கொளல்தீது ; மேலுலகம்
இல்லெனினும் ஈதலே நன்று."

" To beg is evil, even if that be the path to heaven ;
To give is good, even if one does not thereby go to heaven."

The whole spirit of Tiruvaḷḷuvar's teaching on this matter reminds us of Sangam poetry where this ideal is pithily expressed.

" 'ஈ' என இரத்தல் இழிந்தன்று ; அதன்எதிர்
'ஈயேன்' என்றல் அதனினும் இழிந்தன்று."

" To ask for gifts is demeaning ;
To say 'no' when approached is more demeaning."

On the other hand,

" 'கொள்'எனக் கொடுத்தல் உயர்ந்தன்று ; அதன்எதிர்
'கொள்ளேன்' என்றல் அதனினும் உயர்ந்தன்று."
—(புறநானூறு, 204)

" To give saying 'Take it' is ennobling ;
To refuse saying 'I won't' is more ennobling."

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6. " ஈவார்கண் என்னுண்டாம் தோற்றம் இரந்துகோள்
மேவார் இலாஅக் கடை ? "

Thus the ideal should be to try to give and not to take. How is this to be achieved? By labour of course. There is a chapter on *Cultivation.* Needless to say, there are other kinds of labour also though they are not specifically referred to. What Tiruvaḷḷuvar says in the chapter on the *State* (literally, the Land, as Pope translates it) is highly suggestive.

> " தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
> செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு."

> " *Where spreads fertility unfailing, where resides*
> *a band of virtuous men and those of ample wealth*
> *call that a land.*"

Again, he says:

> " கேடறியாக் கெட்ட இடத்தும் வளங்குன்றா
> நாடென்ப நாட்டின் தலை."

> " *Chief of all lands is that where nought disturbs its*
> *peace and even if some injury is inflicted, it*
> *suffers no dimunition in fruitfulness.*"

Wealth is to be produced because it promotes general weal. Hence nothing should be done to get it in improper ways. Wealth plays a significant part in society because it is that which gives importance to persons who are otherwise unimportant.[7] But if care is taken to acquire wealth in the proper way, it can become a source of virtue and happiness.[8] In fact, to those who have honestly acquired wealth (the emphasis is on the word *honestly*), the other two—virtue and happiness—are easily accessible. They distribute their wealth freely to those
easily accessible. They distribute their wealth freely to those
who need it and enjoy the superlative happiness of seeing others happy. Tiruvaḷḷuvar brings out the relation of wealth

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7. " பொருளல் லவரைப் பொருளாகச் செய்யும்
பொருளல்ல தில்லை பொருள்."

8. " அறனீனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்."

to love and compassion by a beautiful comparison. He says that compassion is the child; love or affection is the mother and wealth is the wet nurse.[9] In other words, if compassion which grows out of human affections is the desired goal, the way to it is through wealth. It is by giving that affection is strengthened, to evolve in due course, into compassion. To live surrounded by relatives is the advantage to be derived from the acquisition of wealth.[10] Thus by developing and strengthening affection for those who are related to us by ties of kinship, friendship etc., we are enabled to develop love and compassion for all beings which must be the goal of our ethical endeavour.

What Tiruvaḷḷuvar says in regard to learning is of interest, not only to rulers but to the ruled also. It is worth repeating once again that the applicability of his teaching is not to be rigidly restricted by ancient patterns of society, political set up etc. They have sufficient universality to suit all times. Perhaps if the Golden Age dawns, the Kuṟaḷ may lose part of its appeal. But till then—why even after that—would we like to see people illiterate or unwise ?

The need for learning is emphasised in various ways. There are chapters on Learning (கல்வி), Ignorance (கல்லாமை), Hearing (கேள்வி), and *Possession of Knowledge* (அறிவுடைமை). The aim of all educational activity is stated with the brevity and comprehensiveness characteristic of the Kuṟaḷ in the following words :

> "கற்க கசடறக் கற்பவை ; கற்றபின்
> நிற்க அதற்குத் தக."

> *"Learn without faults what needs to be learnt,*
> *thereafter conduct yourself in a manner worthy*
> *of your learning."*

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9. "அருளென்னும் அன்பீன் குழவி பொருளென்னும்
செல்வச் செவிலியால் உண்டு."

10. "சுற்றத்தாற் சுற்றப் படவொழுகல் செல்வந்தான்
பெற்றத்தாற் பெற்ற பயன்."

'*Where* is the learning to be done, *when* is it to be done ?' What meaningless questions, Tiruvaḷḷuvar seems to say !

> " யாதானும் நாடாமால் ஊராமால் என்னொருவன்
> சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு?"

> " தாமின் புறுவது உலகின் புறக்கண்டு
> காமுறுவர் கற்றறிந் தார்."

> " *Treat any country as your own, and till you die don't you have time enough ? If you are keen on learning, you can do it ANYWHERE, ANYTIME.* What is the incentive for learning ? Tiruvaḷḷuvar replies " *Look at the learned ! When they see the delight their learning gives to others, their fondness for learning increases*". By contrast Tiruvaḷḷuvar has a gentle dig at the ignorant.

> " கல்லா தவரும் நனிநல்லர் கற்றார்முன்
> சொல்லா திருக்கப் பெறின்."

> " *The ignorant too are excellent men*
> *If only they can be silent in the presence of the learned.* "

If one is stung to the quick and retorts that one does not have opportunities to acquire learning by study, Tiruvaḷḷuvar shows a way :

> " எனைத்தானும் நல்லவை கேட்க ; அனைத்தானும்
> ஆன்ற பெருமை தரும்."

Learning can be acquired by hearing also. In fact, learning by hearing has a double advantage : It reinforces the learning one acquires by study and gives the benefit of learning even in the absence of such study. So, let a man listen—to however little it may be. So long as it is good matter, it will give him complete excellence. Sound learning, even in homeopathic dose will cure ignorance !

Eyes and ears ! When do they deserve to be called so ?

"கண்ணுடைய ரென்பவர் கற்றோர்; முகத்திரண்டு
புண்ணுடையர் கல்லா தவர்."

"கேட்பினுங் கேளாத் தகையவே கேள்வியால்
தோட்கப் படாத செவி."

They deserve their name only when they are channels of knowledge. Otherwise, in the absence of knowledge, eyes are only sores on the face. Ears are no better—they are practically deaf.

Incidentally, may I invite your attention to another context where Tiruvaḷḷuvar mentions the eye? The chapter on *Benignity* (கண்ணோட்டம்) has not only an etymological but also an ethical significance.

"பண்ணென்னும் பாடற் கியைபின்றேல்? கண்ணென்னும்
கண்ணோட்டம் இல்லாத கண்?"

"Of what avail is a song if there is no harmony in it?
Of what use is the eye which has no kindliness or benignity?"

"உளபோல் முகத்தெவன் செய்யும் அளவினால்
கண்ணோட்டம் இல்லாத கண்?"

"Beyond appearing to be in the face,
what good do they do—
Those eyes which are void of kindness?

"கண்ணிற் கணிகலம் கண்ணோட்டம்; அஃதின்றேல்
புண்ணென் றுணரப் படும்."

"Benignity is eye's adorning grace;
without it eyes are wounds, disfiguring face."

Benignity is graciousness of spirit, not mere politeness or surface courtesy. Hence where there is refinement of spirit brought about by learning, there is graciousness as well. The

gracious ones hasten to relive the suffering of others as though it were their own.[11]

Tiruvaḷḷuvar wants a twofold light in the eye—the light of learning and the light of love—or the light of wisdom and the light of compassion to which benignity can be no stranger. It is usual to compare the soul to the eye. Just as the eye sees with the help of sunlight, the soul also sees with the help of God's intelligence. In a way, then, the soul reflects God's wisdom and love.

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11. cf. the following verses :

" பெரியவர்தந் நோய்போற் பிறர்நோய்கண் டுள்ளம்
எரியி னிழுதாவ ரென்க ;—தெரியிழாய் !
மண்டு பிணியால் வருந்தும் பிறவுறுப்பைக்
கண்டு கலுழுமே கண்." (நன்னெறி)

"The worthy feel the griefs of others as their own griefs, as butter melteth in the fire ; thus, O thou who are ornamented with choice jewels ! the pain caused to a limb by a local disorder the eye beholds and weeps."

" பேரறிஞர் தாக்கும் பிறர்துயரந் தாங்கியே
வீரமொடு காக்க விரைகுவார்—நேரிழாய் !
மெய்சென்று தாக்கும் வியன்கோ லடிதன்மேற்
கைசென்று தாங்கும் கடிது." (நன்னெறி)

"The truly wise hasten to sustain the griefs sustained by other and to protect them courageously, O thou who art adorned by polished jewels, thus the arm receives on itself and sustains the blow of the club which the body would otherwise sustain."

" தங்குறைதீர் வுள்ளார் தளர்ந்து பிறர்க்குறூஉம்
வெங்குறைதீர்க் கிற்பார் விழுமியோர்;—திங்கள்
கறையிருளை நீக்கக் கருதா துலகின்
நிறையிருளை நீக்குமேல் நின்று." (நன்னெறி)

"The worthy think not of satisfying their own wants but endeavour to satisfy the urgent needs of others; thus the moon heeding not the removal of its own dark spot chases away the darkness which fills the world."

Now we come to two ideals which till recently appeared to be too lofty for practical pursuit but which are an absolute necessity if civilization is to survive. Truth and non-killing come under the sub-section on *Asceticism.* Whatever the practical difficulties in pursuing these ideals, they must not be reserved for the ascetics only. Lively debates may be conducted regarding their relevance for ordinary persons. But once we lower ideals, to something less than truth and non-killing, how far can we come down ? It is not as if Tiruvaḷḷuvar was unaware of the difficulties in pursuing these ideals. He answers the question, 'What is truth ?' by saying that it is to speak nothing that is harmful.[12] When he goes on to say that even falsehood takes the place of truth if it confers a benefit that is free from blemish,[13] we realise that the phrase 'free from blemish' is to be given due weight. That is why elsewhere he says :

> "ஒன்றாக நல்லது கொல்லாமை ; மற்றதன்
> பின்சாரப் பொய்யாமை நன்று."

> "*Not to kill is the first and incomparable virtue ;*
> *next to it is not to speak untruth.*"

If the question is 'Which is more important - speaking the truth or non-killing?' Tiruvaḷḷuvar answers without hesitation that it is non-killing. It is not that he does not recognize the importance of speaking the truth. But what is truth ? Can any one be so certain that he knows the truth that he can speak it when to do so spells danger to life ? Why is the benefit of doubt given to the accused in a murder case ? Is it not because, on the ground of insufficient evidence, the accused must not be sentenced to death ? Truth is not a mere academic matter but a live practical issue. It is significant that inspite of the secondary place he has given

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12. "வாய்மை எனப்படுவ தியாதெனின், யாதொன்றும்
தீமை இலாத சொலல்."

13. "பொய்ம்மையும் வாய்மை இடத்த புரைதீர்ந்த
நன்மை பயக்கும் எனின்."

here to truth-speaking, Tiruvaḷḷuvar has been hailed as a truth-speaking scholar (பொய்யாமொழிப் புலவர்). To a person of heightened sensibility, life—whatever its grade—is so precious that its preservation comes first in the list of all his duties. Hence Tiruvaḷḷuvar's insistence on vegetarianism. To be sure vegetarianism is only an aspect of non-killing but one by practising which we give expression to the ideal of non-killing. He asks, What is the good way?' and answers it by saying :

> " நல்லாறு எனப்படுவ தியாதெனின், யாதொன்றும்
> கொல்லாமை சூழும் நெறி."

> " *It is the path which considers how it may avoid*
> '*killing any creature.*"

A practical first step to prevent slaughter of animals is to give up non-vegetarian food. For, if the world will not buy meat for eating, none will sell meat for the sake of making money. Performance of sacrifices is said to be highly meritorious. Tiruvaḷḷuvar shows a much easier way : ' Abstaining from the killing and eating of living beings is better than performing a thousand sacrifices. Here is an impassioned appeal in the name of all dumb creatures : ' All creatures will clasp their hands to worship the person who has never taken away life and who has declined to eat flesh'. Cf. the following :

> " தினற்பொருட்டால் கொள்ளாது உலகெனின் யாரும்
> விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்."

> " அவிசொரிந் தாயிரம் வேட்டலின் ஒன்றன்
> உயிர்செகுத் துண்ணாமை நன்று."

> " கொல்லான் புலாலை மறுத்தானைக் கைகூப்பி
> எல்லா உயிரும் தொழும்."

Does all this appear too idealistic? Let me refer to the views of two Western scholars. I take first, E. W. Hopkins who has written a book on *Ethics of India.*

The following lines are of relevance :

' There is in India a doctrine called non-injury which in some regards transcends any ethical teaching to be found in

Christianity as known in America. It is the gentle doctrine of harmlessness which more than covers the precept of the catechism, "to hurt nobody by word or deed", for it means that it is a sin, and a sin far worse than lying or stealing, needlessly to maim or kill any living creature'. He goes on to say, 'the general principle of 'harmlessness' is surely one that must commend itself to the enlightened moral sense of the West. It would do away, not as a matter of sentiment, as it is now, but as a matter of duty, with cruelty and war and that is enough in its favour'. This was written before the Second World War and Atomic Warfare. 'It might eventually lead to the suppression of needless slaughter and killing for fun'.........We must remember how far behind India in this regard we are ethically and not frighten our many virtues into revolt against all attempts to elevate them'........... 'Eventually (perhaps) the world will come to believe that this one doctrine which, however, has a host of implications, such as not injuring by speech or by malicious thought, is of more importance even than the costliest philanthropic institutions, though it would be absurd to maintain that public service in the Western sense was unknown to the ancient Hindus. Hopkins hopes that on the common ground of this doctrine of non-injury, the West and the East may meet. He goes on to say, 'Much is done today in the West toward the saving of life and amelioration of living beings and the idea has been expanded into an active pursuit of the salvation of others, which on the human side goes farther than the mere cessation of doing harm. Yet it is in its whole scope that the Hindu ethics surpasses ours; in the *inclusion* of beasts and birds and even of trees and flowers in its all-embracing tenderness and kind sympathy. And we, who are only beginning to hear that trees and flowers have life and feeling comparable in weak degree to our own, and condone, if we do not inflict, so much of the misery suffered by dumb animals, may properly, as we learn to be less cruel, turn back with some humility to the time long before the Christian era, when so good and perfect a doctrine was not only preached as an ethical ideal but was accepted by millions of people as the normal rule of life for every good man, and confess that, however excellent

our ethics may be, India has taught us something better than we knew'.[14]

I take up next Albert Schweitzer whose appreciation of the Tirukkuraḷ I recalled to your attention in the first lecture. He struggled hard, after a close study of Ethics, Eastern and Western, to find an ethical formula or key concept to save the world from its imminent destruction if it goes the way it does now. He discovered it in the phrase 'reverence for life'. He says that the ethic of 'reverence for life' is the ethic of love widened into universality. It is the ethic of Jesus now recognized as a necessity of thought.' He is a medical man and scientist who knows the laws of biology. He concedes that humanly considered, not all life can be equally valuable. He observes, 'Every time I have under the microscope the germs which cause the disease, I cannot but reflect that I have to sacrifice this life in order to save another life'. He thinks that all living creatures, human beings included, form a connected chain of nearly or distantly related units. But while biology as a science is cold and does not concern itself with values, to Albert Schweitzer, 'even the smallest creature contains something of the profound mystery of life and is entitled to a fellow feeling which must find expression in gentleness and kindness.' Cockroaches are among the creatures which people for some reason or another; 'cannot bear' or 'are afraid of'. On the occasion, when a lady was trying to get rid of them, Schweitzer who happened to see this cockroach-hunt, observed, "Poor beetles, they have a right to live too." On another occasion, when he found flowers in a vase he said, "They really look better growing". In one place, he would not allow a palm-tree which might have hindered traffic to be cut down. "Oh, no, it's such a lovely palm!" The narrator of these incidents, a medical man who worked with Schweitzer, remarks: "It makes one think of a little country far-away, in the north, where avenues along the roads are felled so that speeding motorists may not be obstructed by the traffic but can end up in the ditch instead". He concludes by saying, "In a larger perspective Schweitzer's view is not without interest at a time when, by the postulates of biologists, life consists of one more

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4. *Ethics of India*—E. W. Hopkins. cf. pp. 227 - 233.

than chance conglomerations of aminoacids and in a period when two world wars have abundantly illustrated that nothing is so cheap as life ".[15]

Enough has been said, I trust, to show that Tiruvalluvar had the vision to stress two thousand years ago a matter of vital concern to present day humanity. No doubt he was not exercised so much about man's survival on the physical plane as about his

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15. L. Otsergaard Christensen : At work with Albert Schweitzer. (Allen and Unwin). (It is very tempting to reproduce whole pages of Schweitzer's book CIVILIZATION AND ETHICS. It will be amply rewarding to go through this book or atleast the small reprint of one of its chapters reproduced by the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, under the title *REVERENCE FOR LIFE.* Here are a few sentences to whet the reader's appetite 'A man is truly ethical only when he obeys the compulsion to help all life which he is able to assist and shrinks from injuring anything that lives. He does not ask how far this or that life deserve one's sympathy as being valuable, nor beyond that, whether and to what degree it is capable of feeling. Life as such is sacred to him. He tears no leaf from a tree, plucks no flower, and takes care to crush no insect'......'He is not afraid of being laughed at as sentimental .. Today it is thought to be going too far to declare that constant regard for everything that lives, down to the lowest manifestations of life, is a demand made by rational ethics. The time is coming, however, when people will be astonished that mankind needed so long a time to learn to regard thoughtless injury to life as incompatible with ethics.........'

'*Ethics are responsibility without limit towards all that lives*'

'Reverence for life is an inexorable creditor! If it finds anyone with nothing to pledge but a little time and a little leisure, it lays an attachment on these.' Regarding the obligation of man's devotion to the welfare of his fellow men even if his primary occupation leaves him little time or scope for this, Schweitzer has this to say: Open your eyes and look for a human being or some work devoted to human welfare, which needs from some one a little time or friendliness, a little sympathy, or sociability or labour. There may be a solitary or an embittered fellow-man, an invalid or an inefficient person to whom you can be something. Perhaps it is an old person or a child Or some good work needs volunteers who can offer a free evening, or run errands. Who can enumerate the many ways in which that costly piece of working capital, a human being, can be employed? More of him is wanted everywhere! Search then, for some investment for your humanity, and do not be frightened away if you have to wait, or to be taken on trial. And be prepared for disappointments. But in any case, do not be without some secondary work in which you give yourself as a man to men!'

survival on the ethical and spiritual planes. If man's moral growth has not kept pace with ethical requirements, will atleast the danger of physical extermination as a species force him to learn the lessons of morality? Again, even if Tiruvaḷḷuvar had meant these ideals only for ascetics, they have now become universally urgent and important.

We may now turn from the social to the individual aspects of the ethical ideal presented in the Kuṟaḷ. What is the ideal man like? What are the dimensions of his personality? Once again, let me use the comparative method and recall a few lines of portraiture contained in the poems of Wordsworth, Matthew Arnold and Kipling before I take up for consideration the lineaments of ideal character sketched by Tiruvaḷḷuvar.

Under the heading, *Character of the Happy Warrior*, Wordsworth gives a description from which I quote the following lines:

" Who is the Happy Warrior, who is he
That every man in arms should wish to be?
It is the generous spirit who, when brought
Among the tasks of real life, hath wrought
Upon the plan that pleased his boyish thought
Whose high endeavours are an inward light
That makes the path before him always bright.
... ...
Who doomed to go in company with Pain
And Fear and Bloodshed, miserable train
Turns his necessity to glorious gain
... ...(who) even more pure
As tempted more; more able to endure
As more exposed to suffering and distress
Hence. also more alive to tenderness
... ...
He labours good on good to fix and owes
To virtue every triumph that he knows
... ...
If an unexpected call succeed

Come when it will, is equal to the need
He who thus endued as with a sense
And faculty for storm and turbulence
Is yet a soul whose master-bias leans
To homefelt pleasures and gentle scenes
Who, not content that former worth stand fast
Looks forward persevering to the last
From well to better daily self surpast
... ...
And while the mortal mist is gathering, draws
His breath in confidence of Heaven's applause.
This is the Happy Warrior, this is He
That every man in arms should wish to be."

Matthew Arnold gives a picture of his father in the poem entitled *Rugby Chapel*. The following lines may be of interest :

'O strong soul, by what shore
Tarriest thou now ? For that force,
Surely, has not been left vain !
Somewhere, surely, afar,
In the sounding labour-house vast
Of being, is practised that strength
Zealous, beneficent, firm !
Yes, in some far-shining sphere
Conscious or not of the past
Still thou performest the word
Of the Spirit in whom thou dost live—
Prompt, unwearied as here !
Still thou upraisest with zeal
The humble good from the ground
Sternly repressest the bad !
Still, like a trumpet dost rouse
Those who with half-open eyes
Tread the border-land dim
'twixt vice and virtue ; reviv'st

Succourest ! this was thy work
This was thy life upon earth
... ...
.........thou would'st not *alone*
Be saved, my father ! *alone*
Conquer and come to thy goal,
Leaving the rest in the wild.
... ...
If, in the paths of the world,
Stones might have wounded thy feet,
Toil or dejection have tried
Thy spirit, of that we saw
Nothing ! to us thou wert still
Cheerful, and helpful, and firm
Therefore to thee it was given
Many to save with thyself ;
And, at the end of thy day,
O faithful shepherd ! to come
Bringing thy sheep in the hand
... ...
And through thee I believe
In the noble and great who are gone.
... ...
Yours is the praise if mankind
Hath not as yet in its march,
Fainted, and fallen and died !
... ...
Ye fill up the gaps in our files
Strengthen the wavering line,
'stablish, continue our march
On to the bound of the waste,
On to the city of God !'

We have another portraiture in Rudyard Kipling's " If ". I quote below a few lines :

'If you can keep your head when all about you
Are losing theirs and blaming it on you
... ...
If you can dream—and not make dreams your master
... ...
If you can meet with triumph and disaster
And treat those two impostors just the same
If you can bear to hear the truth you've spoken
Twisted by knaves to make a trap for fools
Or watch the things you gave your life to, broken
And stoop and build' em up with worn-out tools
... ...
If you can talk with crowds and keep your virtue
Or walk with kings—nor lose the common touch
... ...
If all men count with you, but none too much
If you can fill the unforgiving minute
With sixty seconds worth of distance run
Yours is the Earth and everything that's in it
And which is more—you'll be a Man, my son.'

Cardinal Newman defines a gentleman as one who never inflicts pain. I invite your attention to the classic portraiture of a gentleman which he gives after this definition. Turning now to Tiruvaḷḷuvar, we find that in two chapters he portrays the man of perfection and refinement. As if to say, 'Look here upon this picture and on this', he gives in the chapter on *Baseness,* the contrast to this picture.

Let us look at the picture of the perfect man :

Those who set themselves to achieve perfection take all goodly things as their duties. To them the only good is the goodness or excellence of character, nothing else is good. Tiruvaḷḷuvar speaks of five pillars that support perfection. These are (i) affection or love, (ii) modesty, (iii) beneficence, (iv) benignity and (v) truth. If penance consists in the goodness that kills not, perfection consists in the goodness that speaks not of others'

defects. How do the perfect ones disarm their foes? They overcome them by their humility. The touch-stone of a man's perfection is his acceptance of defeat even at the hands of his inferiors. 'Of what avail is perfection', asks Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 'if it does not do good even to evil doers?' Poverty can be no disgrace to a person if he possesses the strength of perfection. Why poverty, even if the times are out of joint, there is no shadow of turning in the perfect ones. How is this earth sustained? It is sustained by the perfect ones, for if their perfection wanes, the mighty earth will be unable to bear its burden.

(The chapters on *Perfection* (சான்றாண்மை) and *Refinement* (பண்புடைமை) are summarised here and in what follows).

Some more details regarding refinement of character are added to this portraiture. Here they are:

If one is of accessibility to all, it will be easy to obtain refinement. There are two features characterising this refinement. They are (*i*) love for others and (*ii*) noble birth. Let us not be misled by similarity of physical features in assessing the humanity of persons. Real similarity consists in the possession of good qualities. The world holds in esteem those who, because of their concern with justice and virtue, are of service to themselves as well as to others. Reproach is painful even jesting. Hence those of true refinement display their good qualities even to their enemies. How is the world kept going? It is kept going by men of refinement—otherwise it will be buried in ruin. What is the good of a razor-shop intelligence if it does not go with human refinement? Such an intelligent person is veritably a tree. If a man is not refined in his behaviour even to his enemies, it is a blot on his character. To those who are not good mixers, this big world is all darkness even during the day. Where there is no refinement of character, even great wealth is of no use. It is like good milk turning sour because of the impurity of the vessel in which it is kept.

Having portrayed the perfect man and the man of refinement in such bright colours, Tiruvaḷḷuvar turns to the base ones. His very first stroke is sarcastic. 'How like human beings the base ones are!' he says in feigned surprise. 'We have not seen such

close resemblance in mere outward form elsewhere'. He damns them with faint praise by saying, 'The base ones must be luckier than those who, because of their knowledge of what constitutes perfection, are constantly troubled by their short-comings. The base ones are spared all such anxiety'. Tiruvaḷḷuvar adds one more stroke. The base ones are like the gods themselves because they can behave just as they like. Leaving sarcasm, Tiruvaḷḷuvar starts speaking in earnest. When a base one meets a reprobate, he excels him in his vices and boasts of his achievement. What is it that keeps the base ones in order? It is not love of fairplay or justice. It is only fear of punishment. There may occasionally be the desire for a little profit also. If the perfect ones do not talk about the defects of others, the base ones are just the opposite. They needs must shout from the house-tops any secret information that comes their way. Are the base ones likely to help others? No, they will not part with even a trifle unless violence is used to wrest it from them. Here again is another contrast: The perfect ones respond readily to a mere word of distress—but the base ones, like the sugar-cane will yield only to physical force. Not only are the base ones unwilling to help others, but if they see others well-fed and well-dressed, they start also a campaign of slander against them. What is the use of the base ones in this world? When occasion arises, they hasten to sell themselves! Surely depravity cannot go any further!

By the pictures he paints and the principles he enunciates, Tiruvaḷḷuvar offers guidance for moral life. He does not give us a set of rules or a set rule for application to every difficulty. On the other hand, he wishes to develop our powers of moral insight and moral initiative. Rules restrict our understanding whereas principles enlarge it. How are the great principles he enunciates to be applied to problems of every day ethics, to problems of individual and social conduct? Tiruvaḷḷuvar sets us thinking on the lines of his principles. He will not dictate the answers.

Above all, Tiruvaḷḷuvar seeks to create a new will in human beings - a will for goodness. A goodwill has been compared by Immanuel Kant to a jewel that shines by its own light. When this will is attuned to God's will, the resulting moral behaviour is spontaneous, self-forgetful goodness. Being centres of goodness

in themselves, the perfect ones radiate goodness all around them. This I believe, is Tiruvaḷḷuvar's conception of the ideal man and of the ideal society—goodness at the centre and goodness all around.

III

The third main section of the *Tirukkuṛaḷ* relates to enjoyment. I am advisedly using the word 'enjoyment' because it is related to the word 'joy' which has a wider significance than the word 'pleasure' or even the word 'happiness.' The word 'bliss' may be used but it is not ordinarily linked up with the purely human side. As I said in the first lecture, the third section relates to love—human and divine. The subject is treated with such deftness that we pass from the human to the divine with ease. The question may be asked whether love on the sexual side can be linked up with spiritual love. Quite apart from its religious significance, from the standpoint of morality also, sex is of great importance. It is one of vital urges of human nature and, perhaps, alone among the physiological needs, it has a spiritual potentiality. Needless to say, it can easily degenerate into the animal—or, if the word be preferred, the bestial. The moral and spiritual significance of sex can be understood from the following words of William Temple:

'To use that function of our nature as an opportunity of passing amusement always involves treating another as a plaything or toy. That is destructive of the freedom we are fighting to maintain, for the heart of that freedom is the dignity of personality...But here...the religious background makes all the difference in the world. There is nothing nasty about sex as God has made it; there is no reason why it should not be spoken of in a natural and matter of fact way; but it must be treated with respect and even with reverence, because it is the means by which men and women are enabled to act on behalf of God in the creation of His children, which is why parents are said to procreate.

The reason for not joking about sex is exactly the same as for not joking about the Holy Communion. It is not that the subject is nasty, but that it is sacred, and to joke about it is

profanity. Moreover, it is the point at which the spiritual and the physical come into closest interplay, and this, no doubt, is why moralists normally take it as the example of the moral struggle. Sexual sin is not the only nor the worst kind of sin; the supreme sin and the fountain-head of all the others is pride, not lust. But if we let this function be used for our pleasure and amusement we are spoiling one of the most splendid things in the world'.[1]

Two extreme attitudes are possible in regard to sex, one which makes sex all-important and another which pretends that it is of no importance. It is obvious that both are mistaken. Sex, rightly used, ennobles us; abused, it debases us. As one writer puts it, it is the biological image of spiritual life—its passion and union. Sex is indicative of man's need of life and

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1. *William Temple's Teaching* (pp. 162-3) Ed. by A. E. Baker (Philadelphia, The West Minister Press, 1951.)

C. S. Lewis points out that while gluttony goes, 'a little beyond the biological purpose of eating but not enormously', the abuse of the sexual appetite will be 'in ludicrous and preposterous excess of its function'. He puts the matter graphically by saying that if a healthy youngman indulged his sexual appetite whenever he felt inclined, in ten years he might easily populate a small village. He argues that something has gone wrong with the sex instinct and reminds us that according to the old Christian teachers, if man had never fallen, sexual pleasure, instead of being less that it is now, would actually have been greater. He says that the Christian idea of marriage is based on Christ's words that a man and wife are to be regarded as a single organism - (which is what 'one flesh' would mean in modern English). He explains it thus; 'The Christians believe that when He said this He was not expressing a sentiment but stating a fact - just as one is stating a fact when one says that a lock and its key are one mechanism, or that a violin and a bow are one musical instrument. The inventor of the human machine was telling us that its two halves, the male and the female, were made to be combined together in pairs, not simply on the sexual level, but totally combined. The monstrosity of sexual intercourse outside marriage is that those who indulge in it are trying to isolate one kind of union (the sexual) from all the other kinds of union which were intended to go along with it and make up the total union. The Christian attitude doesn't mean that there is anything wrong about sexual pleasure, any more than about the pleasure of eating. It means that you must not isolate that pleasure and try to get it by itself any more than you ought to try to get the pleasures of taste without swallowing and digesting, by chewing things and spitting them out again' *Christian Behaviour*, —C. S. Lewis, pp. 30, 31.

love. But this need, though stimulated by sex, cannot be satisfied by it, so long as it is merely physical. In fact, on the merely physical side, the longing for the infinity of love is distorted into promiscuity which is lust running riot. Promiscuity is sexual *relationship unrestricted* by marriage and family responsibility. When sex is associated with the requirements of morality, it results in wedded life and family responsibility. When the spiritual potentiality of sex is developed, we have real love at last—the good infinity of sacrificial and sacramental love, not the bad infinity of wild lust. Of the good infinity of love, we have a picture in the third section. The characters are, on the surface, human. But they can become and, are meant to become, divine; they are human and divlne in the first stage and both divine in the final stage. *The human becomes divine by the alchemy of* spiritual love. If Hegelian language may be used, we have the *thesis* of monogamous human love, the *antithsies* of promiscuity and prostitution and the *synthesis* of divine love. In divine love, we have the purity of monogamous love and the infinity of promiscuity, without the narrowness of the former and the impurity of the latter.

Love is distinguished from lust. While love is constant, lust is variable. Love grows and spreads by enjoyment; lust is stultifying and frustrating. Love is creative, lust is destructive. While love is based on the union of souls, lust is contact only on the physical level. Love is said to be a golden spur urging the spirit to all noble aims. Lust is interested in physical satisfaction without bearing moral responsibility. Lust is animal passion with an additional complication. Animals are strongly moved by the sexual urge. But, so far as one can see, sex causes only physical tension in animals. In man it causes mental tension as well and is responsible for mental disorders like psychosis, anxiety neurosis and the like. Frustrations of a sort can be artificially produced in animals but these may only be for particular periods. While the animal's sexual urge is a matter of glands, in man it is related to his will also: (It can, no doubt, be argued that the human will is a fiction whereas gland are real. But those interested in Ethics cannot accept this argument).

Sex is not sinful any more than eating is. Both serve natural urges. It is when they result in excesses like sex orgies and gluttony that they become reprehensible. Over-indulgence in sex is lust, in eating, gluttony. In the chapters on *Medicine* (மருந்து) and *Abstinence from liquor* (கள்ளுண்ணாமை) Tiruvalluvar stresses the need for caution in eating and for total abstinence from liquor. As for sex, he is aware of its potentiality for good as well as evil. Realising how very nearly it is universal, he sets out to route it through matrimony into spiritual union. As we saw, the central problem is to overcome a sense of 'I' and 'Mine'. In marriage, we have the first step, when man moves out of his selfishness into concern for his partner. When children are born, husband and wife subordinate their interests to those of their children. The duties of a householder require that he plays the host to whosoever requires his hospitality. Expansion of personality takes place in ever-widening circles by identification with wife, children, community, linguistic group, country, world and the whole order of created beings; this is how personality develops in ordinary human beings. In other words, love, released by sex, grows less physical and more spiritual as it spreads in concentric circles, from self-love to love of all beings, from selfishness to sainthood. Saints love all beings, not because they feel physical kinship but because they feel spiritual kinship. It is God they seek and find in everybeing. It is He who can really satisfy their love. Hence this love is infinite and grows by what it feeds on. Unlike physical appetites, satisfaction does not lead to satiety here. Hence, the description 'ஆராவமுது'.[1] Tiruvalluvar gives a picture of conjugal love disciplined by duties. Compare the Chapters on *Partner-in-life* (வாழ்க்கைத் துணைநலம்)

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1. 'அன்பு is explained to mean that special affection which man feels for all connected with him in the several relations of wife, child, kindred, friend, neighbour etc., and may be rendered *love. affection, tenderness, friendship*. By the second, 'அருள்' is intended that general affection which man in religious or philosophical retirement should feel for all creatures; this corresponds with the terms, *benevolence, philanthropy, pity, compassion, charity, mercy*. In attributing these virtues to the social and retired man respectively, the Indian moralist does not mean, however, to confine them to either; they must be considered as the special, not the exclusive qualities of these two classes.'—*Commentary on the Kural*, Ellis : p. 282.

Birth of children (மக்கட்பேறு), *Cherishing guests* (விருந்தோம்பல்), *Nobility of birth* (குடிமை) and *The Way maintaining the family* (குடி செயல் வகை).

The dangers in sex relationship are portrayed in the chapters on *Not Coveting another's wife* (பிறனில் விழையாமை) and *Wanton Women* (வரைவின்மகளிர்). Tiruvaḷḷuvar recognises weakness in both sexes—hence these two chapters. He does not condemn one sex alone as more prone to sexual lapses than the other. I feel that if the third section had not been contemplated as a double adventure in love, at once human and divine, Tiruvaḷḷuvar would have stopped with the chapters listed above which are all that are necessary for merely human love. Humanistic ethics will be complete with these chapters. It is because he thinks of love as an adventure basically spiritual that he has given us a separate section. Those spiritually adventurous can take up the challenge. Even among the spiritually adventurous, the majority go from human love to the divine. But there are a few rare souls who, at one bound as it were, reach their rendezvous with the divine. In other words, most people experience human love first and then divine love. But a Ramakrishna or a Ramalingam make a flying leap on to the city of God. Even their love experiences admit of interruption so long as they tenant a human body. Hence their agony in separation and joy in union. Incidentally, if the boy saint Jñānasambandhar uses traditional love terminology like the bangles getting loose, historical research need not call for a re-dating of his compositions.

Having stated the general plan of ethical and spiritual development of personality as I see it in the Kuṟaḷ, how from self-centredness the soul grows into god-centredness, let me give a brief summary of such a development described in the *Manonmaṇīyam* whose author was steeped in the culture of the Tirukkuṟaḷ.

"What force but love keeps the heavenly bodies in their course? The whole universe is bound by love and is a school for nurturing love. The universe is not a purposeless, heartless machine. Consider again the case of the spider. Though it occupies a low place in the scale of living things, it feeds its young ones with the fly it has caught in its web. It thus learns the first

lessons of selfless love. With this as the first step up to the level of human beings, the lesson that is taught is the lesson of love. We must realise that the suffering we see in the world is the fire which burns out our impurities and makes us shine like gold.

'Those who immerse themselves in God's grace forget themselves, melt in sympathy like wax in fire, work day and night for the uplift of others, caring naught for themselves. Does grace calculate or weigh? Considering themselves as a part of that grace which sustains the whole universe, the great ones go about their work. This is their state of samādhi. Wherever they see people in affliction, they pause in sympathy, praying, 'May that grace which has saved us, save these people also!' They petition for others and do not ask for even release for themselves'.

Yes, the saints do not ask for heaven or plead to be kept out of hell. All they want is a sense of God's loving presence. Filled with a sense of this presence, they radiate love for His creatures.

We shall now turn to the Kuṟaḷ for glimpses of such ideal development.

The ideal wife's companionship is only initially on the physical level. Even at the early stage of companionship, she who has the excellence of domestic virtues and who can spend within her husband's financial resources is a true help-meet. If the wife possesses the excellence of domestic virtues, what does he lack? It she lacks them, what does he possess? What is more excellent than a woman if she has the resoluteness of chastity? She can command even the rains. She guards herself and attends to the needs of her husband. It is only chastity that ensures a woman's honour, not keeping her in prison. The natural beauty of a woman is her excellence of character, her ornaments are the good children she bears.

We see in this portraiture of an ideal wife moral characteristics that are a steadying influence on her husband and are

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2. *The Maṇonmaṇiyam*, Act III, Scene IV.

necessay for the birth of good children. Character of children is pre-natally influenced. Hence the mother rejoices to hear the praise of her son as a perfect man. Giving birth to intelligent children is the responsibility of parents. It cannot be a matter of indifference to parents because the effects, good or bad, are far-reaching, both for themselves, and for their children. If they have disciplined themselves. the effect of this discipline will continue in their lives as well as in those of their children. As a mirror reflects our face and enables us to see its strong and weak features, so do our children reflect our character and help us to see its good and bad sides. Our children are, so to say, a test of our character. Our character bears a vital relation to that of our children. Grapes cannot be gathered of thorns or figs of thistles.

> " தக்கார் தகவிலர் என்ப தவரவர்
> எச்சத்தாற் காணப் படும்."

The use of the word 'எச்சம்' is very significant in the Kuraḷ. The good that a father can do to his son is to bring him up so that he will occupy positions of eminence in the councils of the wise and the good. There is a return obligation that the son owes his father. The on's life must be such that the world is moved to exclaim, 'Blessed be his father to have such a son!'

> " மகன்தந்தைக்கு ஆற்றும் உதவி, 'இவன்தந்தை
> என்நோற்றான் கொல்!' எனுஞ் சொல்."

We are reminded of the Biblical words ;

'The father of the righteous shall greatly rejoice and he that begetteth a wise child shall have joy of him.'

Birth in a noble family is stressed in the chapter on Nobility of Birth (குடிமை). Instinctive sence of right and virtuous shame are never found, except in a noble house. In other words, a noble house is pervaded by a sense of values and disvalues. Neither the acquisition, nor the prospect of it, of crores on crores of money will ever make men of noble birth stoop to unworthy conduct. Those born in noble families might fall on evil days but even then they will never give up their ancient traditions of liberality. Those who strive to uphold the dignity of their family

will never, even in poverty, do anything morally improper. Those of noble family have to be perpetually vigilant against lapses because their faults will be observed by everyone as clearly as the black spot on the moon. Just as the black spot is seen against the white background of the moon's surface, so also the moral lapse of a person will be a blot on the family escutcheon. 'Should compassion find no place among a man's virtues, doubts might arise about his lineage,' says Tiruvalluvar. This is a sentiment that requires a moment's attention. The idea sought to be conveyed here is that all other virtues must have this common core of compassion. One cannot help recalling the words of the *Periya Purāṇam*: 'ஈரநெஞ்சினர் யாதும் குறைவிலர்' (Where there is compassion, there is no lack of virtues; where it is absent, other virtves are incomplete.) The warning that absence of compassion will lead to suspicion about one's birth is double-edged. It is a warning to parents to be careful about their progeny by taking care to be virtuous themselves; to the children to be vigilant in maintaining the honour of their family. Words are not empty sounds. They are indicative of the quality, high or low, of the family, even as the seedling shows the nature of the soil. He who seeks a good name should cultivate virtuous shame and he who desires nobility of family should show reverence to all.

The dignity of family is not a matter of accident. Human effort is needed to uphold it. To emphasise these truths and emphasise our moral responsibility in the matter, Tiruvalluvar has a chapter on the way to maintain the dignity of the family (or the way to exalt the dignity of the family). We may notice here again the recognition of the freedom of man, to improve himself and his family in morals and in spirituality. There is no higher greatness than that of a man who says, 'I will not cease in my effort to uphold the dignity of my family.' Manly effort and a sound understanding—it is an abundance of these two qualities that exalts the family. If a man resolves to establish the honour of his family, God girds up His loins and hastens to help him. Here we find human effort being blessed by God's grace. There is no question of an alien destiny conspiring to crush a man. The ceaseless efforts of a person to exalt his family will succeed spontaneously. The world will cling to, and claim kinship with, one who leads a blameless life and upholds the family honour. It

is real manlines for a person to make himself the head and benefactor of his family. As on the valiant in the battlefield, so also honour of the family rests on those who can sustain it. There is no particular season for the advancement of the family. If members of a family are slothful or are given to standing on their dignity, their house will be brought low. If attempts to guard the family against dishonour involve ceasless personal suffering for oneself, still one should not shirk one's duty by one's family. The house that has no strong men to serve as its prop will tumble down when adversity sets in.

Thus sex carries with it a high moral responsibility for the raising of a noble family. Those of good family do not think of themselves and their personal interests but of others and their requirements. Hence the chapter on *Cherishing Guests*. As we saw earlier, the whole design of living in the domestic state is, through acquisition of wealth in the proper way, to exercise benevolence and to extend the scope of hospitality. One should never sit down to a lonely meal if there is a guest outside. Supposing it is ambrosia, the food of immortality! Should this food, so hard to obtain, also be shared with a guest? 'Yes', says Tiruvaḷḷuvar, 'it is not desirable that even such a rare thing should be eaten alone.' The existence of a food of immortality may strain the credulity of some. One scholar is said to have conveyed the point of this Kuṟaḷ by changing the emphasis from immortality to death. 'It is death', he said, (by which he means moral and spiritual death), 'to sit down to a lonely meal when a guest has arrived'. The objector may say, 'It is allright if you are going to take food. Unfortunately, it is medicine. What then?' 'Even then,' this scholar replied, 'share it with the guest!' We are tempted to add, 'Yes there is such a thing as a prophylactic dose. Should it be quinine, for example, still let the guest have a preventive dose. He can be protected against malaria.'

Tiruvaḷḷuvar goes on to say that the land of one who exercises hospitality before one satisfies one's hunger with what remains after feeding the guest will be blessed with plentiful harvest—even if one does not sow one's field. Surely this rhetorical way of putting it emphasises the truth that a man who can subordinate satisfaction of his hunger to satisfaction of

another's hunger will take all steps to ensure maximum harvest. To make many blades grow where one grew before is almost like magic, producing something out of nothing. In brief, impulse for hospitality will stimulate exertion for acquisition of wealth. Guests are not to be grudgingly entertained,—their arrival met with a frown and their departure greeted with a sigh of relief. On the other hand, he who, as he bids farewell to a departing guest, is eager to receive another who just arrives, will himself be a guest of honour among the celestials. They look forward to his arrival in their midst. Tiruvaḷḷuvar drives home the truth that guests are sensitive plants. Even the trace of a frown will keep them away. That stupidity which exercises no hospitality is poverty in the midst of plenty.

A house-holder is thus educated from his self-centredness in the pre-marital state to gradual emancipation from such egocentricism. The danger on the sexual path is brought out in the chapter on *Not coveting another's wife* and *Wanton women*. Having seen the thesis side of the dialectic of love in (வாழ்க்கைத்துணை நலம்) we see the antithesis in these two chapters.

Those of righteous conduct will not allow themselves to be overcome by lust to covet another's wife. Those who know the characteristics of virtue or atleast the rights of property will never covet lustfully another's wife. Among those who have fallen from virtue, none is a greater fool than he who stands at the door of his neighbour. Those who misbehave towards the wife of a confiding friend are no better than a dead man. (A dead man has no virtue). What does it matter how great a man is, if he enters the house of his neighbour (with evil intent)? To think that it is a moral trifle to enter the house of another is to incur eternal infamy. Enmity, sin, fear and infamy will never leave an adulterer. Who is the righteous householder? It is he who is never attracted by his neighbour's wife. The noble manliness of not coveting another's wife is not only a virtue to the wise but it is also exemplary conduct. Who is he that deserves all good things? It is he who does not embrace another's wife. Finally, Tiruvaḷḷuvar makes an appeal. Even if one does not do good deeds but only commits sins, it will be well if one stays away from one's neighbour's wife.

These words are addressed to men so that they may avoid lustful and adulterous sexual relationship. In the chapter on *Wanton women,* the seductive charms practised by prostitutes and the evil consequences of yielding to them are described.

The sweet words--words of women, bedecked with jewels, who are only after one's wealth, will bring sorrow. Here is a comparison that produces revulsion and disgust—the insincere embraces of wealth-loving women are like embracing a strange corpse in a dark room. Those who seek the wealth of grace will not desire the base favours of those who regard wealth, not love, as their riches. Those whose knowledge is made excellent by their native good sense will never seek the trifling delights of women whose favours are common to all. They who seek to extend their renown will never seek the embraces of women who with the pride of their charms extend their low pleasures to all. Only those who are not morally firm will seek the favour of women who embrace with their bodies, their minds being on other things—wealth, etc. The wise say that to those destitute of discernment, the embrace of faithless women will turn out to be like the embrace of an evil spirit. Here, again, we have a forceful comparison—the embrace of a woman who has no love is like embracing a corpse or an evil spirit! The delicate charms of wanton women are like the soft soil of degradation or hell. Finally, women of double minds—liquor and dice—these are the associates of those on whom good fortune has turned its back.

The ideal attitude to woman is to treat her as a mother or sister or daughter. Where this is not possible, where sexual attraction leads one to improper conduct, there results incest in the widest sense of the term. To keep evil-minded men out of incestuous relationship, they need to be frightened out of their wits. Otherwise, by themselves they are incapable of proper conduct and healthy relationship with women. The sages have a twofold approach. To men of good sense, they show woman as a goddess. To those who lack it, they portray her as a devil. Worship her as a goddess, if you *can.* If not, avoid her as a devil, you *must.*

On one topic, I should like to put as wide an interpretation as possible, not only as a transition from the physiological to the

spiritual in love, but also as a possibility of another kind of relationship with women. I feel that *Friendship* need not be limited to persons of one's own sex. There is no element of sex in friendship and so it can be intra-sex as well as inter-sex. Friendship is the intellectual and/or spiritual attraction of two people. Physical charms are not ruled out but they have and should have no sexual appeal. It is in friendship of the spirit that not only man and man and woman and woman but also man and woman can come together in everlasting fellowship.

Doubts may be expressed as to whether the Tirukkuṟal speaks of or atleast hints at such a friendship. On the whole, the couplets on *Friendship* do not speak of friends in the masculine or feminine gender. *Friendship* is spoken of, not friends. To the question whether Tiruvaḷḷuvar would have approved of friendship between persons of the opposite sexes, one cannot give a categorical reply. But he who speaks of virtue as purity of mind, is not likely to have ruled out the possibility of friendship between persons of such purity of mind, merely on the ground that their sexes are different. Do we not have precedents for such friendship in our early literature? Avvaiyār was such a wise and good friend of Atiyamān that she was sent on an ambassadorial mission to Toṇḍaimān. Again, of the forty-nine scholars of the Tamil Sangam, there seem to have been women like Veḷḷi vīdiyār (வெள்ளி வீதியார்). When they met and discussed the literary beauties of Tamil works, there should have been a refreshing sense of friendship among them.

Turning to the present, we find that in most countries, not least in our own country, women work with men in offices, meet at social functions and in similar ways are found in the company of men. If men and women are thus thrown together, is it not desirable that a lofty ideal be placed before them for their guidance? To prevent companionship on the sexual level, as though it were the only way of an adventurous life, the noble ideal of intellectual and spiritual companionship may be placed before them. There is, no doubt, the danger of improper sex relationship—but the only way to prevent it is to show the possibility and the desirability of something better.

Yet another feature of modern social life is worth considering. We have cases of companionate marriage between persons, past the age of sexual relationship. These may increase. Spiritual or intellectual companionship will be one of the finest features of a genuine culture. Human society can be one of friends of both sexes. Of the basis of friendship, of good and bad friends, Tiruvaḷḷuvar has many profound things to say. I shall content myself with a brief reference to some of them.

The friendship of the wise grows like the waxing moon, but that of fools decreases like the waning moon. Like learning which yields its charm the more it is cultivated, friendship gives its delight the deeper it becomes. Friendship does not require constant association. Unison of feeling is enough to engender friendship. Friendship is not for pleasant contacts only. It has also a duty to rebuke deviation from the right path. True friendship rushes to the rescue of a person in distress as readily as the hand supports a slipping garment.

The more spiritual the union, so much the more loving and intimate it is. Where all taint of flesh is removed, we have a pure union. Does this mean that the final stage is one where the lovers have disappeared into love ? Expressions like the river merging in the sea, etc., show only the intimacy of the union, not the destruction of the persons who unite. There is what Evelyn Underhill calls 'mutual inhabitation,' the lover exists in the beloved and the beloved in the lover. In the union of God and souls, God does not think of Himself, He thinks of the souls only. Likewise, the soul does not think of itself. It thinks of God only. An objection may be raised thus : 'If in this alchemy of love, the finite is penetrated by the infinite, will not the finite cease to be finite ? If likewise, the finite enters into the Infinite, will not the Infinite lose its perfection ?' This way of arguing is allright in the dialectic of logic but not in the dialectic of love-which is life-life in its abundance. Surely, it is in this sense that life is more than logic. Besides, Ethics and Religion are interested in the conservation of values-Egoism is a disvalue but personality is a value. So enrichment of personality is not the same as enlargement of egoism.

As for the Infinite pervading the finite, there need be no obliteration of the features of the latter. Let me quote from

C. S. Lewis, who explains and illustrates the point with two examples which I find homely and helpful.

'Out of ourselves, into Christ, we must go. His will is to become ours and we are to think His thoughts, to "have the mind of Christ" as the Bible says. And if Christ is one, and if He is thus to be 'in' us all, shall we not be exactly the same? It certainly sounds like it, but in fact it is not so.

'It is difficult here to get a good illustration because, of course, no other two things are related to each other just as the Creator is related to one of His creatures. But I will try two very imperfect illustrations which may give a hint of the truth. Imagine a lot of people who have always lived in the dark. You come and try to describe to them what light is like. You might tell them that if they came into the light, the same light would fall on them all and they would all reflect it and thus become what we call visible. Is it not quite possible that they would imagine that, since they were all receiving the same light, and all reacting to it in the same way (*i.e.*, all reflecting it) they would all look alike? Whereas you and I know that the light will bring out or show up, how different they are. Or again, suppose a person who knew nothing about salt, you give him a pinch to taste and he experiences a particular strong sharp taste. You then tell him that in your country people use salt in all their cookery. Might he not reply, 'In that case I suppose all your dishes taste exactly the same; because the taste of that stuff you have just given me is so strong that it will kill the taste of everything else'. But you and I know that the real effect of salt is exactly the opposite. So far from killing the taste of the egg and the tripe and the cabbage, it actually brings it out. They do not show their real taste, till you have added the salt. Of course as I warned you, this is not really a very good illustration because you can, after all, kill the other tastes by putting in too much salt. You cannot kill the taste of a human personality by putting in too much Christ. I am doing the best I can.'[4]

Now let me turn to the portrayal of love—human and divine. This is the culmination of all ethics and religion. Tamil tradition speaks of five types of land: (i) mountains, (ii) forests, (iii) fields, (iv) waste land and (v) coastal region, with the

surrounding areas in all these. These are, so to speak, geographical or physical divisions. Corresponding to these are planes of love experience, of human love. There is love at first sight, union, separation, pining and reunion. Another way of classifying love experience is in terms of romance and marriage, courtship and union, chase and capture-or as the ancient Tamils put it, களவு & கற்பு. களவு & கற்பு may be thought of as love before marriage and love after marriage, also - Love at first sight, regularised later by marriage and marriage initiating love are perhaps illustrated in the marriage of Lord Muruga with Vaḷḷi and Deivayānai respectively and also in the case of Kaṇṇappar and Śivakocariyār. Periods of union are characterised by joy as sharp as the pain that is caused by separation. Separation may be very temporary or of long duration. There are love quarrels which happily end in enhanced joy. There is loss of colour, loosening of bangles etc. All these on the human side (and, if you like, on the physiological side) are paralleled by corresponding spiritual experiences. Physical excellence or health is maintained in love union and pallor comes about in separation. Similarly, where there is a sense of the presence of God and of conformity to His will, there is spiritual health and in their absence, pallor. May I reinforce this Tamil conception of spiritual health, from a Christian authority ? Here is what is called '*A General Confession*'.

' Almighty and most merciful Father : We have erred and strayed from Thy ways like lost sheep. We have followed too much the devices and desires of our own hearts. We have offended against thy holy laws. We have left undone those things which we ought to have done, and we have done those things which we ought not to have done. '*And there is no health in us*'.

Spiritual health is thus a matter of feeling the presence of God and living in accordance with His Will.

Mystics speak of the dark night of the soul, of the stages of purgation, illumination and union, of the joy of consolation and the anguish of desolation. As one goes through the Kāmattuppāl (காமத்துப்பால்), or at any rate, as I go through it, I cannot help

feeling that it is spiritual love that is portrayed there even more than human love. I invite your attentiou to the following :

"உறுதோ றுயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால் பேதைக்கு
அமிழ்தின் இயன்றன தோள்."

" The shoulders of this fair one are made of ambrosia
for they revive me with pleasure everytime I embrace them."

Is this rejuvenation not spiritual even more than physical ? Physical love can only be enervating. It is only spiritual love that is energising. Again, how much truer of the dimensions of spiritual experience rather than of physical pleasures is the following :

"அறிதோ றறியாமை கண்டற்றால் காமம்
செறிதோறும் சேயிழை மாட்டு."

" As often as we embrace, my love for her who is
decked in fine jewels is like fresh knowledge
revealing former ignorance."

Intellectual pleasures are mentioned here which are akin more to spiritual pleasures than to physical ones. This interpretation may be challenged by a quotation from the Kuraḷ which seems to go directly contrary to this.

"தாம்வீழ்வார் மென்றோள் துயிலின் இனிதுகொல்
தாமரைக் கண்ணான் உலகு ?"

" Are the pleasures of the world of the lotus-eyed
Lord sweeter than reclining on the soft shoulder
of the beloved ? "

Parimelalagar interprets this as a question addressed by the lover to his friend who seeks to dissuade him from pursuing sensual pleasures on the ground that he is eligible for the pursuit of unexcellable bliss. It is worth noticing here that the reply is in the form of a question. No doubt, it may be treated as a rhetorical question implying the answer that the pleasures of the lotus-eyed Lord's world are not sweeter than those to be had in the company of the beloved. But there is an undercurrent

here. Spiritual pleasure is to be enjoyed here and now, in feeling the presence of God or in hankering after it - not in a post-mortem state. It is a process in spiritual education to lead one from the gross to subtle, from the visible to the invisible, by gentle degrees. Since the world of the lotus-eyed Lord is specifically mentioned, I cannot help recalling some references to this world in the utterances of Nammāḻvār.

> " ஒன்றுண்டு செங்கண்மால் ! யானுரைப்பது உன்னடியார்க்கு
> என்செய்வ னென்றே யிருத்திநீ—நின்புகழில்
> வைகும்தம் சிந்தையிலு மற்றினிதோ நீயவர்க்கு
> வைகுந்த மென்றருளும் வான் ? " (பெரிய திருவந்தாதி, 53)

> *' Oh Lord with the red eyes; (redness indicates His love of souls). There is something I should like to submit for Your consideration. In spite of all that You have done for Your devotees, You still eagerly look around for further ways of doing them good. Is Your World which You want them to enter sweeter than their mind filled with constant thoughts about Your infinite auspicious qualities ? '*

The longing for the Lord's presence may be even better than actually enjoying His presence—travelling hopefully may be better than arriving. This seems to be the aesthetic side of spiritual experience. Thoughts about the Lord are sweeter than all the pleasures of the world, His world not excepted. Here is another verse sung by Nammāḻvār.

> " உலகுபடைத் துண்ட வெந்தை அறைகழல்
> சுடர்ப்பூந் தாமரை சூடுதற்கு அவாவும்
> ஆருயி ருருகி யுக்க நேரிய காதல்
> அன்பி லின்பீன் தேறல் அமுத
> வெள்ளத் தானாம் சிறப்புவிட்டு ஒருபொருட்கு
> அசைவோ ரசைக ; திருவொடு மருவிய
> இயற்கை மாயாப் பெருவிற லுலகம்
> மூன்றினொடு நல்வீடு பெறினும்
> கொள்வ தெண்ணுமோ தெள்ளியோர் குறிப்பே ? "
>
> (திருவாசிரியம், 2)

'Let those who, do not care for the excellence of being immersed in the nectar of the joyous, honeyed love of the feet of the Lord, run after any (useless) thing, whether it is possession of ever-lasting wealth, or lordship of the three worlds or even attainment of final release. Will the wise care for these ?'

Tamil works on Love underline the possibility, even the necessity, to move from sexual love to spiritual love. The commentary on the *Iṛaiyanār Ahapporuḷ* speaks of three classes of persons—the superior, middling and base types. Persons of the superior type do not entangle themselves in ties with women because they know in advance that the result would be attachment to relatives which, in its turn, would be the occasion for crimes like killing, theft, anger, conceit etc., Hence they keep away from sex. Persons of the middling type see the repulsive side of the body of women and avoid them. The base ones will, on no account, keep away from women. So, they are first told about the possibility of sexual pleasures with the blessing of eternal youth. When, in their eagerness for such everlasting pleasures, they ask how these are to be obtained, they are told that performance of penance would help them. As they start doing penance, they are told, 'What are these pleasures compared with the bliss of Release ?' The nature of Supreme bliss is then indicated so that the aspirant may strive for it rather than for fleeting pleasures. The word (களவியல்) is thus explained : The base person is deceived into following a path which will ultimately lead him to Supreme bliss. As a person is tempted to take a bitter medicine by coating it with sugar, as a person attempting to slake his thirst with dirty water, is first shown a mirage, and with the prospect of pure water before him is led on to really pure water, so is a base person lured into pursuit of bliss.

I am not sure whether this commentator is cent per cent true to the tradition of the *Tolkāppiyam* and the *Tirukkuṛaḷ*, which so far as I can see, *sublimates* sex instead of adopting a 'puritan' attitude to it as seen in different degrees in the case of the superior and the middling types referred to above. I consider it

a great merit in these two works that they foster a healthy attitude to life, in no sense ascetic or austere, the while they help us to realise its *full* possibilities. Anyhow, even the commentator with his avowed disapproval of sex says that the underlying aim of the work is to promote spiritual happiness, not to stop at the level of sensual pleasures.

It is well to call to mind the words of parimelalagar in the introductory part of his commentary on the *Kamattuppal* (காமத்துப்பால்). Explaining the Romance side (களவு) of the Tamil conception of Love, he says: Romance is the union, thanks to destiny, of the hero and the heroine, without anyone bringing them together or being present at the union; the hero and the heroine are well-matched in appearance, wealth, age, community, qualities, affection etc.; they are "free from disease, old age, death,—being ever of the same nature." The last four characteristics are worth thinking about in this context—"free from disease, old age, death, being ever of the same nature."—Are these not characteristics of the soul? Do we not have an indication here that the union is of *souls*, *not of* physical *bodies* ?

Anyhow, how long do the pleasures of the body last ? In the *Iraiyanar Ahapporul*, we have reference to ஓம்படுத்துரைத்தல். When the hero is about to take the heroine with him, the heroine's friend appeals to him to take care of her friend even after her physical charms give place to the signs of old age, like grey hair etc.[5] Here we have a gentle hint to the young couple not to trust to physical charms for the stability of their union but to base it on something deeper.

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5. Cf. the following :

‘கொங்கை தளரினும் கூந்தல் நரைப்பினும் ஏந்தல்! மற்றிவ்
வங்கை அடைக்கலம் என்றே கருதி அருள்ககண்டாய்
கங்கை முழுளன் களிமத னன்கடி மாமணைற்றி
மங்கை அமரட்ட கோன்வையை நாட்டன்ன மாதரையே’

‘அண்ணுந் தேந்திய வனமுலை தளரினும்
பொன்னூர் மேனி மணியின் தாழ்ந்த
நன்னெடுங் கூந்தல் நரையொடு முடிப்பினும்
நீத்தல் ஓம்புமதி பூக்கேழ் ஊர !

There is beauty in interpreting the last two lines thus: ‘If there is altercation in your love, which is capable of reforming virtue, this will cause the scriptures to alter their ways and the seas to dry up.’ What an exalted place for love of the spirit! If love falters or fails, both the physical and moral realms will be affected adversely!

Do not the pleasures of the body wane with the advance in years? When the lover says, ‘Age cannot wither her, nor customs stale her infinite variety,’ do we not feel that the lover speaks of the beauty of her soul? Again, is there not in inverse proportion to the decrease in sensual pleasures, increase in the joy of the spirit, to those who have been assiduously cultivating it? If the *Tolkāppiyam* has a section on the grammar of life, Kāmattuppāl of the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* may be considered to be the literary exemplification of it. It will be interesting to call to mind what the *Tolkāppiyam* has to say about this.

After a period of Romance and after period of wedded life, the hero and heroine, having performed all the duties required of them in their domestic state, having enjoyed all worldly pleasures, are in a state of mind to give their undivided attention to the attainment of unexcellable bliss for which their life

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இன்கடுங் கள்ளின் இழையணி நெடுந்தேர்க்
கொற்றச் சோழர் கொங்கர்ப் பணீஇயர்
வெண்கோட் டியானைப் பேஎர்கிழ வோனே !
பழையன் வேல்வாய்த் தன்னநின்
பிழையா நன்மொழி தேறிய இவட்கே.’ (நற்றிணை, 10)

Cf. also the following:

‘ஓம்படுத்துரைத்தல் என்பது, கொண்டு சென்றுய்த்து இருவரையும் வலஞ்செய்து நின்று, “மறை நிலை திரியினும் கடன்முழுதும் வற்றினும் இவளிடத்து நின் அருள் திரியாமல் பாதுகாப்பாய்” எனத் தோழி தலைமகளைத் தலைமகனுக்கு ஓம்படுத்துரையா நிற்றல்’:

“அறந்திருந் துன்னரு ளும்பிறி தாயின் அருமறையின்
திறந்திரிந் தார்கலி யும்முற்றும் வற்றுமிச் சேணிலத்தே.”

—latter half of verse 213. (திருக்கோவையார்)

so far has been a preparation.[6] They have children to continue performance of worldly duties and thus ensure the sanctity of the domestic state. They have around them relatives trained in the performance of duties. Thus they have the mental set and environment necessary for making their final ethical and spiritual effort, viz seeking communion and union with the Supreme. From the inevitable starting point of intense self-centredness when one says, ' None is sweeter to me than myself '(' என்னிலாரு மெனக்கினியாரிலை ')[7] they reach the final goal where there is one sweeter than oneself (' என்னிலும் இனியான் ஒருவன் உளன் '), through the intermediate stages where their ' beloved ' are sweeter than themselves, their children are sweeter than themselves and so on. Once they establish communion with the Supreme self, they find sweetness not only in their wife and children but in all things—' Verily, all things are dear because of the (Supreme) Self.' It is interesting to note in this connection that the word ' excellent ' (' சிறந்தது ') used in the *Tolkāppiyam*, is used in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* also.[8]

Spirituality has a personal as well as a social aspect. It is refreshing to notice here that spiritual life is described as a joint venture by the hero and the heroine, with their relatives around them. Even more than intellectual pleasures, spiritual joy increases by being shared and hence must be shared. How richly suggestive is the following Kuṟaḷ of the individual and the social aspects of spiritual joy :

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6. ' காமஞ் சான்ற கடைக்கோட் காலை
ஏமஞ் சான்ற மக்களொடு துவன்றி
அறம்புரி சுற்றமொடு கிழவனுங் கிழத்தியும்
சிறந்தது பயிற்றல் இறந்ததன் பயனே.' (தொல்காப்பியம்)

7. ' என்னி லாரு மெனக்கினி யாரிலை ;
என்னி லும்இனி யான்ஒரு வன்உளன் ;
என்னு ளேஉயிர்ப் பாய்ப்புறம் போந்துபுக்
கென்னு ளேநிற்கும் இன்னம்ப ரீசனே.' (அப்பர்)

8. ' பிறப்பென்னும் பேதைமை நீங்கச் சிறப்பென்னும்
செம்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு.'

" தம்மில் இருந்து தமதுபாத் துண்டற்றால்
அம்மா அரிவை முயக்கு."

" How joyous is the embrace of this maiden like the joy of the householder who eats his portion after sharing it with others !"

It may be that there is yet another aspect to this sexual-spiritual evolution. Sexual differences as male and female are on the body level. But masculine and feminine characteristics may be of a spiritual natnre also. In this respect, God may be the only masculine spirit, all others being feminine. Presumably our evolution prepares us for consummation of our spiritual life in communion and union with the Supreme.

That the language of sexual love comes in handy to describe spiritual love is worth mentioning again. There is an interesting account which will help us to understand this procedure. An ācārya was discoursing on one of Nammāḷvār's compositions, having for its theme the despatch of messenger to the Lord by the love-lorn soul. The line in question was:

" என்னீர்மை கண்டிரங்கி இதுதகாது என்னாத
என்னீல முகில்வண்ணற்கு என்சொலியான் சொல்கேனோ?"
(திருவாய்மொழி, 1 : 4 : 4)

" What shall I send by way of message to my Lord Who, inspite of seeing me in this condition, has not chosen to be compassionate ? "

Immediately a Tamil scholar raised an objection thus : 'There is need for sending a messenger only because the lover is away in some other place. How can he *see* the plight of his beloved and show compassion ? Would not the word ' hear ' be more appropriate to the occasion ?' The ācārya replied that the lover when he was with his beloved had seen pallor spreading on his beloved even at the least separation. He should therefore know now that this total separation would plunge his beloved in great anguish. He asked the Tamil scholar a counter question. Was not the scholar aware of the description given about pallor ?

*" ஊர்உண் கேணி உண்துறைத் தொக்க
பாசி அற்றே பசலை காதலர்
தொடுவுழித் தொடுவுழி நீங்கி
விடுவுழி விடுவுழிப் பரத்த லானே."*

(குறுந்தொகை, 399)

" Pallor is like the moss that covers the surface of the well which feeds the village-since it drifts away wheresover there is conduct (between the bodies of the lovers) and spreads wheresoever the contact suffers interruption."

I submit that if good sense is to be found in the couplets on pallor in the *Tirukkuṟaḷ* their applicability to spiritual love is to be stressed more than physical or human love. There is a refinement as we advance from the lower to the higher stages of love, with progressive lessening of physical contact and increase in spiritual communion. Highly evolved souls feel each other's presence even when physically separated. We should also not fail to note that a literal interpretation of the verses on pallor would reduce them to nonsense, because physiologically it is impossible to establish a contact which will give no room for pallor. Hence what is envisaged is spiritual intimacy. Spiritual intimacy or spiritual love is the sun of which human love is the pale reflection; it is the original of which human love is only a copy. This may sound platonic but I feel that it is equally in keeping with the spirit of Tiruvaḷḷuvar to maintain that human love is an approximation to divine love and to the extent the former participates in the latter, it gains in value and validity.

Having submitted for your consideration some points about love—human and divine, of the transition from the one to the other of the consummation and fruition of the former in the latter, I invite your attention to the following :

*" முயங்கிய கைகளை ஊக்கப் பசந்தது
பைந்தொடிப் பேதை நுதல்."*

" When I loosened the arms that were in embrace, the forehead of the beloved with the gold bracelet, turned pale "

" முயக்கிடைத் தண்வளி போழப் பசப்புற்ற
பேதை பெருமழைக் கண்."

" *When but a breath of breeze came in between us, her large eyes, cool like the rain-cloud, became instantly pale*"

Not only is there instant pallor and wasting away, but also pallor with retrospective effect !

" நெருநற்றுச் சென்றார்எம் காதலர் ; யாமும்
எழுநாளேம் மேனி பசந்து."

" *It is but yesterday that my lover left me; and yet, it is seven days since my complexion turned pale.*"

" உவக்காண்எம் காதலர் செல்வார்; இவக்காண்என்
மேனி பசப்பூர் வது."

" *There is my lover going, leaving me ; and here is pallor spreading on my person.*"

" உள்ளுவன் மன்யான் உரைப்பது அவர்திறமால்
கள்ளம் பிறவோ பசப்பு ! "

" *How can there be pallor when all the time I am thinking of him, when his excellence is the theme of all my talk. This pallor is deceitful !* "

I do not, want to multiply examples. I invite you to compare spiritual experiences, the experiences of divine love as portrayed in our devotional works with the *Kāmattuppāl* to see whether the latter is not more concerned with the spiritual rather than with the sexual.

The love between the lover and the beloved is compared to the union between the soul and the body. Do not the mystics speak of God as their soul ? Do they not live more and have their being in HIM ?

" உடம்பொடு உயிரிடை என்னமற் றன்ன
மடந்தையொடு எம்மிடை நட்பு."

" *How great is the love between the body and the soul? Even so great is my love for this artless one.*"

Even the side-long glances and love quarrels gain in richness and significance when understood in the context of spiritual love.

" யான்நோக்குங் காலை நிலன்நோக்கும்; நோக்காக்கால்
தான்நோக்கி மெல்ல நகும்."

" *I look on her : her eyes are on the ground ; the while I look away, she looks on with timid smile.*"

Is not this true of spiritual love also ? When the sense of 'I' looks up, God looks away from one : when the sense of 'I' subsides, God smilingly looks at one.

Love quarrels (ஊடல்) occasioned by temporary shift in the affection of the lovers to anything other than the beloved are inevitable so long as they live in human society. But these heighten the joy of the reunion and, like salt in the right proportion, increases the 'taste' of the joy. Are love quarrels possible between the soul and its Divine Lover ? Yes, they occur in this realm also. 'My (Love) quarrel is with You, my delight in You,' sings Saint Māṉikkavācagar. The Lord is not to blame for anything and yet, the souls cry out against Him. Longing for union with Him, they are in sulks.

" இல்லை தவறவர்க் காயினும் ஊடுதல்
வல்ல தவரளிக்கு மாறு."

" *Although my beloved is free from defects, the way he shows his love is such as to occasion this love quarrel.*"

When there is a love quarrel between two, related in indissoluble union, the quarrel on account of its happy sequel, will be a source of joy.

" புலத்தலின் புத்தேள்நா டுண்டோ நிலத்தொடு
நீரியைந் தன்னார் அகத்து ?"

" *Is there any other heaven than the quarrel between lovers whose hearts are united even as earth and water ?*"

Normally, the victor gains and the vanquished loses in a quarrel. But in a love-quarrel, the reverse is the truth.

" ஊடலில் தோற்றவர் வென்றார் ; அதுமன்னும்
கூடலிற் காணப் படும்."

" *In a lover's quarrel, the vanquished becomes the victor ; this is revealed when they reunite* ".

Saint Māṇikkavācagar sings triumphantly :

" தந்ததுன் தன்னைக் கொண்டதென் தன்னைச்
சங்கரா யார்கொலோ சதுரர் ?
அந்தமொன் றில்லா ஆனந்தம் பெற்றேன் !
யாதுநீ பெற்றதொன் றென்பால் ?"

" *You have given Yourself to me ; taken me unto Yourself. Who is the cleverer of the two ?* I *have gained unending bliss. What one thing have You gained from me ?* ! "

Love quarrel is sweet in its duration and sweeter in its sequel. Hence we have the following :

" ஊடுக மன்னோ ஒளியிழை ; யாமிரப்ப
நீடுக மன்னோ இரா."

" *Let her, bedecked with jewels, continue this love quarrel. O night, be long-drawn out so that* I *may plead for appeasement.*"

Love quarrel ends in heightened joy. Here is the last couplet of the Kuṟaḷ :

"ஊடுதல் காமத்திற் கின்பம்; அதற்கின்பம்
கூடி முயங்கப் பெறின்."

*" Love quarrel is the source of the joy of love ; and
that joy ensues in the happy union of the lovers."*

From the stage of selfishness to love, through righteousness; from love, restricted to one's kith and kin to universal love and compassion - the steps in moral evolution are virtue, affection and love (அறனும் அன்பும் அருளும்). The consummation is joy (இன்பம்). All the great ones have attained this state which is the ideal set forth in the Kuṟaḷ also. May I remind you of what Saint Rāmaliṅgam says about Saint Māṇikkavācagar ?

" அன்புருவம் பெற்றதன்பின் அருளுருவம் அடைந்து பின்னர்,
இன்புருவம் ஆயினைநீ எழில்வாத வூரிறையே!"

THIRUKKURAL

ITS RELEVANCE FOR THE MODERN WORLD

BY

M. ARAM

PREFACE

I deem it a great honour that the University of Madras should have called upon me to deliver the Sornammal Endowment Lectures for the year 1965-66. I knew the late professor Dr. Sethu Pillai. To deliver a course of lectures under the endowment instituted in honour and memory of his late mother, Srimathi Sornammal, is a privilege I greatly value.

Thirukkural has been the general theme of the lectures under this endowment. Distinguished scholars have spoken in previous years about one aspect or the other of this renowned Tamil classic. I chose for my lectures the subject, '*Thirukkural: its relevance for the modern world.*' As a peace worker concerned about the moral and spiritual condition of the present-day world as well as the task of establishment of peace, I have tried to indicate in my lectures how the approach and ideas of the Kural, a world classic, are relevant to the needs of the world community today.

I wish to thank the authorities of Madras University for providing me with this opportunity to lecture under the Sornammal Endowment. I also wish to thank the Registrar and the Professor of Tamil for their kind assistance and hospitality.

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November, 1966.

THIRUKKURAL: ITS RELEVANCE FOR THE MODERN WORLD

BY

DR. M. ARAM

INTRODUCTION

Today we are living in a small world. The difference between the present day world and the world of the 19th century or any earlier century is that today one can go to any part of the world in a matter of hours. The means of transportation have developed so tremendously in this century. The means of communication also have tremendously developed. Living at one point of the globe, one can communicate with his fellow human at any other point through post, wire, telephone or wireless.

We are living in 'one world', to use Wendel Wilkie's apt words. The world has become one physically, if not psychologically. The physical closeness of the modern world is something unique and new. Because of the many means of transportation and communication, international travel is increasing by leaps and bounds. To appreciate this new development, one has only to go to a major international airport. Every day jet airliners roar in and roar out, bringing and taking hundreds of people belonging to different races and nationalities. These travellers buzz around the airport, presenting a lively colourful spectacle. Indeed the world is becoming one.

The world is not only technologically unified; it is slowly getting unified politically. The emergence, first, of the League of Nations, and later, the United Nations is an indication of this growing political unification. While the League of Nations was an unsuccessful attempt, the United Nations has survived for two decades and the prospects of its continuance seem quite good. For the world needs an international authority to alleviate tension and prevent war. The Security Council has played a major role

in the maintenance of world peace and it is bound to grow into a stronger body if peace is to be established in the world on a permanent basis.

Not only technological unification and political unification that we are witnessing in the present day world. In a real way, the world is getting unified economically. No country in the world today is economically self-sufficient. Every country depends upon other countries, in some respect or the other, to some degree or the other, for its economic growth. Economic-aid from one country to another is a common phenomenon today. The same country may get as well as give economic aid. India gets aid from America, gives aid to Nepal. Bilaternal aid arrangements apart, there are several international monetary organisations which help developing countries in their economic growth. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations and regional organisations like the Economic Council for Asia and Far East, popularly called the *ECAFE*, are playing an important role in the economic growth of the less developed areas of the world.

Technological unification, political unification, and economic unification are the special features of the modern world. As a result, a new social framework has come into existence which makes possible the growth of a world civilization and culture. Such a world civilization culture is gradually getting formed. It has been estimated that in a year, on an average, there take place about 2,500 international conferences of one sort or another and about 10 lakhs of people belonging to different countries participate in these conferences. There are many programmes of student exchanges and teacher exchanges. Every major university of the world has on its campus a sizeable group of international students. These programmes of educational exchanges are sponsored by individual countries on a bilateral basis and also by world organisations like the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation, i.e. *UNESCO*. As a result, a large measure of cultural and intellectual interaction is going on in the present-day world and a world culture is in the making.

The outlines of the emerging world culture are Western in character. For it was the West that initiated in recent centuries

developments in science and industry which made possible the technological unification of the world. The political and economic unification of the world, too, is primarily the result of developments in the Western world. So it is not surprising that the developing world culture and civilisation has many western aspects to it. This can be seen in the way in which the participants in an international conference live and work. The dress that an average participant wears, the food he eats and the way he eats it, the furniture he uses or the kind of room he stays in, the books that he reads or the language that he speaks are often western.

But civilization or culture is more than dress style, food habits, furniture arrangement, or even the language one speaks. Culture is deeper than these. Culture is more of the mind and heart and spirit. In the realm of the mind and heart and spirit, non-western nations can make their contributions. A nation may be technologically backward, politically weak and economically undeveloped, but it is quite possible that such a nation has an ancient literature and culture. As a matter of fact, several Asian countries are culturally very advanced even though they are industrially backward. These nations have a contribution to make to the emerging world culture. Who can ignore the contribution that China or India, Japan or Pakistan can make to the emerging world civilization and culture, in spite of the fact that economically they have a long way to go? Let me quote Arnold Toynbee. The renowned historian observes the following in his essay entitled "Towards One World by Peaceful Change", his contribution to the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Volume :

> "The new modern-educated leaders of the liberated Asian and African peoples share with the Western peoples a common culture that, as far as we know, is the first literally world-wide culture to arise upto date. Here we see the forerunners of a new world civilization. At present, this world-civilization is in its infancy. It is confined to a handful of pioneers; but representatives of it are now to be found, in greater or lesser numbers, in every country in

> the world; and it looks as if, as time goes on, this world-civilization is going to spread to wider and wider circles and is, at the same time, going to change in quality. To begin with, it has been taking shape within a predominantly Western framework; and this has been inevitable, because the progressive material unification of the human race during the last few centuries has been mainly the work of Western hands. Gradually, however, the many branches of the non-Western majority of mankind are going to make their contributions to mankind's common treasure. We may look forward to a world-civilization in the future that will have incorporated in itself all that is best in each of our local traditions. This is the emerging world-society in which all the recently liberated peoples are now eager to be enrolled as members."

India can and should make her own contribution to the emerging world culture and India is not a small single nation, but it is a multiple nation with many languages and cultures. The Tamil language and literature represents one of the major cultural traditions of India. The Tamil people, though not large in number, a little over 3 crores only, possess a very ancient language and a long continuous literary tradition. Though only one fifteenth of India's population or one hundredth of world's population, the Tamil people can make their own contribution and throw in their share into the growing complex of world culture.

To the emerging world culture, the Tamil people can contribute best through their famous literary classic, Thirukural. The Tamil people themselves rate this literary work as their best. Every Tamil poet after the Kural has praised it and has derived inspiration. If the Tamil people were to place before the world audience their literary best, they would definitely place the Kural.

There seems to be complete agreement on this point. The well-known modern Tamil poet, Subramania Bharati said:

> " வள்ளுவன் தன்னை உலகினுக் கேதந்து
> வான்புகழ் கொண்ட தமிழ்நாடு."

> " *Tamilnad gave unto the world*
> *Valluvar (the author of the Kural)*
> *And won thereby great renown.*"

It is nor surprising that when foreigners came to Tamilnad and began to study Tamil language and literature, it was the Kuṟaḷ that impressed them most. Dr. G. U. Pope translated it first into English. Bishop Caldwell and several other Western scholars in Tamil have praised it. World thinkers and writers like Tolstoy and Schweitzer have been attracted by the beauty and nobility of the Kural. They have quoted from the Kural and made many appreciative references to it.

Dr. Pope says, "The weaver of Mylapore was undoubtedly one of the great geniuses of the world." He adds, "In value the Kural outweighs the whole of the remaining Tamil literature and is one of the select number of great works which have entered into the very soul of a whole people and which can never die."

Dr. Caldwell says, "Thiruvalluvar is the acknowledged deified prince of Tamil authors." He further adds that the Kural is "of the finest in the Tamil language original in design as well as in execution."

Rev. Holle says, "The Kural of Thiruvalluvar is a poetical work of morals of great merit."

Rev. Drew says that the Kuṟaḷ is a great work of "intrinsic excellence" and adds, "The author, passing over what is peculiar to particular classes of society and introducing such ideas only as are common to all, has avoided uninteresting details and maintains a dignified style."

Charles W. Gover says, "It is no exaggeration to say that it is as important in Tamil literature, as influential on the Tamil

mind, as Dante's great work on the language and thought of Italy."

Dr. Graul says, "No translation can convey an idea of its charming effect. It is truly an apple of gold in a net-work of silver."

Rev. Percival says that the Kural affords proof of "the existence of the loftiest sentiments, the purest moral rules and equal power of conception and expression." He further adds, "Nothing certainly in the whole compass of human language can equal the force and terseness of the sententious distichs in which the author conveys the lessons of wisdom."

Frederick Pincott says, "There are two books in India which have taken entire possession of the hearts and minds of the people; The first of these is the Ramayana of Tulasidas which is known to every poor peasant in North India and the other is the Kural of Thiruvalluvar which is equally wellknown throughout the south of the Indian peninsula.

A most charming and feelingful tribute to the Kural comes from the French author M. Ariel. He says, "The Kural is the master-piece of the Tamil literature-one of the highest and purest expressions of human thought." Then he adds, "That which, above all, is wonderful in the Kural is the fact that its author addresses himself, without regard to castes, peoples or beliefs, to the whole community of mankind; the fact that he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason;.........that he presents as it were in one group the highest laws of domestic and social life; that he is equally perfect in thought, in language, and in poetry, in the austere metaphysical contemplation of the great mysteries of divine nature, as in the easy and graceful analysis of the tenderest emotions of the heart."

So, if there is any one Tamil literary work which can claim to be called a world classic, it is the Kural. And as one studies it more and more, one sees that it is truly a world classic.

The Kural deals with the essentials of human nature. It has a universality of appeal. Its observations go beyond nationality

and language. Indeed the age of the Kural was a period in which many cultures and religions were interacting one upon the other in the Tamil part of the Indian sub-continent. And the author of the Kural was a keen observer of the phenomenon around him. He was a keen observer of human nature and behaviour too. He "saw life steadily and saw it whole", like Shakespere. But he was not a mere observer. He participated in life. He must have lived a rich and abundant life.

Viewed in the setting of the presentday world in which a new world culture is emerging, and in which we face some very urgent problems, I feel, that the Kural has a useful contribution to make. I shall deal in my lectures with three aspects of the Kural which have relevance for the modern world and which can help in the making of the new world culture and in the solution of urgent world problems. These will be the subjects of my three lectures: I. Psychological Approach to Morality, II. Rational Approach to Spirituality, III. Advocacy of Nonviolence.

I. PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH TO MORALITY

Morality refers to the right or wrong of human conduct. The dictionary defines morality as, "that which renders an action right or wrong."

The kural is "a political work on morals", as some one put it. One of the names of the Kural is indeed 'Aram' i.e. morality or right living. The Kural is a great treatise on right living.

There are many literary and philosophical works in the various languages of the world which deal with morality and right living. Whether it be Confucius of China or Socrates of Greece, their writings are great works on moral philosophy. There are several such in the world.

Also, there are many religious and semi-religious works or epics which have a bearing on morality and right living. Whether it be the Quran or the Bible, the Dhammapada or the Gita, they all have a bearing on moral conduct.

The Kural seems to stand out as a unique classic on morals, among the ethical works of the world. Its uniqueness is due to the fact that its approach to morality is psychological, i.e, "agreeable to the science of psychology." Not that the other ethical works do not take into account aspects of human psychology, but the author of the Kural approaches the whole matter of right conduct in a way which is fully in keeping with modern psychology. To illustrate this I may even mention even at this point that no moral work in the world gives a place, and an honoured place at that, to romantic love as the Kural does. Compare the Kural with the Quaran or the Gita, the Bible or the Dhammapada, the writings of Socrates or Confucius or any moral or religious work. Is there any which gives an honored place to romantic love, as the Kural does?

The author of the Kural, as I said earlier, saw "life steadily and saw it whole." He was concerned about the right and proper way of living at every stage of human growth and development from childhood to old age and death. He concerned himself about how a human should live, how best he should live, the ideal way in which he should live at every stage of growth and development.

The author of the Kural seems to be very much interested in the human mind, how it functions, and how it should function. His interest and concern about the mind can be seen by the simple fact that the word mind, 'Manam' (மனம்) occurs a large number of times in the Kural. The other variants of 'Manam', namely 'Ullam' (உள்ளம்) or 'Nenju' (நெஞ்சு) 'Aham' (அகம்) also occur often in the Kural. The author of the Kural considered the nature and functioning of the human mind very carefully and it become clear to him that purity of mind is the essence of morality. So he declared:

"மனத்துக்கண் மாசில னாதல்; அனைத்து அறன்."

"*Purity of mind is the whole of virtue.*"

Often those who speak about morality or right conduct take a negative attitude to living. They are concerned about do's and don'ts. As a matter of fact they are more concerned about the

don'ts. But right living does not mean restricted living. Right living does not mean concern only for rules and regulations. There is no antagonism between right living and abundant living. Self – expression, self - fulfilment, the flowering of human personality is not wrong. On the contrary it is very right. Healthy expression of emotions through constructive ways is not precluded by ethics or morality. To follow morality does not mean, to use the English expression, "throwing away the baby with the bath".

Morality is concerned with right feeling, right thinking and right conduct, all the three aspects of all human personality—affective, cognitive and conative. Since feeling or emotion is the basis of behaviour and thinking, in order to live rightly one has to guide his emotions rightly. So naturally morality or ethics often speak about the control of emotions or the regulation of emotions. They refer to the strengthening of good emotions and the disciplining of bad impulses. But regulation of emotions is one thing, suppression of emotions is another. Disciplining the impulses is one thing, repression of the impulses is another. Healthy expression of emotions, creative living, is the way to right living. This seems to be the attitude of the author of the Kural. So while he is emphatic in advocating virtue and good conduct, he has not approached it in a negative way.

It is not surprising therefore, the author of the Kural takes a natural attitude towards sex and love. He himself led a natural life, like so many of his fellow humans. He did not rule out the possibility of some exceptional individuals whose personality development may be different from that of the ordinary human. But the author himself was a great commoner. He grew up in a natural way, not in an exceptional way, and went through the different stages of life just like his fellow humans. The result was that he could consider, through experience and observation, as to how to live best at every stage of human life, as a young lover, as husband, as father, as citizen, as an old man. Because he approached the matter of right living from this point of view, he has said things which are of value to all humans and not only to exceptional individuals.

It is because the author of the Kural approaches morality from this positive, natural stand point, he has given an important place to romantic love in his scheme of living. Modern research in psychology has shown that adolescence is the first major period in the emotional development of the individual. The period of childhood is certainly full of psychological interest, but adolescence is the period where the emotional life of the human gets a new release.

When the boy or the girl reaches the adolescent poriod the exact age range varies from place to place and between one sea and the other his emotions begin to express themselves. The girl reaches the stage of full physical growth at about 13 years or 14 years. When the physical growth is complete, the emotional growth accelerates. The boy who is usually a year and two behind the girl in reaching physical fullness, begins to feel the power of the emotions at about 15 or 16. Adolescence is described as the period of "the blooming of the emotions."

The author of the Kural must have experienced in himself the growth of the adolescent emotions. He must have observed the same in the case of others too. While the adolescent psychology is a complex of several emotions, the major emotion is certainly sex. It is the basis of the attraction that spontaneously occurs between the boy and the girl. Sexual attraction is a natural thing. Every young man and young woman experiences sex consciousness. How this sex consciousness should express itself is a major question. On this matter morality has much to say. Naturally so. Morality necessarily and inevitably concerns itself with proper sex behaviour. And sex is such a powerful force, sometimes explosive. Any powerful force needs regulation or it can run amuck causing harm to others and to the person himself. More than regulation, what is necessary is healthy expression.

Sex has two components—physical and psychological. While the stimulation within the body is caused by the functioning of the sex glands, which attain their maturity at the time of adolescence, there occurs also a certain mental awakening, a psychological upsurge. The imagination of the young man is aroused. His mind functions in a new gear as it were. He not only experiences physical stimulation, he also experiences mental

elevation. It is a strange new experience that a young man gets when he falls in love with a young woman. The interaction between the two gives rise to so much of physical stimulation, mental elevation, to so much of poetry, to so much of romance. So it is not surprising that in almost every language, developed or under developed, love poetry is surely there.

The author of the Kural recognises the value of romantic love. He recognises the poetry of the new found experience that comes to the young adolescent, male and female. So he has dealt with love in one full section of his work, the third section. Though in the Kural it is placed at the end, as the third section, psychologically it comes first. The placing of this third section in the first part of his book by Dr. M. Varadarajan is truly significant. It is psychologically sound. I would venture the guess that the author of the Kural wrote the couplets in third section in the earlier part of his life.

The author of the Kural describes with consummate skill the different aspects of the love experience. First the young man encounters the young woman and he experiences a feeling of pleasant puzzlement. He wonders about the young woman and the strange effect that she has upon his mind and heart. He says:

> " அணங்குகொல் ஆய்மயில் கொல்லோ கனங்குழை
> மாதர்கொல் மாலுமென் நெஞ்சு."
>
> *Is she a goddess or rare peacock or a maiden*
> *with heavy ear rings? Dazed is my mind.*
>
> " கூற்றமோ கண்ணோ பிணையோ மடவரல்
> நோக்கம்இம் மூன்றும் உடைத்து."
>
> *Is it death or eyes or fawn? The glance of the*
> *maiden partakes of the nature of all the three.*

The young man's aesthetic sense is stimulated by his appreciation of the beauty of the young woman he falls in love with. He becomes poetic as he appreciates the shapeliness of the feminine form. The following couplet is an example:

" கடாஅக் களிற்றின்மேல் கட்படா மாதர்
படாஅ முலைமேல் துகில்."

The vestment that covers the breasts of the maiden is like the cover on the face of the infuriated elephant.

The young man's appreciation of his lady love continues. He bursts into feelingful poetry when he compares her to different objects of nature. He compares the gentleness of the lady to the gentleness of the 'Anicha flower', the beauty of her face to the beauty of the moon and so on. The following couplets are examples :

" நன்னீரை வாழி அனிச்சமே நின்னினும்
மென்னீரள் யாம்வீழ் பவள்."

Soft art thou, O blest Anicha flower ! but softer than thyself is she for whom I have fallen.

" காணிற் குவளை கவிழ்ந்து நிலனோக்கும்
மாணிழை கண்ணொவ்வே மென்று."

If the blue lotus could see, it would stoop and look at the ground saying, " I can never equal the eyes of this excellent jewelled one."

" மதியும் மடந்தை முகனும் அறியா
மதியில் கலங்கிய மீன்."

The stars are confused and shoot out of their spheres, for they cannot distinguish between the moon and the maiden's face.

" அறுவாய் நிறைந்த அவிர்மதிக்குப் போல
மறுவுண்டோ மாதர் முகத்து?"

Is there a dark spot on the face of my beloved as on the shining moon that waxes and wanes ?

" மாதர் முகம்போல் ஒளிவிட வல்லையேல்
காதலை வாழி மதி."

If you can indeed shine like the face of the woman, flourish, O moon ! for then would you be worth loving.

The author of the Kural has brought out the delicate aspects of the love experience in several couplets. For example :

"யான்நோக்கும் காலை நிலன்நோக்கும்; நோக்காக்கால்
தான்நோக்கி மெல்ல நகும்."

She casts her shy look on earth when I gaze at her, but if I turn aside, she glances at me with a gentle smile.

The author of the Kural describes in several beautiful couplets the joy that the young man experiences in love. The following are examples :

"உறுதோ றுயிர்தளிர்ப்பத் தீண்டலால் பேதைக்கு
அமிழ்தின் இயன்றன தோள்."

The shoulders of this fair one are made of ambrosia, for they revive me with new life every time I embrace them.

"தம்மில் இருந்து தமதுபாத் துண்டற்றால்
அம்மா அரிவை முயக்கு!"

The embrace of this fair one is supremely joyous even as the family life of the house-holder who eateth his portion after distributing charity.

"அறிதோ றறியாமை கண்டற்றால் காமம்
செறிதோறும் சேயிழை மாட்டு."

The love I feel every time I embrace the fair one decked in fine jewels is like fresh knowledge revealing former ignorance.

The author of the Kural very delicately brings out the subtle feeling of the young woman. See the following examples :

"கண்ணுள்ளார் காத லவராகக் கண்ணும்
எழுதேம் கரப்பாக் கறிந்து."

As my lover abides in my eyes I will not even paint them, lest he should then disappear.

"நெஞ்சத்தார் காத லவராக வெய்துண்டல்
அஞ்சுதும் வேபாக் கறிந்து."

As my lover is ever in my heart I fear to eat hot food lest it should burn him there.

Love is a double-edged sword. It gives great joy and it also gives great pain. The pangs of separation that the young woman experiences is brought out beautifully in several couplets. The following are examples:

"இன்பம் கடல்மற்றுக் காமம் அஃதடுங்கால்
துன்பம் அதனிற் பெரிது."

Like the sea is the joy of love. But bigger than the sea is the pang when it causes affliction.

"காமக் கடும்புனல் நீந்திக் கரைகாணேன்
யாமத்தும் யானே உளேன்."

I swim in the stormy sea of love, but I see not any sign of the shore. Even in the dead of night I am all alone.

How the different times of the day affects the mood of the young woman is brought out in one of the best couplets of the Kural.

"காலை அரும்பிப் பகலெல்லாம் போதாகி
மாலை மலரும்இந் நோய்."

This malady buds in the morning, expands all day long and blossoms in the evening.

The author of the Kural looks upon love not as a crude emotion but rather as a very delicate and highly gentle sentiment. He says,

" மலரினும் மெல்லிது காமம்; சிலரதன்
செவ்வி தலைப்படுவார்."

Even softer than the flower is love; only a few realise it.

Even the quarrel between the loved ones is full of subtlety and delicate feeling. Look at these:

" யாரினும் காதலம் என்றேனா ஊடினாள்
யாரினும் யாரினும் என்று."

I said to her, 'I love thee above all'; and behold, she frowned at once and asked, 'Above whom? and above whom?'

" இம்மைப் பிறப்பில் பிரியலம் என்றேனாக்
கண்ணிறை நீர்கொண் டனள்."

When I said 'we shall not separate in this life', her eyes were full of tears. (meaning I would separate from her in the next life.)

" உள்ளினேன் என்றேன்; மற்றென் மறந்தீர் என்றென்னைப்
புல்லாள் புலத்தக் கனள்."

I said, 'I remembered thee'. At once she snapped, 'Wherefore hadest thou forgotten me?'

" வழுத்தினாள் தும்மினேன் ஆக; அழித்தழுதாள்
'யாருள்ளித் தும்மினீர்?' என்று."

I *sneezed and she hailed me; but changing her mind at once she wept and asked, 'Who is thinking of you to make you sneeze?'*

To the author of the Kural love is not crude sex. It is a very delicate and a very beautiful thing. To repeat:

" மலரினும் மெல்லிது காமம்; சிலரதன்
செவ்வி தலைப்படுவார்."

Even softer than the flower is love; only a few realise it.

In the modern society, there is so much craze for sex. There is so much of crude sensualism. But those who run after crude sensualism do not know what they are missing.

Someone has said that in the modern society a revolution is taking place in the realm of morals. This revolution is taking place because the various authoritarian forms of social control are going out one after another. The young people are experiencing more and more freedom. Neither the home nor the school nor the community now exerts the same amount of control they used to in the past. As the young people freely mix and freely travel and as they have facilities like the automobile in countries like America, it is natural that they find more opportunities for love experience. But then, if this new-found freedom and the new-found opportunities are to mean only indiscriminate sex living or even promiscuity, then they will soon find out that after all the whole matter is boring. As a matter of fact, in Sweden where maximum freedom is allowed to young people, we find that they are experiencing a sense of boredom with too much of sex, a state of sexual satiation. In the United States too, freedom has led to many complications. Now love is not crude sensualism or indiscriminate sex experience. The author of the Kural indicates the ideal form of love. He brings out the poetry of love. He brings out all the subtle aspects and delicate nuances of love. The Kural can be a fine guide for young men and women in any part of the world.

After love comes home life in which the man and the woman within the bounds of wedlock begin to share with each other the joys and responsibilities of life. The author of the Kural has devoted a large number of couplets to home life. The first book of the Kural namely 'Virtue' (அறம்) has two parts as you know and the first part is about home life. namely, 'Illaram' (இல்லறம்).

The author of the Kural emphasizes that between married life and single life, there is no intrinsic superiority or inferiority. Sometimes it is held that brahmacharya or ascetic life is superior to home life. The author of the Kural emphatically says that if

home life is led in the proper way, then it is as good as ascetic life :

> " அறத்தாற்றின் இல்வாழ்க்கை யாற்றின் புறத்தாற்றின்
> போஒய்ப் பெறுவ தெவன் ? "

> " *What will he who lives virtuously in the domestic state gain by going into the other state ?* "

The author of the Kural is a shrewd observer and he notices in those who practise asceticism and brahamacharya a good deal of hypocrisy. Not everybody that wears a saffron robe or shaves his head becomes automatically virtuous. Whether it be ascetic life or home life, the important thing is the purity of mind.

> " மனத்துக்கண் மாசில னாதல் அனைத்தறன் ;
> ஆகுல நீர பிற. "

> " *Purity of mind is the whole of virtue ; all else is vain show.* "

The author of the Kural turns the search light on the psychology of home life. He clearly sees that there could be no happy and stable home life unless the man and the woman, the husband and the wife, having accepted the bounds of wedlock, remain true to each other. Hence, he emphasizes the importance of fidelity. In this he is fair and just, for he advocates fidelity as much to the man as to the woman. He says in a couplet that if the woman has the firmness of fidelity, then there can be no greater blessing for man than that.

> " பெண்ணிற் பெருந்தக்க யாவுள கற்பென்னும்
> திண்மையுண் டாகப் பெறின். "

> " *What is more excellent than a wife who possesses the firmness of chastity.* "

He also says :

> " அறனியலான் இல்வாழ்வான் என்பான் பிறனியலாள்
> பெண்மை நயவா தவன். "

"He is a good house-holder who desires not the woman of someone else."

Emphasis on fidelity is particularly relevant in the case of the man who goes out on work and travels and who naturally may come across many women. In modern life this emphasis on fidelity both on the part of the man and woman is very important, for women are taking to work more and more. As they work in offices and factories they too will come across many men, married and unmarried. The opportunities for temptation are great for the women too. Unless there is a strong bond of mutual trust and mutual love, the modern husband and the modern wife cannot have a stable and happy home life.

It is found in modern societies where the husband and the wife live more freely and work separately, tension arises in the home because of extra-marital attractions. The woman may get bored with her husband and so also the husband may get bored with his wife after a certain period of living together. Physical togetherness does not mean mental togetherness. Often physical togetherness is a barrier to mental togetherness. There are many instances in modern life when the husband having got bored with his wife discovers love in somebody in his office or someone else. This is the beginning surely of the breakdown of home life. The same thing can be true in the case of the wife too. She may after certain period of close living with her husband feel bored and think that her husband is after all not so thoughtful and kind as he ought to be. So her mind may turn towards somebody else whom she may come cross in the office or some other place, who may take interest in her and show appreciation for her.

If love is the first great thrill one experiences in life, the second great thrill is the advent of children in the home. The children are the source of such great delight that the author of the Kuraḷ declares :

"பெறுமவற்றுள் யாமறிவ தில்லை அறிவறிந்த
மக்கட்பே றல்ல பிற."

"Among all the benefits that may be acquired, I know no greater benefit than the acquisition of intelligent children."

There are only two other occasions when the author uses the personal 'I' in the Kuṟaḷ. This shows the conviction with which he makes the statement.

The author describes the different kinds of delight that the children give their parents in the following couplets:

"அமிழ்தினும் ஆற்ற இனிதேதம் மக்கள்
சிறுகை அளாவிய கூழ்."

"The porridge in which the little hand of their children has dabbled will be far sweeter (to the parents) than ambrosia."

"மக்கள்மெய் தீண்டல் உடற்கின்பம்; மற்றவர்
சொற்கேட்டல் இன்பம் செவிக்கு."

"The touch of children gives pleasure to the body, the sound of their voice is pleasure to the ear."

"குழலினிது யாழினிது என்பதம் மக்கள்
மழலைச்சொல் கேளா தவர்."

"'The pipe is sweet, the lute is sweet' say those who have not heard the prattle of their own children."

As the husband and wife grow and develop along with the children, the home becomes a laboratory for love. This love is different from the romantic love that the young couple experienced only a few years ago. With the children as the centre of love the husband and wife begin to forget themselves. They get a deeper understanding of the fundamentals of life. They see that love is the very root of life and without it there is no life. The author points this out in the following couplets:

"அன்பின் வழியது உயிர்நிலை; அஃதிலார்க்கு
என்புதோல் போர்த்த உடம்பு."

"*That body has life which functions in the way of love; the body which is without love is merely bone covered with skin.*"

"அன்பகத் தில்லா உயிர்வாழ்க்கை வன்பாற்கண்
வற்றல் மரந்தளிர்த் தற்று."

"*The life of one who has no love in his heart is like the flourishing of a tree in dreary desert.*"

The husband and wife begin to realise in a natural way that love means selflessness.

The author of the Kuṟaḷ describes in his work the virtues and duties of a good house-holder and I need not take time to elaborate them.

The author of the Kuṟaḷ has dealt with love and home life in great detail and with profound understanding. All this, it seems to me, is quite relevent to the modern man wherever he may live. In modern society the home as an institution is becoming weaker and weaker. Marriage is losing its former significance. In these circumstances a world classic like Thirukkuṟaḷ has a positive contribution to make.

Formerly morality rested upon authority. Whether the source of morality was religion or philosophy it was given to society in an authoritarian way. In modern society the old forms of authoritarian control are disappearing. The modern scientific mind is not inclined to accept anything on blind faith or in fear of authority. The approach of the Kuṟaḷ to morality is psychological and scientific, not authoritarian.

In Asian countries particularly, young people are in revolt against the old traditions. The young people study western literature and imbibe western culture. They are exposed to western forms of living and entertainment. They are beginning to discover the wonder of romantic love. In the Asian culture, the dominant emphasis has been on the supra-mental mystic experience, whereas the dominant emphasis in the western culture has been on the romantic love experience. While in Asian society

everything else was subordinated to the supra-mental spiritual aspect of life, in the western society the pride of place was given to romantic love. Not that in western culture spirituality has no place, nor that in Asian culture romantic love is neglected.

The fact is that today when the world has become one and the west has made a tremendous impact upon Asia, the modern man in Asia will not be satisfied unless he has both—the romantic experience as well as the mystic experience. So in the modern society in Asia it is important that home life must be based upon the solid foundation of romantic love between the young man and the young woman. When the young man and the young woman have had the opportunity to know each other in freedom and to appreciate each other in freedom, and to develop a truly romantic feeling for each other, and if on the basis of this free and romantic appreciation of each other, their home life is constructed, then their home life will be stable and secure.

Both in the west and in Asia the old morality is changing. In the west there has been a swing from the old restrictive morality to extreme freedom. Now perhaps they are trying to achieve a balance. In Asia too the old restrictive morality is disappearing and a new morality based upon romantic experience is in the beginning stage.

A British author speaking about the new morality says the following in his book 'Psychology and Morals'. "There is no doubt that morality is changing. The new morality stands on different ground from the old. The old morality condemned the instinct as sinful and must be crushed. The new morality regards the instincts and their emotions as biologically necessary and useful for the purposes of life. Moreover, they are capable of being redirected to higher ends as Macdougal has demonstrated in his 'Social Psychology' and as Freud has recognised in his 'Theory of Sublimation'. The new morality therefore consists neither in the indulgence of our basic instincts for pure self-gratification, nor on the other hand in their repression. The new morality consists in the acceptance of our instincts and the redirection and reorientation of the surplus of their emotions to the social and spiritual well-being of man, raising them to a higher potential".

The Kural, though an old work, embodies the new morality. It takes a natural and balanced attitude towards sex and love. The morality of the Kural is a developmental morality which is in keeping with the modern science of developmental psychology. The Kural recognises physical sex but it does not equate it with love. To the author of the Kural, love is a very delicate thing, "softer than the flower". In the Kural, morality mingles with poetry, ethics becomes aesthetics. The Kural is scientific but it does not ignore the spiritual dimension, The morality of the Kural is rooted in the earth, but it reaches up to the heaven. In the world culture that is gradually taking shape, the Kural can make an important contribution. Only it must be presented to the young people all over the world.

II. RATIONAL APPROACH TO SPIRITUALITY

We have seen that the present-day world is a small world, that it is not only getting unified technologically, but also getting unified politically, economically and culturally. A new world culture is emerging, We also saw how the Kural which approaches the problem of morality from a psychological point of view has a contribution to make towards the new emerging world culture. We saw how the author of the Kuṟaḷ approaches the moral problem from a positive, natural stand point which is in contrast to the way in which the religious leaders approach the problem. It cannot be denied that the religions of the world have contributed to the growth of moral sense in humanity. But then we saw in the last lecture that the approach of the Kuṟaḷ is more in keeping with psychological principles and, therefore, in the modern developing world culture, it will be more acceptable.

If the Kuṟaḷ has a special contribution to make in the moral realm, it has also a special contribution to make in the spiritual realm. Spirituality comes after morality. Morality always precedes spirituality. While morality refers to the matter of right and wrong, good and bad, proper and improper, spirituality goes beyond these dualities and refer to the soul and spirit. While there could be differences in the definition of spirituality, there is general agreement on the existence of spirituality, whatever the meaning one may attribute to it.

If religions have contributed to the awakening of the moral sense in the world, they have also contributed to the development of the spiritual aspect of life. As a matter of fact, the central aim of religion is development of spirituality. All that religion tries to do in one way or the other can be said to be an attempt to develop the spiritual aspect of man.

The author of the Kural has no section in his book on spirituality as such. But the first section of the Kural certainly goes beyond what is normally considered moral and deals with matters which are spiritual. That the vision of the author of the Kural is more profound and more encompassing than the merely ethical or moral, can be seen from the fact that the author is referred to as saint by many. The Kural itself is often referred to as a sacred book. It is clear that the Kural is not just a treatise on morality, but is more profound and more sublime and takes one to the higher reaches of the spirit. The way in which the author approaches and deals with matters spiritual is unique, it seems to me, and is particularly relevent to the need of the present-day world.

Time was when religion, whatever that be, Christianity or Buddhism, Islam or Hinduism, was a positive and integrative force. Under the inspiration of a religious prophet, through the spell of a religious book, large numbers of people differing in many respects came together. Religion was an integrative force. It developed a sense of oneness amongst the different groups who espoused a particular religion. But today religions are not doing that very helpful job of welding differing groups. Rather they have become causes for tension and conflict.

The world has many religious traditions which were reigning supreme in their respective areas of the world. In the past too there were clashes and even wars between religions. But by and large, they spread in the different parts of the world through quiet persuasion and missionary work and without too much conflict. As Christianity spread in Europe and America, Buddhism spread in many parts of South and East Asia, Islam spread in West Asia and North Africa. But today since the world has become technologically unified and since there is more and more of impact, one area upon the other, religious traditions have become

a cause for tension and conflict. In the present-day world religious traditions, political ideologies and racial differences are the three major divisive forces. The three hundred crores of humans who inhabit this small planet of ours have to become willy-nilly one family. Either the three hundred crores become a harmonious family or they perish. But in this process of the world becoming a family, one major obstacle is the religious tradition.

I was in Vietnam about two years ago. As you know, Vietnam is a very tragic land in which the common people are inhumanly ground between the two grind-stones of warring ideologies. But it is not political ideologies only that bedevil Vietnam. The religious traditions also. The Vietnamese people are 80% Buddhist and 20% Christian, to be exact, Catholic. There is a psychological clearage between the Catholics and the Buddhists and their religious difference is a major factor in Vietnam politics. At Saigon I met a prominent Buddhist leader who was the number one figure in the launching of Buddhist political agitations. He declared in the course of the conversation, "We are 80% Buddhist and we demand 80% control of the Government. Only 80%. Not more, not less. We are ready to sacrifice ourselves to safeguard the political rights of the Buddhist population."

As we know, that which divides India and Pakistan is the difference in religious traditions. That which divides Israel and Jordan or other Arab countries is the difference in religious traditions. Differences in religious traditions have become a tool in the hands of unscrupulous politicians. These politicians exploit them for their own selfish ends. No religion preaches hatred towards people of other religions. All religions look upon the whole of human-kind as one family. It could not be Prophet Mohammed who would have demanded the creation of a separate Islamic State - Pakistan. It could not be Jesus Christ who would have kept up the conflict with the Arabs. Certainly Lord Buddha would not have approved of the political agitations in Vietnam in which monks pour petrol upon themselves and set fire unto themselves. The religious prophets themselves preached love and unity. But in today's close-knit world, as different religious groups and nationalities impinge one upon the other, the

politicians exploit the apparent differences for their own selfish ends.

So the great Gandhian leader of today, Acharya Vinoba Bhave declared, "The era of religion and politics is over. The era of science and spirituality has begun". Vinoba is a great spiritual person himself, but he declared that the era of religion was over. By this he meant that the era of conventional religion was over. In the new unified world family, conventional religion will not have much of a place. The emphasis on separatism and difference can no longer survive. The emergence of science and the scientific method is having a profound effect upon the outlook and attitudes of educated people all over the world. The old conventional religion with its appeal to blind authority and sentimental ceremonies and symbols can no longer hold sway. The conventional religion which divides the human family is on the exit from the world scene. But this does not mean the essence of religion is out of date. On the contrary, the essence of religion, which is spirituality, is very much needed in the modern world. The emotional unification of the modern world can come about only on the basis of spirituality.

Of the conventional externals of religion, namely, signs, symbols, ceremonies, books, pictures etc., each religion is its own reptoire. The unfortunate thing is that the average man belonging to a particular religion gets emotionally attached to these externals. However valuable these externals may be in their own right, emotional attachment to them becomes a dangerous thing in the modern world. Thus, the one who is attached to the crucifix of Christ and the other who is attached to the figure of Buddha fight each other and perpetrate cruelty upon each other. Neither the crucifix nor the Buddha figure is in itself dangerous. Indeed they are holy objects and evoke a spiritual sense in the person who contemplates them. But when the common man is emotionally attached to one symbol, he could be made to hate the other symbol and also the person who is attached to that symbol. So in the modern world emotional attachment to the external symbols of religion has become a dangerous divisive force.

Here the approach of the author of the Kural becomes relevant. The author of the Kural approaches the matter of

spirituality not from any emotional stand-point, but rather from a rational stand-point.

The great commentator kalladar said aptly:

> " சமயக் கணக்கர் மதிவழி கூறாது
> உலகியல் கூறிப் பொருள் இது என்ற
> வள்ளுவ முதுமகன்."

The commentator distinguishes between the approach of the author of the Kural and the approach of religious leaders. At the time of the author of the Kural, several religions were prevalent in Tamilnad. Buddhism, Jainism and other religions were competing with one another for the minds and hearts of the Tamil population. The commentator says, the author of the Kural did not approach that way. He tells us the nature of life and the nature of the world and then points to the essence of life.

Kalladar also says:

> " ஒன்றே பொருளெனின் வேறென்ப; வேறெனின்
> அன்றென்ப ஆறு சமயத்தார்;—நன்றென
> எப்பா லவரும் இயைபவே வள்ளுவனார்
> முப்பால் மொழிந்த மொழி."

The distinctive characteristic of the Kural's approach to spirituality is that it is rational. By rational we mean "agreeable to reason". This is the dictionary meaning too. Much of the conventional approach to spirituality is emotional and sentimental. Conventional religions appeal very much to the emotional susceptibilities of man. Hence the common man's attachment to symbols, ceremonies, books etc. But the author of the Kural does not appeal to the emotions. He does not ask us to give up our reason, at any point.

The mark of a spiritually developed person is that he realises what is real and what is unreal. He is able to distinguish between the apparent and the real. His vision and understanding are deep. The author of the Kural deals with this matter of perceiving reality in Chapter 36. He says whatever the nature

of a thing, one must look for the reality and not the appearance. He also says, that whoever says something, one must look for the real purport, not the apparent meaning :

> " எப்பொருள் எத்தன்மைத் தாயினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு."

> " எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்பது அறிவு."

This attempt to perceive reality is not only about the world outside but also about the world inside. To understand one's own inner world and all the intricacies of the functioning of the human mind is an important stage in perceiving reality. The author has referred to the causes that are responsible for suffering and if the three causes referred to in the following couplet are removed, then, according to him, suffering ceases.

> " காமம் வெகுளி மயக்கம் இவைமூன்றன்
> நாமம் கெடக்கெடும் நோய்."

> "*If the very name of these three things—desire, anger and confusion of mind—be destroyed, then suffering will cease.*"

The author of the Kural realises that one has to work hard in order to attain spiritual development. The effort that has to undertake in order to grow spiritually is described in Chapter 'Penance'.

> " உற்றநோய் நோன்றல் உயிர்க்குஉறுகண் செய்யாமை
> அற்றே தவத்திற் குரு."

> "*The nature of spiritual discipline consists in the endurance of suffering as it comes and in abstaining from causing pain to others.*"

> " வேண்டிய வேண்டியாங் கெய்தலான் செய்தவம்
> ஈண்டு முயலப் படும்."

> "*Spiritual discipline is practised in this world because it secures the attainment of whatever one may wish.*"

We have seen that the approach of the author of the Kural is natural. He saw "life steadily and saw it whole". He has dealt with romantic love, he has also dealt with family love. According to him, the next stage in love is compassion which he calls 'Arul' (அருள்). Man first experiences the love passion with all its power and fury. Sex love or romantic love is a powerful thing and that is part of life. It is the first stage of love and the author of the Kural has shown how sex love could be delicate, could be gentle, could be poetic. But this powerful love passion matures into family love which includes love of children. If the intensity and potency of romantic love is absent in family love, there is in the latter a greater sense of joy, a greater sense of contentment, a sense of peace. To love a woman in security within the bounds of matrimony, to love the children and to raise them up jointly in company with one's partner in life, gives a sense of joy and contentment which is different from the excitement and the pain that blong to sex love. The third stage of love is what the author refers to as Arul. Arul is compassion. Arul is the offspring of Anbu. The author says this beautifully in the following couplets :

> "அருள்எனும் அன்பீன் குழவி."
> "*Compassion which is the offspring of love.*"

The author also says that spiritual happiness is possible for only those who could experience this compassion that is love for all. He says that in the following couplets :

> "அருளிலார்க்கு அவ்வுலகம் இல்லை பொருளிலார்க்கு
> இவ்வுலகம் இல்லாகி யாங்கு."

> "*As this world is not for those who are without wealth, so that world is not for those who are without compassion.*"

> "அருள்சேர்ந்த நெஞ்சினார்க் கில்லை இருள்சேர்ந்த
> இன்னா உலகம் புகல்."

> "*They will never enter the world of darkness and wretchedness whose minds are the abode of compassion.*"

So according to the author of the Kural spirituality means two things, namely, deep compassion for all that lives and a clear perception of the real as different from the unreal. And these two qualities come as a result of a gradual maturing process. The human being experiences more and more of love and gradually develops the perception of the real. Love which develops from one stage to another finally becomes deep compassion for all that is living.

Every human on the face of the earth can experience this process of spiritual growth. It is in contrast to the spiritual experience of some religious leaders and saints, who go through abnormal experiences. Some of the saints who are known for their spiritual greatness have in the first stage been selfish and indulgent. They indulge in sex too much in the early years, then a sudden revulsion takes place and they turn their face away from sex and towards God. The lives of several saints in India and abroad fit in with this pattern of indulgence in the first stage and sudden change and conversion in the next stage. This is certainly one pattern of personality development. One cannot deny that these saints have had deep spiritual experience. Indeed their spiritual power casts a spell upon the people.

Often the exceptional or abnormal is more attractive than the normal and the ordinary. So a saint who was a sinner in the first stage and turns a saint in the second stage presents a dramatic story before the people and it captures their imagination. But this dramatic appeal often has a bad effect. One feels that one should take any negative and condemning attitude towars normal sex love and normal home life. Religious bhakti literature is full of denunciations of home life and sex life. This has created in the minds of many that romantic love and home life are somehow inferior to ascetic life or bhakti. This is a wrong and unfortunate impression. One can attain spiritual maturity as much through the normal process of romantic love, home life and social service as one might achieve through some exceptional psychological upsurges. In order to realise the spirit one need not condemn the body. In order to experience the heaven, one need not denounce the earth. In order to appreciate ephemeralness of life, one need not condemn the value of worldly goods. The world is not evil in itself. The woman or children are not evil. They are good. They are the

gifts of life and gifts of nature. There is no antithesis between the experience of woman and children and the experience of God. There is no contradiction between one's legitimate pursuit of money and worldly goods and one's pursuit of the real, the ultimate and the spiritual. This is the teaching of Kural, To appreciate the spiritual one need not denounce the material. To appreciate Godly love, one need not condemn human love. There will always be a few exceptions in human psychology. There will always be a few individuals who are extraodinary. All glory to them, whether it be Christ who never took to home life, or it be Buddha who took to home life and forsook it, they will have their abiding value to human society. But one can be a saint and still a house-holder. The author of the Kural is a supreme example of a house-holder saint. His life is a supreme illustration of normal healthy natural personality development.

I said that the approach of the Kural to spirituality is rational rather than emotional. The conventional religion enjoins on individual to worship a particular religious prophet, to revere one particular holy book and picture, to adopt one particular set of religious observances. Then there is another individual who is devoted to another religious prophet, reveres another religious book and who adopts another set of religious observances. So the two persons who are emotionally attached to two different personalities feel a sense of division amongst themselves and when circumstances are such, they are ready to hate each other and to do violence to each other. As against this emotional approach is the natural rational approach of the author of the Kural. Here one experiences life values and he does not lose his sense of reason. He does not allow any particular personality to come in the way of his understanding of life. He need not despise or belittle the contribution of the great religious prophets. He can read their teachings, he can benefit from their insights. But the 20th century human will consider all religions of the world as his heritage. The 20th century man will, according to his need and inclination, draw from whatever the source the help he may want in furtherance of his spiritual growth. But he will be responsible for his spiritual growth. He would not allow his personality to be submerged by another however great and powerful he may be. His will be a personal pursuit of perfection. Not that he

will ignore values other than rational. He would have a feelingful appreciation of all that is great and sublime in life. But the modern man will not want to lose his reason at any point, nor will he want his reason to be superseded by any powerful emotion. He will be the embodiment of supreme reason and great compassion.

As more and more people in the world take to such a course of spiritual growth, that will bring about an oneness and union amongst the human race.

The experience of the sublime or the super-conscious or the transcendental is not ruled out by the author of the Kural. As a matter of fact he does refer to the final sublime heights that the human reaches. He has said that one who reaches that summit does not want to return. As the human goes on through the various stages of life and experiences the various aspects of life he finally reaches this summit which is beyond words. He experiences a sense of oneness with all that is life. This supramental state is something indescribable. Indeed the only comparison, even though inadequate, that could be made is the ecstasy that romantic love or sex love provides the human. But the romantic experience based on physical sex is temporary and impure. Whereas the final spiritual experience is more abiding. So the author points that one who experiences this does not want to come back to the earth again, to be born again. He goes beyond this circle of birth and death. He reaches a stage of no return.

" *கற்றீண்டு மெய்ப்பொருள் கண்டார் தலைப்படுவர்*
மற்றீண்டு வாரா நெறி."

" ***They who in this birth have learned to know the true being enter the road which returns not into this world.***"

III. ADVOCACY OF NON-VIOLENCE

The modern world has entered the nuclear era. The first atom bomb was dropped at the Japanese city of Hiroshima on

August 6, 1945. It was an event of tremendous significance. All over the world thoughtful people perked up their ears and were dazed for a moment. The atom bomb which was a small bomb, like a tennis ball, destroyed two and a half lakhs of people in a short little while and converted that beautiful city into mere radio-active rubble. The two and a half lakhs of people who died a miserable mass death were the fortunate ones. The survivers were the unfortunate. They suffered from all kinds of physical malformations. They were placed in the atomic hospital at Hiroshima and due to the delayed action of the radioactive poison, a few hundreds die every year. I happened to be at Hiroshima at the time of the 19th Anniversary of the atomic explosion in August, 1964. On the anniversary day a fresh list of 269 people was added to the roll of people who died due to atomic explosion earlier.

The advent of the atomic bomb is a major development in the history of war weapons. It was Alfred Nobel who invented the dynamite about 100 years ago. The dynamite is a safe high explosive incorporating nitroglycerine. Nobel also invented the blasting cap, a device for detonating the explosive. Nobel then said he wanted to invent "a substance or machine with such terrible power of mass destruction that war would thereby be made impossible for ever". Now the scientists have invented the substance that Nobel wanted—substances such as Uranium 235 and Plutonium 239. Fission bombs were exploded in 1945. Later Fission-fusion-fission super-bombs were exploded. In 1954 the 20 megaton Bikini bomb with energy of explosion equal to that of 20 magatons of TNT, 1000 times greater than that of a 1945 fission bomb, was exploded. The energy released in the explosion of this bomb was greater than that of all the explosives used in all the wars that have taken place during the entire history of the world, including the First World war and the Second World war.

Today America and Russia and some other countries too have stockpiles of nuclear weapons. Linus Pauling estimates that the stockpiles of nuclear bombs now in the world amount to 3,20,000 megatons. He says, "The significance of the estimated total of 3,20,000 megatons of nuclear bomb may be brought out

by the following: The Second World War was a 6 megaton war. If there were to take place tomorrow, in one day, a six megaton war equivalent to the Second World War in the power of explosives used and then another such war the following day and so on, day after day for 146 years, the present stockpiles would then be exhausted, but in fact these weapons may be used in a single day, the day of the Third World War."

These facts and figures give an indication of the terrible grimness in which the world is poised today. No right thinking person would want to start a nuclear war. So the common people, the intellectuals and statesmen too are thinking in terms of peace. All over the world a hunger for peace is growing. Who would have expected that a nation like Russia which enacted one of the most violent revolutions in the world would become a peace maker and try to bring India and Pakistan together at Tashkent? Mr. Khruschev showed great statesmanship and avoided a show-down in the Cuban crisis. This cost him his Prime-Ministership. But it was his love of humanity that gave him the boldness to de-escalate and withdraw from the Cuba. "Jesus Christ would bless Khruschev" Vinobaji observed. In the same way, Kennedy too, while remaining firm, showed great statesmanship and helped in the de-escalation of the Cuban crisis. More statesmen may have to lose their positions and even their lives in order that peace may be established in the world.

Time was when only saints and philosophers were messengers of peace and makers of peace. Poets and intellectuals too used to be peace makers. Then social workers became peace makers. Now-a-days politicians and even military men are joining the ranks of workers for peace. In the case of Nagaland, while it was the Baptist Church Council which initiated the peace move, the Peace Mission itself consisted of a Chief Minister, a socio-political leader and an ordained Minister. In many parts of the world under the aegis of the United Nations military leaders have taken up the task of peace keeping. Korea, Congo, Cyprus, Israel and Jordan are examples. Military leaders, more than others, understand the nature of nuclear warfare. They understand the terrible implication of the weaponry revolution, as Linus Pauling calls it, that has taken place in the 20th century world and since

even military leaders are human beings, they would not want to be a party to the extinction of mankind.

Thus an awareness is developing all over the world that war must be abolished. If we do not abolish war, war will abolish us. The instinct of self-preservation, which is a powerful force, is coming to the aid of establishing peace in the world. The situation in the present day world was well described by the noted American Negro leader—Dr. Martin Luther King, "The choice before us is not between non-violence and violence, but it is between *non-violence and non-existence*". The world is inexaorably moving into an era of non-violence. This goodly earth of ours sooner or later will become free of all the burdens of arms and stockpiles. Complete and universal disarmament will come about. But then, we are now in the transitional stage "The world", said Vinoba, "is like a bird that has left the tree of violence but not landed on the tree of non-violence". The old world is dead. But the new world is not born yet. In this transitional stage we have to work hard to bury violence deep in the grave and help the birth and growth of non-violence.

The United National Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation says in its preamble, "Since wars begin in the minds of men it is in the minds of men, the defeuces of peace must be constructed".

How to construct the defences of peace in the minds of men? We need men with minds which are peaceful, not agitated. We need men whose minds are attuned to non-violence. It is the violence of the mind that takes the external form of physical warfare. If there is peace in the minds of men there will be peace in the world. How to build peace and non-violence in the minds of men? Education, no doubt, should play a major role. Also the social system must become more and more violence-free. The economy and the polity, the defence system, the law and order apparatus, the general administration—all these should be reoriented to non-violence. Today we know they are more or less based upon violence. We need a non-violent social revolution, a re-structuring of the present order on the basis of non-violence. A creative minority devoted to non-violence and peace and also to social revolution need to come forward to change the human society from violence to non-violence.

It is in this context that the Kural can play a useful role. The Kural as a world classic can do its part in the growth of non-violence in the world. The author of the Kural has given the supreme place to non-violence in his scheme of virtues. To him, non-violence is the pre-eminent virtue. In the Chapter on Non-violence the author of the Kural says:

> " அறவினை யாதெனின் கொல்லாமை ; கோறல்
> பிறவினை யெல்லாம் தரும்."

> *" What is the sum of all virtuous conduct? It is never to destroy life—Non-violence. Violence leads to all evils."*

> " தன்னுயிர் நீப்பினும் செய்யற்க தான்பிறிது
> இன்னுயிர் நீக்கும் வினை."

> *" Let none do violence to the life of another, even if one should lose one's own life."*

He not only says that non-violence is the supreme virtue but also makes it clear that in the order of importance the virtue of truthfulness comes after non-violence. First non-violence and then truth.

> " ஒன்றாக நல்லது கொல்லாமை ; மற்றதன்
> பின்சாரப் பொய்யாமை நன்று."

> *" Non-violence is the one supreme virtue; next to that comes truthfulness."*

Not that the author of the Kural minimises the value of truthfulness. He is a great admirer of this virtue. In the chapter on Truth he has praised it so very much, as you may see from the following couplet:

> " யாமெய்யாக் கண்டவற்றுள் இல்லை யெனைத்தொன்றும்
> வாய்மையின் நல்ல பிற."

> *" Amidst all that we have seen as real, there is nothing so good as truthfulness."*

But however great truth may be, non-violence is still greater and the most pre-eminent.

Non-violence is not a negative concept. It is a positive virtue. See the following couplet which comes in the chapter on Non-violence !

> " பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் நூலோர்
> தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாம் தலை."

> *" The chief of all (the virtues) is to partake of food*
> *that has been shared with others, and to protect*
> *and cherish the various living beings."*

When the author of the Kural advocates non-violence and eschewal of violence, he not only means physical violence, he also means the subtle violence of the mind. One should be so gentle that he should not do violence to another even with one's mind.

> " எனைத்தானும் எஞ்ஞான்றும் யார்க்கும் மனத்தானாம்
> மாணாசெய் யாமை தலை."

> *" The chief of all virtues is not to mean harm*
> *even in mind, even in the least degree, at any*
> *time, to any person."*

The author of the Kural has a whole chapter on not getting angry. Anger is a form of violence. Anger is not only violence upon the person to whom it is directed, but also violence upon the one who gets angry. Anger hurts both. Even from the point of view of self-interest, anger is not desirable.

The author says :

> " தன்னைத்தான் காக்கின் சினங்காக்க ; காவாக்கால்
> தன்னையே கொல்லும் சினம்."

> *"If a man would guard himself, let him guard*
> *against anger ; if he does not guard it, anger*
> *will destroy him."*

The author of the Kural has tried to apply non violence in every day life, He is a strong advocate of vegetarianism. Killing other living beings in order to sustain oneself is wrong. One who takes the life of another in order to keep his own cannot experience love or compassion.

Please see the following couplet :

" தன்னூன் பெருக்கற்குத் தான்பிறிது ஊனுண்பான்
எங்ஙனம் ஆளும் அருள்?"

" *How can he acquire compassion, who, to increase his own flesh, eats the flesh of other (creature).*"

There are some who may argue that they themselves do not kill, they only take the meat given by others who do the killing. The author of the Kural is very clear on this point and says the following :

" தினற்பொருட்டால் கொல்லா துலகெனின் யாரும்
விலைப்பொருட்டால் ஊன்தருவார் இல்."

" *If the world would not destroy life for the purpose of food, then no one would sell flesh for the sake of money.*"

The world is slowly moving towards vegetarianism. The consideration of non-violence apart, there are economic factors which favour vegetarianism. A vegetarian needs less than half an acre of land space to raise his food whereas the non-vegetarian needs about three times this land space to get his food, for it has to include grazing ground. As the population-land space ratio increases, the pressure on land will increase. And more and more people will have to turn to vegetarianism.

One positive aspect of non-violence is that you return good for evil. This sort of positive response is clearly advocated by the author of the Kural.

See the couplet :

" இன்னாசெய் தாரை ஒறுத்தல் அவர்நாண
நன்னயம் செய்து விடல்."

"*The (proper) punishment for those who have done evil (to you) is to put them to shame by showing kindness to them.*"

"இன்னாசெய் தார்க்கும் இனியவே செய்யாக்கால்
என்ன பயத்ததோ சால்பு!"

"*Of what avail is perfect goodness if it cannot do kindness even to those who have caused pain!*"

In this respect the thinking of the author of the Kural is the same as that of Jesus Christ or other religious teachers of the world.

The concept of non-violence and the concept of 'arul' are essentially the same. Arul is the final development of Anbu, love, love for all that lives. Arul is the positive form of non-violence. That the author of the Kural has upheld Arul or compassion as the ultimate stage in spiritual growth, we have already seen.

That the author of the Kural gives a pre-eminent position to the principle of non-violence is also seen in another context. In the Chapter on Penance or தவம், the very first couplet gives the definition of Tapasya in the following manner:

"உற்றநோய் நோன்றல் உயிர்க்குறுகண் செய்யாமை
அற்றே தவத்திற் குரு."

"*The nature of spiritual discipline consists in the endurance of suffering as it comes and in abstaining from giving pain to others.*"

The above is almost a definition of non-violence. So, according to the author of the Kural, spiritual growth really means growth in non-violence.

It is true that the author of the Kural advocates non-violence in reference to personal life. It is the contribution of Mahatma Gandhi who lived in this century that he applied non-violence to social issues. He invented the method of Satyagraha, the method of non-violent resistance to evil.

Gandhiji was convinced that in non-violence lay the future of mankind. Though he worked in India and for India's freedom, his vision was world-wide and he had at heart the welfare of the whole of human kind. Gandhiji declared :

> " Non-violenco is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him."

Gandhiji says that man has been progressively moving towards ahimsa.

> " If we turn our eyes to the time which history has any record down to our own time, we shall find that man has been steadily progressing towards ahimsa. Our remote ancestors were cannibals. Then came a time when they were fed up with cannibalism and they began to live on chase. Next came a stage when man was ashamed of leading the life of a wandering hunter. He therefore took to agriculture and depended principally on mother earth for his food. Thus from being a nomad he settled down to civilised stable life, founded villages and towns, and from member of a family he became a member of a community and a nation. All these are signs of progressive ahimsa and diminishing himsa."

There are some who say that non-violence or ahimsa is too high an ideal and it will be impossible to implement.

To these Gandhiji says :

> " In this age of wonders no one will say that a thing or idea is worthless because it is new. To

> say it is impossible because it is difficult, is again not in consonance with the spirit of the age. Things undreamt of are daily being seen, the inpossible is ever becoming possible. We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence, But I maintain that for more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of non-violence."

Gandhiji experimented and made discoveries in the science of Satyagraha. It was his ambition to live for 120 years, so that he may effect a double revolution in the society. The first was a non-violent political revolution through Satyagraha and the second was to be a non-violent social revolution through Sarvodaya. But he didn't live to lead the Sarvodaya social revolution. Though Gandhiji passed away, the concept of Sarvodaya is there, the vision of a non-violent social order is there.

The great task that remains to be done is the application of non-violence to social organisation. What is required is re-structuring of the social order on the basis of non-violence. Nothing short of a non-violent revolution is what is called for by the 20th century. The old society was based very much on violence, whether it is defence or law and order, economy or educational system. Violence was the rule and still is the rule but with the advent of nuclear bombs, the human society has to move into the era of non-violence. A new human culture based upon non-violence has to emerge. In this socio-cultural revolution that the world community must experience, the Kural can make its contribution. Since it advocates non-violence as the supreme virtue, it has special relevance to the present-day world.

The placing of non-violence as the supreme virtue by the Kural is not unique. This has been done by others, religious prophets and philosophers. But the unique thing is that Kural has approached, as we have seen earlier, the problem of morality

and spiritual growth from a psychological and rational point of view. The author of the Kural has shown a way of living which can be easily followed by the common people. The Kural has shown how from romantic love to family love and then to universal love a human being can move gradually and evolve naturally. According to the Kural, even romantic love is " softer than the flower". Love is a very delicate and a very gentle thing. Love, in the second stage, i. e., family love, is even more gentle. And, in the third stage, if is arul or compassion, which is the offspring of love, Anbu. Thus according to the Kural, life is a continuous progression towards gentleness-gentle, gentler, gentlest. Non-violence, more non-violence, yet more non-violence. This is according to the Kural, and spiritual growth.

Thus the Kural has shown the possibility of mass application of non-violence. As greater numbers of people take to this way of developing morality and spirituality i.e. growing progressively in non-violence, one can hope that a non-violent social culture will gradually take shape and a peaceful human society will be established.

To recaptituate and to sum up :

We are living in a small world. The world today is not only technologically unified, it is also getting unified politically and economically. As a result a social framework is coming into existence and a world civilisation is taking shape. Though the outlines of the new emerging world culture are western in character, the non-western nations also can make their contribution. The Tamil people, though only one fifteenth of India's population or one hundredth of the world population, can throw in their share into the emerging world culture, This they can do best throuh the Kural which is a world classic.

There are three aspects of the Kural, which it seems to me, are particularly relevant to the modern world. They refer to the three ways in which the Kural can help in the making of the new world culture and in the solution of some of world's urgent problems. These three aspects of the Kural area (1) its psychological approach to morality, (2) rational approach to spirituality and (3) advocacy of non-violence.

The Kural's approach to morality is in keeping with the science of modern psychology. Its approach to spirituality is in harmony with human reason. According to the Kural, even sex love is a very delicate and gentle thing. And moral growth, is growth in gentleness and love. Spiritual growth, according to the Kural, is growth in perception of reality and compassion for all that lives. The Kural does not ask one to sacrifice reason at any point. It only advocates clear perception of the real and development of compassion for all.

The third aspect of the Kural which is relevant to the present-day world is its advocacy of non-violence. The Kural clearly places non-violence as the supreme virtue, above all other virtues including truth. And non-violence is what the world needs today. After the advent of atomic bomb, the world has no other choice. "The choice is not between non-violence and violence, it is between non-violence and non-existence". The world is willy-nilly entering the era of non-violence. There will be a non-violent revolution in the social structure. A new world culture based on non-violence is going to emerge. The Kural which looks upon life a continuous pursuit of gentleness and non-violence has a useful contribution to make in the growth of a non-violent culture and the formasion of a non-violent social order in this small planet of ours.

CONCEPTS OF LAW IN THIRUKKURAL

THE SRIMATHI SORNAMMAL ENDOWMENT LECTURE

on 18th, 19th and 20th October, 1967

1966—67

BY

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INTRODUCTION

The subject of this series of talks is 'Concepts of Law in Thirukkural'. As the title of the subject indicates, our inquiry is to relate not exclusively to the Kural or to the law. We have to collate and correlate the two.

As we all know, the Kural is predominantly a book on ethics, ethics of individual life, ethics of public life and ethics of love. So, we refer to the Kural as அறநூல் though it deals with அறம், பொருள் and இன்பம்.

We have to examine the inter-relation between the law and ethics; this will facilitate our understanding of the law and the Kural.

Let us first analyse the nature of law.

At the outset, we have to remember that the term 'Law' is used in two senses—one, the abstract and the other, the concrete. *A law* ordinarily means a statute passed by the Legislature. Indian Penal Code is a law; Income Tax Act is a law. Here we refer to law in its concrete sense, as a piece of enactment. The principles underlying the several laws and those observed by the Courts in dispensing justice are referred to as '*the law*'. The principle that a criminal should be punished is the law. The principle that a person with a higher rate of income should pay higher rate of tax is the law. These abstract principles constitute the concrete laws, namely, the Penal Code and

the Income Tax Act. Thus, the concrete term 'a law' is not co-extensive with the abstract term 'the law' in its application. This difference in the meaning of the word 'Law' when it is preceded by the indefinite article and the meaning of it when it is preceded by the definite article has to be remembered. So, in the abstract sense, we speak of *law*, or of *the law*; in the concrete sense, we speak of *a law* or of *laws*.

We have in bound volumes all the laws enacted by the Central and the State Legislatures of India. But, we cannot say that all these laws taken together constitute *the law of India*. They are only statistics or enactment and any one of them may be struck down by the supreme Court as enactment to have in further. Only the principles underlying these enactments, the reason behind them, constitute 'the law'. These principles constitute a system which forms the basis of the individual laws of statutes. A law may be struck down and held invalid since it is not in conformity with *the law* of the land. So, a law, namely, the particular enactment, ceases to be an instrument of justice since the courts do not follow it. In correlating law and the Kural we do not take into consideration the individual laws Law of Prohibition—(கள்ளுண்ணாமை) offence of adultary (பிறனில் விழையாமை) and the gambling laws (சூது). These principles alone give to law that quality which makes it an instrument of justice. Hence, Roscoe Pound observes, "Law is more than an aggregate of laws. It is what makes laws living instruments of justice". —(Roscoe Pound, Justice according to Law, page 60.)

So, we have to remember that in our discussion, the word 'Law' refers only to 'the law', that is, the law in the abstract sense, namely, the system of principles underlying the various laws and which are applied by the Courts in the administration of justice.

Now, we come to the question, 'What is *law*?' or 'what is *the law*?'

In its widest sense, the term 'law' includes any rule of action, that is to say, any standard or pattern to which actions are to be conformed.

Sir William Blackstone, in his Commentaries (1765), has said, "Law in its most general and comprehensive sense signifies *a rule of action*; and is applied indiscriminately to all kinds of action, whether animate or inanimate, rational or irrational". Thus, in its general sense, the word 'law' covers any uniformity of conduct, including the conduct of inanimate things. So we talk of the law of gravity to explain the fact that a stone when dropped will fall to the ground. But, a definition of 'law' as a mere expression of uniformity is obviously not adequate when we turn to law in social life. "The distinction between the use of the word 'law' in the physical and the social sciences has been best defined by saying that in the physical sciences we have a *description of conduct,* while in the social sciences we have *a prescription for conduct.*"—(A.L. Goodhart, English Law and the Moral Law, page 9).

What is the nature of this prescription of law ?

The early philosophers in law thought that the essential element in law was force. The German philosopher, Ihering, said (in his Der Zweck in Recht) that "Law is the policy of force", and that "Law is the aggregate of the coercive norms operative in a State." The English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes, has defined law as a command. John Austin in his famous "Lectures on Jurisprudence" has described law as "a rule laid down for the guidance of an intelligent being by an intelligent being having power over him." According to these thinkers, there can be no law unless there is a specific person or a group of persons who can issue commands and who are capable of enforcing the commands by punishing those who disregard them.

Another German Jurist, Rudolf Stammler, says (in The Theory of Justice): "Law presents itself as an external regulation of human conduct. By this we understand the laying down of norms which are quite independent of the person's inclination to follow them. It is immaterial whether a person obeys them because he regards them as right, submitting out of respect for

the law; or whether his obedience is due to a selfish motive of some sort, fear of punishment or hope of reward; or, finally, whether he thinks about it at all, or acts from mere habit."

Thus, the jurists of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries conceived law, as a command enforced by the State, which people obeyed out of fear of punishment.

This conception of law as dependent on the force of the State hardly satisfies a modern mind. If you and I do not commit theft of our neighbours' property, it is not because of our fear of punishment prescribed for the offence of theft. It is because we have an innate feeling that an act of theft is bad in itself. Thus, the law prohibiting theft is obeyed by us not out of any fear but out of our conviction that the law prohibiting theft is right. When we are convinced that a law is right, we feel obliged to obey it; we feel that we have a moral obligation to obey it. This form of moral obligation arises when it is recognised that a law is intrinsically *right and just.* The Swedish Professor Axel Hagerstrom calls this conviction as "The General Law Conviction."

When we regard law as a rule which is recognised as obligatory because of the coviction of the people, then the element of force or fear becomes of minor importance. We then realise that the obligatory nature of law is based on the ground that law is moral or ethical or just. A modern English jurist, A. L. Goodhart, observes: "The moral sense is one of the dominant forces not only in establishing the efficacy of law, but also in its very existence". (A. L. Goodhart: *English Law and the Moral Law,* page 28).

Sir John Salmond, another great jurist, considers the imperative theory of law as one-sided and inadequate. He observes: (Jurisprudence (1924), page 52); "In the first place, it is defective inasmuch as it disregards the *ethical* element which is an essential constituent of the complete conception. .... If rules of law are from one point of view commands issued by the State to its subjects, from another standpoint they appear as the principles of right and wrong so far recognised and enforced by the State in the exercise of its essential function of administering

justice. *Law is not right alone, or might alone, but the perfect union of the two.* It is Justice speaking to men by the voice of the State. .... In idea, *law and justice are coincident.*"

Thus, the legal philosophers of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries realised a close relation between law and justice. The word 'justice' is used here, not in the sense of justice dispensed by the courts, but in the sense of morals or of ethics. The jurists also use words like 'natural law' and 'natural justice' to connote the same sense. Thus, we find in the legal writings words like 'justice', 'natural justice'. 'natural law', 'moral law', 'divine law', 'morals' and 'ethics' being used more or less in the same sense.

What is Justice ? (Dharmaveer Again)

We may, at this stage, see how the thinker of the past had understood and explained the word 'justice'.

Ever since men have begun to reflect upon their relation with each other, they have been preoccupied with the meaning of the term 'justice'. It has been the subjuct of discussion both by the ancient poilosophers of Greece and by tne jurists of the modern age. Justice stands high and mighty in the moral hierarchy and has always been thought of *by philosophers* as belonging to the noblest part of man and by *theologians* as partaking of divinity itself.

The meaning attached to the words 'moral law', 'natural law' and 'justice' underwent gradual change, in the course of the centuries.

The Natural Law or Justice was conceived by the Greeks as a body of imperative rules imposed upon mankind by Nature, the personified universe. The Stoics, who belonged to the school of thought in ancient Greece, thought of Nature or the Universe as a living organism, of which the material world was the body, and of which the Deity or the Universal Reason was the pervading, animating and governing soul. Natural law was the rule of conduct laid down by this Universal Reason for the direction of mankind. Further, Natural Law has received many other names expressive of its diverse qualities and aspect. It is called Divine

Law—the command of God—imposed upon men. Natural Law is also the Law of Reason, as being established by that reason by which the world is governed. It is also called the Unwritten Law, as being written not on brazen tablets or stones, but solely by the finger of nature in the hearts of men. It is also the Universal Law, as being of universal validity. It is also called the Eternal Laws as having existed from the commencement of the world, uncreated and immutable. Lastly, in modern times, we find it termed as the Moral Law, as being the expression of the principles of morality. By natural or moral law is meant the principles of natural right and wrong—the principles of natural justice. (Salmond on Jurisprudence (1924, Page 27).

Cicero, the Greek philosopher, speaks o the Natural Law in these terms: (De Republica, III, 22-23): "There is indeed a true law, right reason, agreeing with nature, diffused among all men, unchanging, everlasting....It is not allowable to alter this law, nor to derogate from it nor can it be repealed. Nor is it one law at Rome and another at Athens, one law to-day and another hereafter; but the same law, everlasting and unchangeable, will bind all nations at all times".

Justinian, the Roman law-giver says (Institute I, 2, II): "Natural law which is observed equally in all nations, being established by divine providence, remains for ever settled and immutable: but that law which each State has established for itself is often changed, either by legislation or by the tacit consent of the people".

Christian Thomasius observes: (Inst. Jurisp. Div. 1, 2, 97): "Natural law is a divine law, written in the hearts of all men, obliging them to do those things which are necessarily consonant to the rational nature of mankind and to refrain from these things which are repugnant to it".

Throughout the nineteenth centuary, philosophical jurists devoted much of their attention in explaining the relation of law to morals, the relation of jurisprudence to ethics.

Vinogradoff, a German Jurist, says: (Common Sense in law (1914) p. 25-27): "Law is clearly distinguishable from morality,

The object of law is the submission of the individual to the will of the organised society, while the tendency of morality is to subject the individual to the dictates of his own conscience."

Korkunov, the Russian jurist, in his 'General Theory of Law': (1887, Sec. 5-7): says: "The *distinction* between morals and law can be formulated very simply. Morality furnishes the criterion for the proper evaluation of our interests; law marks out the limits within which they ought to be confined."

Lorimer, in his 'Institutes of Law' (Second Edition, 1880, pp. 353-367) says: "The ultimate object of jurisprudence is the *realisation of the idea in the* ideal of humanity, the attainment of human perfection, and this object is identical with the object of ethics."

Jellinek, the German jurist, conceived the field of law as *only* a part of ethical custom, namely, the part which has to do with the indispensable conditions of the social order.

Thus, the distinction between law and morals was always understood and emphasised. Both are deductions from a fundamental *conception of right or of justice, but they differ in that, in* the case of morals our deductions give us a subjective science, *while in* law *they* give *us an objective* science. In *morals*, our deductions are with reference to motives of conduct; in law they are with reference to the outward results of conduct.

Paton distinguishes between law and ethics thus: "Ethics is a study of the supreme good—an attempt to discover those rules which should be followed because they are good in themselves. Law lays down *what* is necessary and convenient *for that time* and place. Ethics concentrates on the individual rather than society; law is concerned with the social relationships of men rather than the individual excellence of their character. Ethics considers the motive as all important, whereas law insists merely on the compliance of conduct with certain standards and seldom worries as to the motives of men. Law, in elaborating its standards, *must not try to enforce the principles of ethics* as such, but it balances the benefits to be secured by obedience with the harm that legal compulsion may cause. Hence, many rules of

ethics are left to the voluntary adherence by the people, but those rules which are found to be essential for the well-being of the community are enforced as laws. Ethics thus perfects the law and law is the minimum ethic". (Paton on Jurisprudence (1951, p. 52).

After examining in detail the views of the jurists of the Historical, Analytical and Philosophical schools of the 18th and 19th centuries, Roscoe Pound has come to the following conclusion: He says: "In general, law cannot depart far from ethical custom, nor lag far behind it. For law does not enforce itself. Its machinery must be set in motion and kept in motion and guided in its motion by individual human beings; and there must be something more than the abstract content of the legal precept to move the human beings to act and to direct their action".

As observed already, the idea of justice underwent a gradual change in the writings of the legal philosophers. The ancient Greek writers conceived justice as something divine and mysterious, but the later jurists conceived it as an ideal relation among men conducive to the harmonious life in society.

Hans Kelsen, a leading jurist and Professor in the University of California, has written a series of essays on 'What is Justice?' He first attempts to find out the definition of justice as given by Plato and Aristotle, but comes to the conclusion that both of them have not given any workable definition of the idea of justice. He observes: "The final conclusion of Platonic wisdom, the answer given to the question asked again and again throughout the dialogues, that is the question of the nature of justice, is this: It is a divine mystery". According to Kelsen, Aristotle also has not been exact in defining justice. He has also attempted to get at the idea of justice in the holy scriptures of Christianity. He says: "One of the most important elements of Christian religion is the idea that justice is an essential quality of God.........Since God exists, absolute justice exists; and as man must belive in the existence of God, though he is not able to comprehend His nature man must believe in the existence of absolute justice, though he cannot know what it really means. Justice is a mystery—one of

the many mysteries of the faith." (Hans Kelsen: 'What is Justice?' (1957, p. 26).

Finally, Kelsen says: "The longing for justice is men's eternal longing for happiness."

The dictum in the Kural is '*அறத்தால் வருவதே இன்பம்*'. Thus, the relation between justice and happiness is emphasised in the Kural.

"What is happiness?" is the next question raised by Kelsen. He proceeds: "It is obvious that there can be 'just' order, that is, one affording happiness to everyone, as long as one defines the *concept of happiness in the narrow sense of individual happiness*, meaning by a man's happiness, what he himself considers it to be. For it is then inevitable that the happiness of one individual will, at some time, be directly in conflict with that of another. For example, love is one of the most important sources of happiness as well as of unhappiness. Let us suppose two men are in love with one and the same woman, and each believes, rightly or wrongly, that he cannot be happy without this woman as his wife. Howevor, according to law and perhaps also according to her own feelings, a woman can only be the wife of one of them. Hence, the happines of the one is inevitably the unhappiness of the other. No social order can solve this problem in a satisfactory, that is to say, in a just way, guarateeing the happiness of both. ......If justice is happiness, a just social order is impossible, if justice means individual happiness. ... So, justice is happiness that man cannot find alone, as an isolated individual, and hence seeks in society. *Justice is social happiness*".

Thus, we see that the ancient philosophers recognised justice or natural law as something divine and mysterious. But the great jurists of the twentieth century, after deep study and research, have found that the idea of justice indicates the eternal longing for happiness by man, and that the happiness arising from justice, is not individual happiness, but social happiness.

The same idea is expressed in the Kural:

"*அறத்தான் வருவதே இன்பம்;மற் றெல்லாம்*
புறத்த ; புகழும் இல." (குறள்; 39)

"Only that which flows from justice is happiness all else is not happiness and it is also without fame".

The Kural proclaims that justice or justness is the only source of real happiness, and all other happiness is not real and it does not also attract fame. Fame and name arise only when a man lives as a member of a society. Happiness with social approbation is attainable only when that happiness pertains to society at large, that is, when it is social happiness. Thus. according to the *Kural, justice is social happiness. The juridical doctrine that* 'justice is social happiness' is truly echoed in the Kural!

It is to be noted that the main features of the gradual development in the connotation of jusctice, as evidenced from the writings of the Western philosophers, are also found in the Kural. As the Greek philosophers attributed divinity to justice, Valluvar *also conceives justice as an attribute of God. He describes God* as 'அறவாழி அந்தணன்'.

Vinogradoff has observed: "The tendency of morality is to subject the individual to the dictates of his own conscience". The Kural also declares that individual conscience, pure and stainless, is the basis for moral or just conduct.

> "மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல்; அனைத்தறன்;
> ஆகுல நீர பிற." (குறள், 34).

> *"To be just is to be pure in thought, free from stain; all else is vain".*

How can it be ascertained that one's thought is pure? Only from the actions of a man, his thoughts are to be inferred. Outward conduct is the manifestation of one's thought. The *conduct of each member in a society should be such* as to create an ideal relationship among men. Radbruch, a renowned philosopher of law, defines justice as "the ideal relation among men", If a man's conduct is such as to be in conformity with the ideal relationship among men, it is a just conduct. Again, the question arises by what standard we determine the nature of the conduct. By what test we are to determine whether a particular conduct

contributes to the ideal relationship among men, whether a particular conduct is just or not ? No test can be prescribed for this purpose.

Roscoe Pound, the foremost American jurist of this century, after deep research and thought, has come to the following conclusion: (Roscoe Pound, Justice according to Law, p. 29): "Experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience have taught us how to live together in politically organised communities in civilized society".

Experience, by itself, cannot be a basis for a good tradition. Reason alone cannot create a tradition. Experience and reason should combine. The jurist says that experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience give rise to a tradition in our civilisation. This tradition forms the basis for our sense of justice. It is this sense that distinguishes between right and wrong, between the just and the unjust.

To express this standard of right and wrong, the author of the Kural, uses the word 'அளவு'.

"Justice dwells in the minds of those who have the knowledge of the standard of right and wrong; so too deceipt dwells in the minds which breed fraud".

> " அளவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சத் தறம்போல நிற்கும்
> களவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சில் கரவு." (குறள், 288).

Conduct adhering to the standard of right and wrong is described as

> " அளவின்கண் நின்றொழுகல் "

and

> " அளவென்னும் ஆற்றல் புரிதல்."

> " அளவின்கண் நின்றொழுகல் ஆற்றார் களவின்கண்
> கன்றிய காத லவர் ". (குறள், 286).

> " களவென்னும் காரறி வாண்மை அளவென்னும்
> ஆற்றல் புரிந்தார்கண் இல்." (குறள், 287).

The knowledge of the standard of right and wrong is acquired only by experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience. This knowledge is referred to in the Kural by a simple but pregnant term 'அளவறிதல்'.

The ancient Greek philosophers and the Western jurists of the earlier centuries conceived justice as some-hing divine and mysterious. Only the legal philosophers of the twentieth century found that justice leads to social happiness and this sense of justice dwells in the mind of man who has acquired experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience.

This conclusion by the modern jurists is pithily expressed in the two stanzas :

"அறத்தான் வருவதே இன்பம்;மற் றெல்லாம்
புறத்த; புகழும் இல." (குறள், 39).

"அளவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சத் தறம்போல நிற்கும்
களவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சில் கரவு." (குறள், 288).

In the English language we find that many words like 'Justice', 'Natural Justice', 'Natural Law', 'Morals', 'Virtue', 'Righteousness' are used to refer to almost the same qualities. Thiruvalluvar has used the word 'அறம் in a very broad sense. Thiruvalluvar has employed that word to refer to many kinds of virtues that promote social happiness. The quality of love, household life, sweetness of words, power of speech, control of anger, reverence for life, avoidance of jealousy, greed, anger and harsh words—all these are brought within the scope of the quality of being just or அறம். These qualities are necessary for establishing an ideal relationship among men. As stated already, Radbruch has defined justice as the ideal relation among men and Valluvar has included within the scope of his conception of justice, all the qualities that are essential for establishing an ideal relation among men.

In the several religious scriptures, 'justice' has been described as a divine virtue and the virtuous acts are considered as a passport for the state of bliss one has to attain in the next world. But, this concept of justice was never acceptable to the genius of

the Tamils even from very ancient days. A poet of the Sangam age, by name Mudamosiyar (முடமோசியார்) while praising his patron King called *Aai* (ஆய்) says:

> " இம்மைச் செய்தது மறுமைக்கு ஆம்எனும்
> அறவிலை வணிகன் ஆய்அலன்; பிறரும்
> சான்றோர் சென்ற நெறியென,
> ஆங்குப் பட்டன்று அவன்கை வண்மையே." (புறம், 134).

"The King, *Aai,* never deviated from the way of the wise and adhered to the virtue of charity; but this was not with a view to utilise the result of his good deeds for the next world. He was not a trader in virtue or justice".

Valluvar, who represents this noble tradition of the Tamil culture, has unequivocally described justice or அறம் not as any spiritual observance but as a way of life, as a way of harmonious life that leads to social happiness.

Thus, the meaning of the word அறம் as used in the Kural has a sweeping comprehension. Valluvar refers to அறம் as a divine quality, and as a personification of virtue or righteousness; but he sees it mainly as a system of social virtues. In the Kural,

> " அறவாழி அந்தணன் தாள்சேர்ந்தார்க் கல்லால்
> பிறவாழி நீந்தல் அரிது." (குறள், 8).

we see அறம் as a divine attribute.

> " மறந்தும் பிறன்கேடு சூழற்க; சூழின்
> அறஞ்சூழும் சூழ்ந்தவன் கேடு." (குறள், 204).

> " பிறர்நாணத் தக்கது தான்நாணா னாயின்
> அறம்நாணத் தக்கது உடைத்து." (குறள், 1018).

In these Kurals we see அறம் as personified virtue or righteousness.

In the Chapter 'செங்கோன்மை', we see அறம் as distinguished from the spiritual tenets.

" அந்தணர் நூற்கும் அறத்திற்கும் ஆதியாய்
நின்றது மன்னவன் கோல்." (குறள், 543).

" *Upright government is the basis for the maintenance of spiritual tenets and social virtues.* "

The distinction between spiritual tenets and அறம் which is considered as a system of social virtues is clearly brought out in this Kural.

The opposite of the word அறம் as used by Valluvar is பழி, that is social vice.

" செயற்பால தோரும் அறனே; ஒருவற்கு
உயற்பால தோரும் பழி." (குறள், 40).

" When there is sweetness in speech and goodness in action, அறம் flourishes and vice vanishes" :

" அல்லவை தேய அறம்பெருகும் நல்லவை
நாடி இனிய சொலின்." (குறள், 96).

From the statements in these Kurals, it is clear that the concept of அறம் as expounded in the Kural is a system of social virtues, norms of social conduct conducive to harmonious social living.

We may recall in this context the definition of law by the modern jurists. Kelson says : "It can hardly be denied that the law is a social order, that is to say, an order regulating the mutual behaviour of human beings". Roscoe Pound observes : " The science of law is a science of social engineering, having to do with that part of the whole field which may be achieved by the ordering of human relations through the action of politically organised society". The concept of அறம் as delineated by Valluvar aims at harmonious arrangement of human relations in a politically organised society. The Kural says that adherence to அறம் is to be "sweet in words and good in action" and that, the end of அறம் is social happiness. Roscoe Pound finds that "In law we have a taught tradition of experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience". Valluvar declares that அறம்

is what is conceived by 'அளவறிந்தார்'. Thus we find very little difference between the concept of law as explained by the foremost jurists of the 20th century and the concept of அறம் as portrayed by Valluvar.

When the concept of அறம் in Kural and that of law in modern jurisprudence are very near and similar in vital respects, it is but natural that we find many concepts of modern law in the Kural. Once this identity is realised, the concepts of law embodied in the Kural become apparent.

The அறம் of the Kural is intended to apply not only to the Tamilian society or Indian society but to the human society at large. The great author of the Kural had before his mind's eye, the vast human society of the world, and it was for that world-society that he has set down his principles of அறம். These principles apply to all time and to all societies. The dictum that sweet words and good deeds are virtues necessary for harmonious social living is applicable not merely to a particular society or to a particular country but to the whole world. That is why we are able to correlate the principles of the Kural wth those of law, not of Indian law or of English law, but of law in general.

Thus, we find in the Kural many principles of jurisprudence. Rather, we should say that many doctrines of the Kural are also current principles of modern law. A study of these principles is the purpose of this series of talks. Such a study assists us not only to recognise the modern and universal judicial significance of the Kural, but also to understand and appreciate the ethical basis of the principles of modern jurisprudence.

DOCTRINE OF MENS REA

When a person has committed a crime, he is punished under law. Before ever a person is so punished, the law demands two requirements to be satisfied. Firstly it must be proved that the criminal act was committed by the accused, and secondly, it should be established that the accused committed the act constituting the crime with a guilty mind, that is, with the necessary intention.

Fitzgerald says : "The general principles of the Criminal law might be summed up in two propositions : (i) no one is guilty of a crime without performing an fact of some sort ; and (ii) an act by itself unaccompanied by criminal intent does not suffice to render a person guilty of an offence.

My enemy attacks me with a sword and cuts off my hand. For this crime of having caused grievous hurt to me, he is convicted and sentenced to undergo imprisonment. The surgeon amputates my hand afflicted by disease. But, the surgeon is paid for his services ; he is not punished. In both the acts, sharp instruments have been employed and the hand has been severed, One act is considered a crime while the other is not. Why ? My enemy cuts my hand with the bad intent that I should suffer by losing my limb. The surgeon performed the operation and removed my hand with a view to save my life. The act of my enemy has been committed with a guilty mind, whereas that of the surgeon has been done with the good intention of curing my disease. The act done with the bad intention is considered an offence, whereas an act of similar consequence motivated by a good intention is not an offence.

A person, out of enmity, shoots at another and kills him. This is an offence of murder. While a person is practising shooting, another is hit by a bullet and is killed. This is considered only as an accident. There was an intent to kill when the enemy was shot at. The person practising shooting had absolutely no such intention. Because of this, though death is the result of both the acts, one becomes an offence of murder attracting capital punishment, whereas the other is considered merely as an accident.

With the intention of causing hurt to another, a person throws a stone at him and causes injury. This act becomes an offence of causing hurt. Suppose, a child of six years throws a stone on another person as a result of which hurt is caused to that person, can the child be held liable under the Criminal law ? No. The law considers a child under seven years of age to be incapable of having any criminal intent. Hence the child is not liable to be punished.

When you leave this hall, you may take an umbrella belonging to another mistakenly thinking that it is yours. Immediately you cannot be charged for theft, because you have no intention of committing theft. Only if there is dishonest intention to take any moveable property out of the possession of another, it amounts to an offence of theft.

Thus, unless a person does any act constituting a crime with the necessary criminal intent, he is not liable to be punished.

Before a person is made liable for an offence, the Court sees if that person committed the act with the necessary guilty mind. This fundamental principle of criminal law is expressed in the Latin legal maxim : "Actus Non Facit Reum, Nisi Mens Sit Rea", which means that the act alone does not amount to guilt ; it must be accompanied by a guilty mind. This is known as the doctrine of mens rea.

Of course, there are exceptions to this rule. Under certain circumstances, a person may be punished for an offence even though he had no guilty mind. Such liability under criminal law is called 'absolute liability'. But this is only an exception.

Justice Goddard in *Brend v. Wood* (1946) (62, I. L. R. 462) has laid down : "It is of utmost importance for the protection of the liberty of the subject that a Court should always bear in mind, that unless a statute, either clearly or by necessary implication, rules out mens rea as a constituent part of a crime, the Court should not find a man guilty of an offence against the criminal law unless he has a guilty mind."

The definition of every offence enumerated in the Indian Penal Code contains words to indicate that a 'guilty mind' is a necessary ingredient of the offence. Terms like "'intentionally', 'knowingly', 'voluntarily', 'dishonestly', 'fraudulently', 'deliberate intention', 'deliberate and malicious intention", are used to show the nature of the guilty mind that is required for several offences.

It appeals to our sense of justice that a person should not be punished for acts done without any guilty mind. It is on this

moral notion that the legal doctrine of 'mens rea' or 'guilty mind' rests. Hence, Dr. Kenny, a famous Professor of Criminal Law, says: "Attention was thus more strongly directed to the mental element in crime, and the moral notion gradually crystallised into a rule of law".

In the Kural, there is a separate chapter under the heading 'இன்னா செய்யாமை'. 'Avoidence of harming or injuring others'. There it is said that not to do *intentionally* any harm to anybody, in any manner, under any circumstances, is the crown of all virtues.

"எனைத்தானும் எஞ்ஞான்றும் யார்க்கும் மனத்தானும்
மாணாசெய் யாமை தலை." (குறள், 317).

The author of the Kural has not stated 'மாணா செய்யாமை தலை', but has emphasised "மனத்தானும் மாணா செய்யாமை தலை". The mental element that is necessary to constitute a harm is clearly indicated by the word 'மனத்தானும்'.

The great commentator, Parimelazhagar, has not lost sight of the significance of the word 'மனத்தானும்'. He explains it thus: "ஈண்டு மனத்தான் ஆகாத வழி பாவமில்லை என்பது பெற்றாம்." "If the harm is not done intentionally, there is no sin," says the commentator. If the harm is not done intentionally, there is no offence" is the legal doctrine.

Without the legal background, the significance of the phrase 'மனத்தானும் மாணா செய்யாமை' is likely to be lost, but the phrase ignites a spark in the mind of a lawyer with the knowledge of the doctrine of 'mens rea'.

Law finds out the state of mind of a person charged with an offence before he is declared guilty. The Kural also lays down that causing injury with the necessary state of mind amounts to harm, and avoidance of such harm is a chief virtue. Thus, the mental element that is necessary to constitute an actionable harm as laid down in law is also found in the Kural. 'மனத்தானும் மாணா செய்யாமை' is not only the teaching of the Kural, but also the dictum of the law.

INTENTION AND MOTIVE

There are two concepts, namely, intention and motive.

Intention is the state of mind with which an act is done. An act is intentional if it exists in idea before it exists in fact, the idea realising itself in the fact, because of the desire by which it is accompanied. (Salmond on Jurisprudence, 1924, p. 393).

A wrong act is seldom intended and desired for its own sake. The wrong doer has in view some ulterior object which he desires to obtain by means of it. He does an evil to another for the sake of some resulting good which he will obtain for himself. Firstly, he intends to get some benefit out of a wrong and, secondly, to achieve that benefit, he intends to commit the wrong. The second is his immediate intent and the first is his ulterior intent. It is the ulterior intent that moves him to commit the wrong and this ulterior intent to do the act is called the motive of the act, the immediate intent to do the act is called the intention of the act. Thus, motive is that which moves a person to a course of action.

A man with a criminal bent of mind sees a child of seven years walking alone along a street. The child is wearing a gold chain. The man is indebted and is pressed by his creditors. So, he thinks that if he removes the gold chain from the child, he can pay off a part of his debt. Actuated by this thought, he removes the chain from the child. Now, we say that the theft was committed with the motive to pay off the debts. The intention is to commit theft, the motive is to pay off the debts.

Salmond says, "Intention is that which relates to the wrongful act itself; the motive is that which passes beyond the wrongful act, and relates to the object or series of objects for the sake of which the act is done."

Now, we know the difference between 'intention' and 'motive.' We may now consider if motive is relevant in law in assessing the liability of the wrongdoer. To what extent will law enquire, not merely what the accused has done, but why he has done it?

We may say, generally, that in law a man's motives are irrelevant. As a general rule, no act otherwise lawful becomes unlawful because it is done with a bad motive; and conversely, no act otherwise unlawful is justified because of the motives of the doer, however good. The law will judge a man by what he does, not by the reasons for which he does it.

If the law is otherwise, every wrongdoer will be trying to justify his wrong by pleading a laudable motive for the commission of the wrong. A man may be a strict vegetarian and he may avowedly desire to spread the cult of vegetarianism. With this object in view, can he be allowed to forcibly remove a lamb from the custody of another taking it to a slaughter house? No. Law does not allow a person charged with criminal misappropriation of public funds to set up a defence that he committed the crime in order to utilise the misappropriated money for building a temple or school?

The Indian Law Commission presided over by Lord Mecaulay, which drafted the Indian Penal Code, lays down this position clearly. The Commission observes:

> "We do not find that it is permitted to any person to set up his private intentions, or to allege virtuous motives, simply as defence or excuse under a criminal charge. To investigate the real motive in each case would be impracticable, and even if that could be done, a man's private opinion could not possibly be allowed to weigh against the authority of law."

We find this principle of law well illustrated in the Kural.

There cannot possibly be a motive nobler than feeding a starving mother. Perhaps, it is a man's highest duty to see that his mother does not starve for want of food. To satisfy the hunger of the starving mother is the son's noblest and most urgent duty. Even with such a high motive as this, can a man do anything prohibited by law? Can he commit theft to purchase food for his mother? Suppose a person who picked

the pocket of another pleads before the Magistrate that he committed the theft because he had to purchase food for his starving mother to feed whom he had no other means, and even if such a plea is found to be true, can the Magistrate acquit the accused? Whatever be the motive, the offender is sentenced for the offence of theft he had committed.

So, Valluvar says: "Even if one is afflicted with the sight of his starving mother who gave him birth, he shall not commit any act which the righteous men would reprove."

> "ஈன்றாள் பசிகாண்பான் ஆயினும் செய்யற்க
> சான்றோர் பழிக்கும் வினை." (குறள், 656).

However noble the motive may be, one shall not commit any act prohibited by righteous men. Thus, the irrelevance of the motive in assessing the liability of a wrongdoer is clearly brought out in this Kural. The principle of law that a man is judged by what he does, and not by the reasons for which he does it, is illustrated in an effective manner in this Kural.

As a matter of fact, Valluvar visualises two concepts, namely, purity of mind (மனத்தூய்மை) and purity of conduct (வினைத்தூய்மை). The urge to abate the hunger of a starving mother, that motive, indicates the purity of mind. But, purity of mind alone is not sufficient. Purity in action also is essential.

The author says that purity in mind, as well as in action, will be acquired by those whose associates also are pure:

> "மனந்தூய்மை செய்வினை தூய்மை இரண்டும்
> இனந்தூய்மை தூவா வரும்." (குறள், 455).

Thus, both the law and the Kural lay down that a man's conduct is judged only by his act and not by the motive whit which he committed the act. Purity in conduct is extolled in the Kural; right conduct is demanded by the law.

Generally it is said that law is concerned with the outward conduct while ethics is concerned with the inner motive. But the ethics of the Kural emphasises the need for purity in action as well as in motive.

ON FALSEHOOD

" தன்னெஞ் சறிவது பொய்யற்க ; பொய்த்தபின்
தன்னெஞ்சே தன்னைச் சுடும்." (குறள், 293)

This is a well-known Kural. This has been translated into verse by Thiru K. M. Balasubramaniam thus :

" That which thy conscience knows to be an
untruth, speak thou not ;
If thou didst speak, will sting thee thy
own conscience which is hot."

The first line of the Kural says "தன் நெஞ்சறிவது பொய்யற்க" that is, let not a man knowingly tell a lie. What is the significance of the words "knowingly telling a lie ?" What is meant by saying "That which thy conscience knows to be an untruth, you shall not speak." To understand the full significance of this, we have to remember the law on this point.

We all know that the law punishes a person, who, as a witness, utters falsehood in a court of law. When is a person said to have deposed falsely ? We may take an illustration :

A witness deposes that he saw a particular person called Raman at a particular place and time. From the evidence of other subsequent witnesses, it is proved that the person seen by the first witness was only Murugan and not Raman. The first witness was an aged man with failing eye-sight. The time when he is said to have seen Raman was twilight time. Raman and Murugan were similar in phisical stature. So, it transpires that the witness genuinely thought that the person whom he saw was Raman, though, in fact, he saw only Murugan. When the witness deposed that he saw Raman, he said only what he honestly believed to be true. Of course, what he believed to be true was not correct, since, in fact, the person whom he saw was only Murugan and not Raman. Now, the question is whether the witness can be said to have committed perjury by giving false evidence in a Court ? The law does not consider the deposition of the witness as amounting to perjury, because, what the witness had stated might not be in accordance with fact and, in

that sense, it is an incorrect statement. But, the said statement was made by the witness who believed that it was true. What he deposed was in accordance with his belief. What he believed as truth, he deposed as truth. Hence, according to law, the witness has not committed the offence of perjury, though his statement before the Court was found to be false.

Section 191 of the Indian Penal Code defines the offence of "Giving false evidence" which is popularly known as perjury. The text of that section is as follows: "Whoever being legally bound by an oath or by an express provision of law to state the truth, or being bound by law to make a declaration upon any subject, makes any *statement which is false, and which he either knows or believes to be false* or *does not believe to be true*, is said to give false evidence".

So, what the law requires is that to constitute an offence of 'giving false evidence' not only the statement of the witness should be false, but in addition to that, the witness should have known or believed it to be false or should not have believed it to be true. The gist of the offence is not whether what the witness stated was in accordance with fact, but whether the witness believed what he stated to be true. Thus, a statement is considered as false only if the witness making the statement knows it to be false or does not believe it to be true.

This is the position not only in criminal law but also in civil law. A false statement is not actionable as a tort, unless it is wilfully false. The test is the existence or non-existence of a genuine belief in the truth of the statement. In the famous case *Derry v. Peek* it had been held that conscious knowledge of the falsity of the statement on the part of the defendant should be proved before he is made liable for damages, and that this knowledge of the falsity alone constitutes the fraud or dishonesty. Lord Bramwell in deciding a case (*Smith v. Chadwick*—1884—9. App. Cases—203) observed: "An untrue statement as to the truth or falsity of which the man who makes it has no belief is fraudulent; for, in making it, he affirms he believes it, which is false".

Thus, the falsity as a man's statement is contained in falsely stating his state of mind, that is, declaring that he believes a thing as true, when, in fact, he does not believe it to be true. The test to hold if a person made a false statement is not to see if the said statement is correct according to facts, but to find if he *bona fide* believed in the truth of the statement.

Now, we will be able to appreciate fully the significance of the phrase "தன்னெஞ்சறிவது பொய்யற்க." Valluvar has not said "Do not speak anything contrary to facts". He says, "Do not speak anything contrary to your belief or knowledge". Law also holds a statement as false, not when it is merely contrary to facts, but only when it is contrary to the belief of the person making it. Thus, the test to decide if a man has uttered falsehood, is the same both in the law and in the Kural, and that test is his belief in the truth or otherwise of the statement. Now, we will be able to fully appreciate the legal import of the ethical dictum "தன்னெஞ்சறிவது பொய்யற்க."

THE CONCEPT OF VĀIMAI

The concept termed as 'வாய்மை' in the Kural is something unique and revolutionary in the realm of ethics. But, in the realm of law, the conduct described as 'வாய்மை' is sought to be enforced.

A man may harm another either by words or by deeds. As harmful deeds are considered by law as wrongs, harmful words also are treated as wrongs. If a specific action or deed does not cause harm to anybody, it is not generally termed a wrong; so also if words in a speech cause harm to none, the words are not considered as wrong. Thus, harmless deeds and words alone become lawful. Law considers as lawful only those words that cause no harm to others. In the eye of law, it is immaterial if the words are true or false. Even *truthful* words will be lawful only if no harm is caused to anybody by those words; if harm is caused, truthful words also become unlawful. So also, falsehood becomes unlawful only when harm results from it.

We may perhaps be surprised to learn that law does not encourage speaking the truth if it results in harm to another. Of

course, words do not break bones, but they may affect a person's reputation. So, law prevents a person from speaking even the truth if it adversely affects the reputation of another. It becomes an offence of 'defamation'. Let us see Section 499 of the Indian Penal Code that defines the offence of defamation:

"*Whoever by words either spoken or intended to be read*, or by signs or by visible representations, *makes or publishes any imputation concerning any person intending to harm*, or knowing or having reason to believe that such imputation will harm, *the reputation of such person, is said*, except in the cases hereinafter excepted, to *defame that person*".

The first exception to this section reads: "It is not defamation to impute anything which is *true* concerning any person, if it be for the public good that the imputation should be made or published".

Thus, under law, words, even true words, become defamatory and unlawful, if they harm the reputation of another person. Any person publishing such words, either by speech or by writing, is liable for the offence of defamation. So, defamatory words need not necessarily be false.

Let us take an example. A private individual is suffering from leprosy. Another person gives publicity to this by his speech or by his writing, with a view to harm the reputation of that individual. Naturally, by such publication, the individual suffering from leprosy is defamed in the eye of the public. It is true that the person defamed is a leper. Still, the publicity given to it affecting the reputation of the leper, becomes an offence. The fact that the imputation is true does not in any way mitigate the offence.

Suppose the person suffering from leprosy is working as a doctor in a public hospital and with a view to warn the public, another person gives publicity to that fact, it will not amount to defamation, because the imputation had been made for the public good. Under the first exception to Sec. 499 of the Indian Penal Code, defamatory imputation is justified it is true and if it is for the public good.

This is the position under the Criminal Law. In the Civil Law, the tort of deceipt consists in the act of making a wilfully false statement with the intent that the plaintiff shall act in reliance on it, and with the result that he does so act and suffers harm in consequence. The plaintiff's suffering harm as a result the defendant's falsehood is essential to be proved before the defendant is made liable for damages under the civil law. Thus, under the civil law, not all falsehood is actionable but only falsehood that has caused injury to another. In the Law of Torts, actionable falsehood itself is termed as "Injurious Falsehood".

Now, the position of law can be stated thus. If a person by his words, spoken or written, causes harm to others, be becomes liable under the law. It is immaterial whether the words are true or not. The test of liability is the resulting harm or injury and not the truth or the falsity of the words.

We find that this same legal concept is expressed in the Kural defining 'வாய்மை'.

> " வாய்மை எனப்படுவது யாதெனின் யாதொன்றும்
> தீமை இலாத சொலல்." (குறள், 291)

> " *What is Vaimai? It is speaking words without*
> *the least of harm.*"

says the Kural. Valluvar has not stated that speaking the truth is Vaimai; he has not stated that speaking the fact is Vaimai. Words that do not cause any harm constitute 'Vāimai'.

Parimelazhagar, the commentator, with a view to make us understand the significance of this concept, explains that the idea of speaking the fact is definitely excluded from the concept of Vaimai. He says :

> " இதனால் நிகழ்ந்தது கூறல் என்பது நீக்கப்பட்டது.
> அதுதானும் (நிகழ்ந்தது கூறலும்) தீங்கு பயவா
> தாயின் மெய்ம்மையாம்; பயப்பிற் பொய்ம்மையாம்
> என்பது கருத்து."

The law considers only harmless words as lawful; the Kural also considers harmless words as 'Vāimai'.

The author of the Kural does not stop with this. He goes a step further and says that even falsehood shall be deemed to be 'Vaimai' if it results in good without the least stain.

> " பொய்ம்மையும் வாய்மை யிடத்த புரைதீர்ந்த
> நன்மை பயக்கும் எனின்." (குறள், 292)

Valluvar does not say that falsehood becomes Vaimai. He says even falsehood shall be deemed to be Vaimai if it produces unadulterated good. We see here Valluvar as a great social philosopher. He is prepared not only to condone but to welcome falsehood provided the resulting good is stainless.

We have to remember Kural does not authorise uttering falsehood for attaining any kind of benefit. A person should not give false evidence and say that he did so to get an acquittal to the accused. The acquittal may be a benefit to the accused, but it has resulted in miscarriage of justice, and so the resulting good cannot be said to be a stainless one (புரை தீர்ந்த நன்மை).

Parimelazhagar, after correlating both the Kurals, namely,

> " வாய்மை எனப்படுவது யாதெனின் யாதொன்றும்
> தீமை இலாத சொலல்."

and

> " பொய்ம்மையும் வாய்மை யிடத்த புரைதீர்ந்த
> நன்மை பயக்கும் எனின்."

explains thus:

> " இவை இரண்டு பாட்டாலும். தீங்கு பயவாத நிகழ்ந்தது கூறலும், நன்மை பயக்கும் நிகழாதது கூறலும் மெய்ம்மை எனவும்; நன்மை பயவாத நிகழாதது கூறலும், தீங்கு பயக்கும் நிகழ்ந்தது கூறலும் பொய்ம்மை எனவும் அவற்றிலக்கணம் கூறப்பட்டது."

Speaking a truth resulting in no harm, and speaking an untruth resulting in spotless good amount to 'Vāimai'; speaking an untruth not resulting in any good and speaking a truth resulting in harm amount to falsehood. This is explanation given by the Commentator.

Thus, we see that according to the Kural, whether one speaks a truth or untruth, if the result is good, it is 'Vāimai'. But, it is a very revolutionary concept to be found in an ethical work. Valluvar has no use for any principle which is not conducive to the social good. He is not prepared to blindly adhere to any doctrine on the ground that it is subjectively good. It should be objectively good and that alone is acceptable to him. It is very doubtful whether any social philosopher of the world has stated that even falsehood shall be deemed to be a virtue, if such falsehood results in unmixed good.

An ardent student of Tamil, who belongs to the Society of Jesus, told me an incident from his own experience to illustrate that even uttering falsehood is some times necessary to avoid a great harm and to attain good bereft of any stain. A married woman comes to a Catholic priest and confesses about her past sins to get expiation. She confesses that she had lost her virginity even before her marriage because of her lapses. Some days thereafter, the husband of the woman comes to the same priest and requests that he may be informed of the confessions made by his wife. Of course, confessions are to be kept secret. If the priest in his worldly wisdom says to the husband that the wife confessed only about some thefts committed by her during her childhood and nothing else, the husband will go happy without the least suspicion about his wife. What the priest has stated is false, but its result is unadulterated good. Instead, suppose the priest thinks that he should speak out the truth at any cost, and tells the husband that his wife had lost her chastity before her marriage, what will be the terrible consequences? A family will be shattered and ruined by the strict adherence to truth on the part of the priest.

A man with pure mind will always speak words that do not cause harm to anybody. Valluvar says that as a man's outward purity is symbolised by water, his inward purity is symbolised by the harmless words he speaks, that is 'Vāimai.'

" புறந்தூய்மை நீரான் அமையும் அகந்தூய்மை
வாய்மையால் காணப் படும்." (குறள், 298)

Suppose a man fully knowing that his words will cause harm to another, speaks those words though they are true, how can he say that he is of a pure mind? He wants to do harm to others and so he speaks those words. Certainly, the mind of that person cannot be said to be pure. The truth of the words he spoke does not in any way justify his evil intention. So, Valluvar says that speaking harmless words alone is a sign of purity of mind.

Valluvar has not written any Chapter under the heading உண்மை or மெய்ம்மை. Under the Chapter வாய்மை he has discussed the merits of பொய்ம்மை and மெய்ம்மை.

Valluvar is fully concious of the revolutionary cencept of 'Vaimai', and he realises that a subjective moralist will always say that this concept may be an expedient, but not in conformity with the highest ideal of truth, namely, speaking the truth irrespective of the consequences. He answers such a moralist effectively and says that of all that are considered as truth, nothing is of greater good than 'Vāimai'.

" யாமெய்யாக் கண்டவற்றுள் இல்லை எனைத்தொன்றும்
வாய்மையின் நல்ல பிற." (குறள், 300)

Thus, Valluvar says that speaking harmless words is a better virtue-than speaking the truth, that is, *'Vaimai' is greater than truth.*

Suppose the law were to allow every person to speak the truth without caring for the consequences, life in society would become intolerable. Unpleasant things about every man may be published because they are truths. Very few can live with equanimity of mind under such circumstances. Every man's good name will be in constant jeopardy of being sullied by unpleasant truths that do not benefit the society in any way but make the lives of individuals miserable. So, it is that the modern law prohibits publication of truth if it results in any harm without any public benefit. The ancient Kural proclaims this very principle of modern law with all clarity and precision.

Harmful words are prohibited by the law; such words are condemned by the Kural. In both the Law and the Kural, harmless words are held higher than truthful or factual words.

"PRINCIPLE OF 'JUS NECESSITATIS."

It is a familiar proverb that necessity knows no law. When some motive adverse to the law is present and it is of such intensity as to overcome any fear of the legal penalties, we call that as 'necessity'. In Latin, it is called 'Jus necessitatis', which is the right of a man to do that from which he cannot be dissuaded by any terror of legal punishment.

Sometimes, a harm is caused to prevent some other harm. There is a great fire. In order to prevent the conflagration from spreading, a person pulls down houses. He does this with the intention in good faith of saving human life and property. Here, if it be found that the harm to be prevented was of such a nature and so imminent as to excuse the pulling down of houses, this will not be an offence. This principle is recognised in Sec. 81 of the Indian Penal Code.

But, to save his own life, is a person justified in killing another? Will this be considered as an act of necessity? This question arose in an interesting English Case in 1884. The facts of the case are these: A ship was caught in a cyclone and it was drowned in mid-ocean. Two of the sailors and a small boy escaped from drowning and they got into a small boat and were drifting on the sea. For twenty days they were so floating exposed to sun and weather without sighting the shore. They were left without any water and they were suffering from extreme hunger and thirst. The two sailors and the boy thought that they would die of starvation and thirst before they could reach the shore. In this condition of extremity, the adult sailors, in a bid to save their lives, thought of killing the young boy with them and of eating his flesh. Left with no other choice, they killed the boy and ate his flesh and thus survived. At long last, the two sailors reached the shores of England. Once they reached the shores, the sailors were prosecuted for the murder of the young boy. The defence put forward on their behalf was that they had

acted under a 'law of necessity.' So, the Judges had to decide the important question whether one was justified to kill another to save his life. Because of the importance of the question of law involved, five learned Judges tried that case. The judgment in this ease, of the Presiding Judge, Chief Justice, Lord Coleridge, had become a classic on this point of law (*Rex V. Dudley and Stephens* (1884) L. R., Q. B. D. 273).

He said :

"The temptation to the act which existed here was not what the law has ever called necessity. . . Though law and morality are not the same, and many things may be immoral, which are not necessarily illegal, yet the absolute divorce of law from morality would be of fatal consequence ; and such divorce would follow if the temptation to murder in this case were to be held by law to be an absolute defence of it. . . To preserve one's life is, generally speaking, a duty, but it may be the plainest and the highest duty to sacrifice it. . . It is enough in a Christian country to remind ourselves of the Great Example whom we profess to follow. It is needless to point out the awful danger of admitting the principle which has been contended for. Who is to be the judge of this sort of necessity ? By what measure is the comparative value of lives to be measured ? Is it to be strength, or intellect, or what ? . . . In this case, the weakest, the youngest, the most unresisting, was chosen. Was it more necessary to kill him than one of the grown up men? The answer must be 'No'. . . . It is quite plain that such a principle of necessity once admitted might be made the legal cloak for unbridled passion and atrocious crime".

Accordingly, the accused were found guilty of wilful murder and sentenced to death. But the Crown showed mercy and committed the sentence to six months' imprisonment.

In the course of their judgment, the Judges further observed :

"It must not be supposed that in refusing to admit temptation to be an excuse for crime, it is forgotten how terrible the temptation was, how awful the suffering, how hard in such trials

to keep the *judgment straight* and the *conduct pure.* We are often compelled to set up standards we cannot reach ourselves, and to lay down rules which we could not ourselves satisfy. But, a man has no right to declare temptation to be an excuse, though he might himself have yielded to it, or allow compassion for the criminal to change or weaken in any manner the legal definition of crime."—Coleridge, C.J.

This is the principle of law applicable in India also.

The essential portions of the judgment extracted above read like a commentary on the Kural declaring the same principle :

" தன்னுயிர் நீப்பினும் செய்யற்க தான்பிறிது
இன்னுயிர் நீக்கும் வினை." (குறள், 327)

Valluvar has pithily stated, "Even if one should lose his own life, he shall not do any act, which would destroy the life of another". Valluvar has visualised the circumstances, as have arisen in the above English case, and the Kural quoted above appears as if it is the guiding principle for the judgment in that case. No further explanation or annotation is necessary for that Kural beyond that judgment.

So, the principle of not killing another even at the point of losing one's own life, is not a mere noble ideal of the Kural, but it is the law now in force in the twentieth century.

Another inducement to crime is poverty. The question is whether a person in want may commit any wrong to mitigate the rigour of his poverty. The answer to this question is naturally in the negative. Of course, a person in poverty is always in a predicament. The Kural says that there is nothing equal to poverty in pain and misery. But, even such poverty cannot be an excuse for doing any wrongful act. The teaching of the Kural is : "Let no one have recourse to wrongful conduct, on the plea that he is suffering from poverty. Such wrong deeds would only increase the poverty."

" இலனென்று தீயவை செய்யற்க ; செய்யின்
இலனாகும் மற்றும் பெயர்த்து." (குறள், 205)

The Indian Law Commission that prepared the draft of the Penal Code considered this aspect and observed as follows :

"Again, nothing is more usual than for thieves to urge distress and hunger as excuse for their thefts. It is certain, indeed, that many thefts are committed from the pressure of distress so severe as to be more terrible than the punishment of theft, and than the disgrace which that punishment brings with it to the mass of mankind. . . But we can hardly conceive a law more injurious to society than one which would provide that as soon as a man who has neglected his work, or who has squandered his wages in stimulating drugs or gambled them away, had been thirty-six hours without food, and felt the sharp impulse of hunger, he might, with impunity, steal food from his neighbours."

This conclusion of the Law Commission is contained in the Kural :

" இலன்என்று தீயவை செய்யற்க ; செய்யின்
இலனாகும் மற்றும் பெயர்த்து."

Under the doctrine of 'Jus necessitatis', or the principle of necessity, preservation of one's life cannot be a justification for taking away another man's life, and poverty cannot be a justification for doing wrongful acts. These principles of law are also the principles of the Kural.

ACT OF COMMISSION AND OMMISSION

" செய்தக்க அல்ல செயக்கெடும் ; செய்தக்க
செய்யாமை யானும் கெடும்." (குறள், 466)

"Damage will result if one does what is not to be done, or omits to do what should be done". This Kural appears simple in its meaning and substance. But, the full significance of the two aspects of conduct mentioned in the Kural will be clear only when the legal import of the word 'act' or 'conduct' is understood.

In law, right, duty and liability arise out of a man's conduct. I purchase a land and, thereby, I acquire the *right* of ownership of that land. I take a loan from my friend, and I have a *duty to repay* the loan. I commit an offence, and I become *liable* to be punished for the same. Thus, the right, duty and liability arise out of my conduct. The word 'conduct' does not necessarily indicate a positive act. It may refer to a negative act also. The conduct of getting a loan is a positive act; failure to pay the loan is also a conduct, but it is a negative act. Positive act is called an 'act of commission'; negative act is called an 'act of omission'. Thus, a man's conduct may be an act of commission or an act of omission.

In law, wrongs may be committed either by an act of commission or by an act of omission. We may take for example the wrong of 'nuisance'. If a man works his flour-mill even during the night time and causes disturbance to the residents by the noise, it is a public nuisance. Suppose a man fails to dismantle a dangèrous wall in his land adjoining a public street, it is also a public nuisance. Working the mill in the nights is a positive act or an act of commission, failure to dismantle the dangerous wall is a negative act, or an act of omission. Thus the wrong of nuisance may be caused by a commission or an omission. An omission causing a wrong is generally referred to as an "illegal omission".

Sec. 268 of the Indian Penal Code defining public nuisance reads thus:

" A person is guilty of a public nuisance who *does any act* or *is guilty of an illegal omission* which causes any common injury, danger or annoyance to the public etc."

Generally, conduct is referred to by the word 'act in the several laws. But, the word 'act' should also include in its meaning 'illegal omissions'. So, specific mention is made in these laws that the word 'act' includes also 'illegal omissions'.

Sec. 32 of the Indian Penal Code reads thus: "In every part of this Code, except where a contrary intention appears from the context, words which refer to acts done extend also to illegal omissions."

There is a law called 'General Clauses Act', (1897) and this Act defines the words generally used in the several enactments. In this Act also, it is stated :

'Act' used with reference to an offence or a civil wrong, shall include a series of acts; and words which refer to acts done extend also to illegal omissions".

Generally, laws relating to wrongs and crimes, prohibit certain acts. Commission of these prohibited acts is termed 'illegal acts', and omission to do the prescribed acts is termed 'illegal omissions'. In the Kural, the commission of the prohibited acts is referred to as 'செய்தக்க அல்ல செய்தல்' and the omission of prescribed acts is referred to as 'செய்தக்க செய்யாமை'. In law, wrongs are comprised of commission of prohibited acts and omission of prescribed acts. The legal principle is virtually translated in the Kural :

"செய்தக்க அல்ல செயக்கெடும்; செய்தக்க
செய்யாமை யானும் கெடும்." (குறள், 466)

It is for us to pause and ponder how an ostensibly simple aphorism of Kural contains the modern legal principle relating to the general definition of a wrong.

CRIMINAL JUSTICE

The administration of justice may be broadly divided into two branches, Civil Justice and Criminal Justice.

If a person who borrowed money from us, has not repaid it, we file a civil suit to recover the debt. The court passes a decree for the debt in our favour. The State, acting through the courts, renders justice. But the responsibility to file the suit rests with us, the creditors. We may go to court to realise the debt or we may allow the debt to become time-barred. It is none of the concern of the State. If a person trespasses on my land, it is my responsibility to go to court to evict him. Thus, so far as civil rights are concerned, the choice is left to the individuals to agitate their respective rights.

But the position is entirely different in the matter of Criminal Justice. If a person has caused grievous hurt to me, I cannot exercise any option in prosecuting the offender. The State immediately comes in and the police launches the prosecution. The conduct of the case against the offender entirely rests with the State. I am only a prosecution witness. I have no right to excuse the offender and to drop the prosecution. Thus, it is the State that takes up the full responsibility for bringing the accused to justice.

Civil wrongs are called 'private wrongs'; crimes are called 'public wrongs'. Though only a private individual may be affected by a crime, still it is considered as a violation of the right of the community at large. So every crime is treated as an offence against the State. Salmond in his Jurisprudence says:

"By a public wrong is meant an offence committed against the State or the community at large, and dealt with in a proceeding to which the State is itself a party. A private wrong is one committed against a private person, and dealt with at the suit of the individual so injured. The thief is criminally prosecuted by the Crown, but the trespasser is civilly sued by him whose right he has violated".

An offender cannot be punished privately. Suppose a person had committed theft, the individual affected has no right to inflict any punishment on the delinquent. The duty of the individual is only to report the matter to the police who takes up the duty of bringing the culprit before the court of law and of obtaining punishment. It is the duty of the police to investigate an offence. Thus, the investigation and enquiry into an offence is done by the agencies of the State and, ultimately, punishment also is imposed only by the Courts.

This principle is laid down in Sec. 5 of the Criminal Procedure Code. It says:

"(i) All offences under the Indian Penal Code, shall be investigated, inquired into, tried and otherwise dealt with according to the provisions herein after contained;

(ii) All offences under any other law shall be investigated, inquired into, tried and otherwise dealt with according to the same provisions."

Criminal Procedure Code lays down the procedure for the investigation of the offences and the trial of the offenders.

That criminal justice should be exclusive concern of the State is an important principle of modern Jurisprudence. Salmond says: "Only when the criminal has to answer for his deed to the State itself, will the true criminal law be successfully established and maintained".

This principle is laid down in the Kural:

" குடிபுறங் காத்தோம்பிக் குற்றம் கடிதல்
வடுவன்று; வேந்தன் தொழில்." (குறள், 549)

"For the protection of the subjects, it is the duty of the King to punish the criminals". By the term *'குற்றங்கடிதல் வேந்தன் தொழில்'* it is made clear that it is the exclusive right and duty of the King to punish the offender and none else has the right to do that.

OBJECT OF PUNISHMENT

What is the object of punishing the offender?

A murderer is sentenced to death and he is hanged. By this punishment, the person murdered does not return to life. Then, why should the murderer be hanged at all?

One theory is that punishment acts as a deterrent in the minds of those who are likely to commit offences. The evil-doer who is punished is made an example and a warning to all those that are like-minded with him. This is the deterrent aspect of the punishment. On the commission of an offence, a retributive indignation arises in the community and the punishment serves for the satisfaction of this indignation. This is the retributive aspect of the punishment. By punishing the offender, we, in a

way, prevent him from committing the offence again. By so preventing him, the society is protected. Beccaria, an Italian jurist, says: "The only justifiable purpose of punishing offenders is the protection of society by the prevention of crime". Thus, the main object of punishment is the protection of society.

That the object of punishment is protection of society is expressed in the Kural:

> "குடிபுறங் காத்தோம்பிக் குற்றம் கடிதல்
> வடுவன்று; வேந்தன் தொழில்." (குறள், 550)

It says that the object of 'குற்றங்கடிதல்' is 'குடிபுறங் காத்து ஓம்பல்.'

"To protect the foodcrops, we remove the weeds; similarly, the king punishes murderous evil-doers in order to protect the society"—so says another Kural.

> "கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல் பைங்கூழ்
> களைகட் டதனொடு நேர்." (குறள், 550)

Thus, the principle that the object of punishment is prevention of crime is stated clearly in the Kural.

MEASURE OF PUNISHMENT

A person convicted of a crime is punished by the court of law. The sentence may be imprisonment, simple or rigorous, or fine. For capital offences, the guilty may be sentenced to death also.

In the sections of the Penal Code, the maximum punishments that may be imposed for particular offences are prescribed. For the offence of theft, the maximum punishment is imprisonment for three years. All those who are convicted of the offence of

theft are not sentenced uniformly to undergo imprisonment for three years. The determination of the right measure of punishment is often a point of great difficulty. Hard and fast rules cannot be laid down. The court exercises its discretion and this discretion is to be guided by a variety of considerations.

The measure of punishment varies according to the magnitude of the offence. Punishment for the offence of causing grievous hurt is naturally more than that for the offence of causing simple hurt. Punishment for robbery will be more severe than the punishment for theft. Thus, the greater the offence, the greater should be the punishment.

Sometimes, for the same offence, different punishments are awarded. A person convicted of having committed theft of a bunch of bananas from another's garden is sentenced to pay a mere fine of, say, Rs. 10. A person who has picked the pocket of another is sentenced to undergo imprisonment of three months. The person who has committed theft of a gold chain from a child of five years is sentenced to two years' imprisonment. All these acts come under the definition of theft only. But the acts constituting the offence vary in their nature. The theft of bananas is a simple one; picking the pocket of another is a more serious act; removing the gold chain from the child shows the hardened mind of the criminal. So, the measure of punishment also varies. It varies not only according to the magnitude of the offence, but also according to the magnitude of the acts constituting the offence.

The character of the offender is also a criterion in determining the measure of punishment. The worse the character or disposition of the offender the more severe should be his punishment. One of the most important of these facts is the repetition of crime by one who has been already punished. The law rightly imposes upon habitual offenders penalties which bear no relation to the magnitude of the offence.

"For one man who abstains from offences for fear of the law, there are thousands who so abstain by reason of quite other influences. Their sympathetic instincts, their natural affections, their religious beliefs, their love of the approbation of others, their

innate pride and self-respect render superfluous the threatenings of the law. In the degree in which these impulses are dominant and operative, the disposition of a man is good; the degree in which they are wanting, it is bad" (Salmond on Jurisprudence—1924, p. 438). For those with bad disposition, the punishment is to be severe. The more depraved the offender, the less he feels the shame of punishment; therefore, the more he must be made to feel the pain of it. Modern criminologists recognise the need to individualise the penalty—not to let the punishment fit the crime, but the particular criminal. Thus, the measure of punishment is to vary according to the character of the offender.

Apart from the character of the offender, the circumstances in which the offence was committed are also to be considered. A man remaining honest until he is driven in despair to steal food for his starving children is to be treated less severely than one who steals from no other motive except avarice. He who commits homicide from motives of petty gain deserves to be treated with the utmost severity. But he who kills another while he is deprived of the power of self-control by grave and sudden provocation deserves lenient treatment.

The measurement of punishment also varies according to the age of the offender. Convicted persons under 21 years of age are sent only to correctional institutions like Borstal schools.

Thus, the magnitude of the offence, the nature of the act constituting the offence, the character of the offender, the circumstances under which the offence was committed, the age of the offender—all these are to be taken into consideration in determining the suitable punishment. The object of punishment should also be to reform the criminal. Criminals are not mentally healthy human beings. Their diseased mind is to be cured. As a physical ailment is treated, this mental ailment is to be corrected. The modern theory is that the punishment awarded to a criminal should be such as to reform him.

Vinogradoff, in his "Historical Jurisprudence" says:

"The Judge stands to the criminal in the position of the doctor who selects his remedy after diagnosing the disease and the resources of the patient's organisation".

Paton, the jurist, says :

"Modern criminology considers that the personality of the offender is as important as his act, and emphasises that the wrongdoer is not only a criminal but a patient to be treated."

A patient is treated not only to cure him of his present ailment, but also to prevent recurrence of that ailment. So also the punishment meted out to the criminal should be such that he does not repeat the same criminal act.

All these factors of modern law relating to the measure of punishment are compressed in an eloquent manner in a single Kural :

> " *தக்காங்கு நாடித் தலைச்செல்லா வண்ணத்தால்*
> *ஒத்தாங்கு ஒறுப்பது வேந்து."* (குறள், 561)

> " *Awarding such suitable punishment that the offence is not repeated, after proper appreciation of all the factors, is the duty of a king."*

The phrases in the Kural, *தக்காங்கு நாடுதல், ஒத்தாங்கு ஒறுத்தல், தலைச்செல்லா வண்ணத்தால் ஒறுத்தல்* are pregnant with meaning. As no specific rules or guidelines can be laid down in fixing the measure of punishment, the direction can only be general. But, all the three major aspects of punishment, namely, proper assessment of the crime and the criminal (*தக்காங்கு நாடுதல்*), suitable punishment (*ஒத்தாங்கு ஒறுத்தல்*) prevention of offence (*தலைச்செல்லா வண்ணம்*) are stated in an eloquently compressed form.

Excessive punishment defeats the very purpose of punishment. Suppose a Government peon who had received a bribe of one rupee is convicted and sentenced to undergo imprisonment for one year, he becomes a hardened criminal after he returns from the jail. Instead of reforming the criminal, the punishment makes him worse. Excessive punishment is against the principles of punishment. The Kural calls this '*கையிகந்த தண்டம்*' and says excessive punishment and frightening words will, in due course, weaken the strength of authority of the king.

" கடுமொழியும் கையிகந்த தண்டமும் வேந்தன்
அடுமுரண் தேய்க்கும் அரம்." (குறள், 567)

The punishments mentioned in the several penal laws for the various offences indicate only the maximum limits upto which the Court may impose punishment. The Court considers the various aspects of the case and awards a suitable punishment. Normally, the punishment will be far less than the maximum limit mentioned in the enactments. The maximum punishment mentioned in the several laws acts as a deterrent. But, in awarding the punishment, the Court exhibits a less severe attitude. Valluvar says, "Let the threatening rod of punishment be raised high, but let it fall gently. This is the way to retain the prosperity of the ruler."

" கடிதோச்சி மெல்ல எறிக நெடிதாக்கம்
நீங்காமை வேண்டு பவர்." (குறள், 562)

Thus, the main juristic principles relating to punishment are stated tersely in the three Kurals that we considered.

ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

In the beginning of civilisation when politically organised societies had not come into existence, men settled their difference and disputes with the aid of their own physical might. There were no courts to administer justice. Might was right in those days. Gradually, with the advancement of civilisation, the society became more closely knit and a political superior, namely, the king, began to govern the society with his power. In the king was concentrated the power of the society. He was all powerful. So, he did not allow any one of his subjects to use his own might against another subject in the course of settling disputes. The king himself undertook the responsibility of settling the disputes that arose among his subjects. He became the dispenser of justice, and he was considered as the fountain of justice. This is expressed by Salmond thus : "In the beginning, a man redressed his wrongs and avenged himself upon his enemies by his own hand, and, if need be, by the hands of his friends and

kinsmen; but at the present day he is defended by the sword of the State."

At the present day, the responsibility for the administration of justice entirely rests with the State. If there is no administration of justice, there will be no order and safety in the society. Aministration of justice should be impartial, and the power of the State should lie behind it. So, no private agency can ever be entrusted with the task of administration of justice. Private sector can start industries, it can even run schools and colleges, but it can never be entrusted with the task of administering justice among the people. Salmond says: "The administration of justice by the State must be regarded as a permanent and essential element of civilisation, and as a device as admits of no substitute." He further adds: "Men being what they are—each keen to see his own interest and passionate to follow it—society can exist only under the shelter of the State, and the law and justice of the State is a permanent and necessary condition of peace, order and civilisation."

Valluvar describes the system of 'Administration of Justice' as 'முறை செய்தல்'. He says that the king, who administers justice among his subjects and thereby protects them, is considered as a god:

"முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும்." (குறள், 388)

The phrase 'முறை செய்தல்' is highly technical, but, at the same time, simple. Why disputes arise between two persons? When the interest of one person conflicts with that of another, dispute arises. This conflict of interests has to be reconciled in the administration of justice. Each man's interest is protected, but it is not allowed to affect adversely another man's interest. This harmonising of conflicting interests is what is meant by rendering justice. Protecting the interest of every man without allowing it to encroach upon that of another is the only way to establish order in the society. Maintenance of this order in the society is what is described as 'முறை செய்தல்'.

If there is no agency to effectuate this order, life in society will become intolerable; society itself will disintegrate and cease

to exist. The terrible picture of life without such a power that keeps order in society is portrayed by the philosopher, Hobbes, in very vivid terms. He says: "It is manifest that during the time men live without a common power to keep them all in awe, they are in that condition which is called war: and such a war as is of every man aginst every man...In such a condition, there is no place for industry,...no arts, no letters, no society, and which is worst of all, continual fear and danger of violent death; and the life of man, solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." This will be the condition of life in a country if the State does not effectually exercise its power in administering justice. In the Kural it is said that the country will be ruined day by day if the king is not vigilant in administering justice.

"நாடொறும் நாடி முறைசெய்யா மன்னவன்
நாடொறும் நாடு கெடும்." (குறள், 553)

The king, who is not of easy approach and who does not administer justice with due deliberation will perish by himself in disgrace.

"எண்பதத்தால் ஓரா முறைசெய்யா மன்னவன்
தண்பதத்தான் தானே கெடும்." (குறள், 548)

The king protects the people; and if he administers perfect justice, that justice itself will protect him.

"இறைகாக்கும் வையகம் எல்லாம்; அவனை
முறைகாக்கும் முட்டாச் செயின்." (குறள், 547)

It is usual for thinkers to personify important concepts. We see that அறம் has been personified in the Kural:

"மறந்தும் பிறன்கேடு சூழற்க; சூழின்
அறஞ்சூழும் சூழ்ந்தவன் கேடு." (குறள், 204)

So also in the Kural,

"இறைகாக்கும் வையகம் எல்லாம்; அவனை
முறைகாக்கும் முட்டாச் செயின்." (குறள், 547)

முறை has been personified. Valluvar has laid down that அறம் and முறை are the two important concepts in social life. Adherence to அறம் and administration of முறை ('அறங்காத்தல்' and 'முறை செய்தல்') are the two important functions of the king.

> " அறன் இழுக்காது அல்லவை நீக்கி மறன் இழுக்கா
> மானம் உடைய தரசு." (குறள், 384)

> " முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
> இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும்." (குறள், 286)

We find these two Kurals in the Chapter 'இறை மாட்சி' (Sovereignty). According to Valluvar, maintenance of justice and administration of justice are the two important sovereign functions of the State ?

How to administer justice ?

Perhaps in no book of modern jurisprudence we get such a precise definition of administration of justice as in the Kural :

> " ஓர்ந்துகண் ணோடாது இறைபுரிந்து யார்மாட்டும்
> தேர்ந்துசெய் வஃதே முறை." (குறள், 541)

Deep analysis (ஓர்தல்), not showing favour (கண்ணோட்டமின்மை), exercising impartiality (இறை புரிதல்), using discretion (தேர்தல்)—all these factors that are essential in the administration of justice are contained in this Kural.

The first and foremost duty of the Judge is to understand and analyse the facts of the case. The lawyers first state their cases before the Court. After hearing the facts of the case, the Judge frames the issues on which he is to give his findings. The evidence also is recorded and weighed. All these come under the term 'deliberation'.

The next important quality of a Judge is not to show any favour. It is said that Goddess of Justice is blind. Valluvar has stated 'கண்ணிற்கு அணிகலம் கண்ணோட்டம்'. But 'கண்ணோட்டம்' which is described as the ornament of the eyes by Valluvar, has no place in administering justice because justice is blind.

Valluvar strongly condemns those who do not exhibit the quality of merciful favour. He says:

> "கண்ணோட்டத் துள்ளது உலகியல் அஃதிலார்
> உண்மை நிலக்குப் பொறை." (குறள், 572)

He commends those persons who can show merciful favour to others without failing in their duty.

> "கருமம் சிதையாமல் கண்ணோட வல்லார்க்கு
> உரிமை உடைத்திவ் வுலகு." (குறள், 578)

But, so far as administration of justice is concerned, there is absolutely no place for 'கண்ணோட்டம்'.

C. K. Allen in his book 'Aspects of Justice' says, "Mercy and justice seem to lie in different spheres of virtue." So, கண்ணோட்டமின்மை is the second quality of a Judge in administering justice.

The third quality of the Judge is impartiality (இறை புரிதல்). The Judge should not discriminate between the rich and the poor, friend and the foe, the strong and the weak, even between the State and the subject. "Respect of persons is imcompatible with justice", says Pollock in Jurisprudence. Because of this impartiality, the Judge is referred to as 'நடுவர்'. In புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமாலை those who administer justice by settling disputes are described as:

> "நவை நீங்க நடுவு கூறும் அவை மாந்தர்."

Then comes judicial discretion (தேர்ந்து செய்தல்). When a money decree is passed, if the debtor is having a low monthly income, he is directed by the Court to pay off the debt in monthly instalments. The same concession is not given to another debtor who has capacity to pay the amount. Even after finding a person guilty, the Judge has to use his discretion in fixing the quantum of punishment. Pollock explains judicial discretion thus: "Judicial discretion is not an exception to the principle of equality, but comes in aid of it where an inflexible rule omitting to take account of conditions that cannot be defined beforehand would really work inequality.

Without such judicial discretion, one cannot effectively administer justice.

Thus, all the four essential qualities of administration of justice have been emphasised in the Kural which defines 'முறை'.

" ஓர்ந்துகண் ணோடாது இறைபுரிந்து யார்மாட்டும்
தேர்ந்துசெய் வஃதே முறை." (குறள், 541)

BEING JUST

We have seen how the State, through the Courts, administers justice. Necessity for such administration of justice arises because of disputes between two persons of whom one has not acted in a just manner. A creditor files a suit against his debtor, because the latter has failed to repay the debt within the time stipulated. The failure of the debtor to repay the debt within time shows he had not been just in his conduct. A person trespasses on the land of another and he is sued against by the owner of the land, which was subject to the trespass. This suit is necessitated because of the unjust conduct of the trespasser. The courts of law, while administering justice, order the debtor to repay the money and the trespasser to vacate the land. Thus, where there has been a failure on the part of individuals to observe justice in their conduct, the Courts have to step in and make the individuals to observe just conduct. The justness in individual's conduct is sometimes referred to as 'private justice' and the administration of justice by the courts is called 'public justice'. To maintain private justice, public justice is administered. Salmond in his Jurisprudence says as follows : "Justice is either private or public. The rule of private justice is concerned with the dealings of men with each other; the rule of public justice is concerned with the dealings of a Judicial Tribunal with those who come before it as subject to its jurisdiction. Private justice is that which the Courts are appointed to maintain or enforce; public justice is that which they are appointed to administer or dispense".

Thus, private justice is justness which ought to prevail in the relationship between persons. This justness is referred to in th Kural by the term 'நடுவு நிலைமை.' C. K. Allen, in his book

'Aspects of Justice' says: "Justice in its purely ethical aspect is justness, a moral quality residing in a disposition of character". Valluvar refers to this quality of justness as 'நெஞ்சத்துக் கோடாமை'.

" கேடும் பெருக்கமும் இல்லல்ல ; நெஞ்சத்துக்
கோடாமை சான்றோர்க் கணி." (குறள், 115)

"'This sense of justice is also an essential quality of a Judge who is to dispense justice. The purpose of justice as a social virtue is to maintain, or to restore an equilibrium in human affairs." (C. K. Allen in 'Aspects of Justice'). Prof. Hart, in 'The Concept of law' says, "Justice is privately thought of as maintaining or restoring a balance of preparation." These aspects of equilibrium and balance are mentioned in the Kural as attributes to noble and righteous man.

" சமன்செய்து சீர்தூக்குங் கோல்போல் அமைந்தொருபாற்
கோடாமை சான்றோர்க் கணி." (குறள், 118)

This sense of justice should prevail among all the subjects and this is especially necessary to the commercial community. Lord Atkin, in his address in Birmingham University, has stated as follows: "In dealings as between man and man, the English Law does set up a high, but not too high, attainable standard of necessity and fair dealing, which, to my mind, is of the very greatest value to the whole community and especially to the commercial community." Valluvar also emphasises the necessity for this quality of justness among the members of the commercial community.

" வாணிகம் செய்வார்க்கு வாணிகம் பேணிப்
பிறவும் தமபோல் செயின்." (குறள், 120)

It is common experience in our life that men with justness in character are not very successful and they do not flourish. C. K. Allen, in his 'Aspects of Justice', writes: "The mind and heart of man have always been troubled by the common experience that the just and the righteous are often the victims of cruel adversity in this world. Need it be said that advantage and reward are totally irrelevant to the goodness of justice? The man of principle

will follow his dictates wherever they lead, even to the stake... because he knows no other principles which makes life desirable or death honourable." This has been written by a twentieth century jurist. Valluvar also visualises a person observing justice in his life, wallowing in poverty. He injects the spirit of encouragement in him by saying that the world will not consider the poverty of such persons as ignoble.

" கெடுவாக வையாது உலகம் நடுவாக
நன்றிக்கண் தங்கியான் தாழ்வு." (குறள், 117)

He further exhorts us by saying that after all poverty and prosperity are the order of life and so, those with noble disposition shall preserve and maintain straightness of their mind.

" கேடும் பெருக்கமும் இல்லல்ல ; நெஞ்சத்துக்
கோடாமை சான்றோர்க் கணி." (குறள், 115)

Thus, the necessity for impartial conduct in a man's life is emphasised in the Kural and the modern jurists also declare this quality as essential for social life.

ARITHMETICAL EQUALITY AND PROPORTIONATE EQUALITY

We have seen that in the administration of justice or in the observance of just conduct by individuals, treating all as equals is essential. But, in such observance of equality, difficulties arise when persons are not equal. Unequal persons cannot be treated equally just like equal persons should not be treated unequally. Aristotle has stated : "It is as unjust to treat unequals equally as to treat equals unequally." Morris Ginsberg, a social philosopher, says in his book on 'Justice in Society' : "Equality in short has to be considered in relation to the grounds on which the claims are made. It then means arithmetical equality for equal claims and proportionate equality when there are relevant grounds for differentiation." Our own Indian Constitution makes provision for preferential treatment for those people who are socially backward in matters of providing education and opportunities for employment. The question is whether such preferential

treatment does not run counter to the idea of equality. Morris Ginsberg says that the differences in needs and capacities of the subjects ought to be taken into consideration in providing education and employment to those who are backward in the community.

The same idea is expressed in Thirukkural that the diverse *divisions of men should get their respective* dues and that is what is known as justness or நடுவு நிலைமை. Proportionate equality has to be applied according to the differences in needs and capacities of the several segments of society.

> " தகுதி எனவொன்று நன்றே பகுதியால்
> பாற்பட் டொழுகப் பெறின்." (குறள், 111)

The phrase 'பகுதியால் பாற்பட்டு ஒழுகுதல்' indicates that there should not be equal treatment for those who are unequal. As a social philosopher, Valluvar is fully conscious of the different stages of development among the several segments of society and each segment is to be treated according to its needs and capacities.

JUSTICE—SOCIAL, ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL

The fundamental laws of all civilised countries aim at establishing justice in the social, economic and political fields. The Constitution of India begins with the following words:

"We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to *constitute into* a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure for all its citizens :

"Justice, social, economic and political."

For the establishment of social justice, all the people in the society should be considered as equals. This idea of equality is a necessary condition for social equilibrium. That is why the preamble of the Indian Constitution itself says that there should be equality of status and opportunity.

The Declaration of Independence of America adopted in 1776 declares, "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal." This essential idea of social justice, namely, equality of status, is projected in the Kural. Valluvar declares,

> " பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும்; சிறப்பொவ்வா
> செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்." (குறள், 972)

It is emphasised in this Kural that even if there are differences among men because of their attainments, they are equal in their birth. Thus, the equality of status, which is the basis of social justice, is declared in the Kural.

Article 39 of the Indian Constitution reads as follows :

"The State shall, in particular, direct its policy towards securing

> " that the citizens, men and women equally, have the right to an adequate means of livelihood."

Valluvar decries the absence of the adequateness of livelihood in a most emphatic manner. He says that the only thing more distressing than poverty is poverty itself.

> " இன்மையின் இன்னாதது யாதெனின் இன்மையின்
> இன்மையே இன்னா தது." (குறள், 1041)

He rises with righteous indignation against a person begging for his livelihood. If the Creator of the world has decreed even begging as a means of livelihood, may the Creator too go abegging and perish.

> " இரந்தும் உயிர்வாழ்தல் வேண்டின் பரந்து
> கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான்."

Thus, Valluvar emphasises the need for economic justice in society.

The idea of political justice also finds ample expression in the Kural. It is stated that the world will follow the King who rules his subjects having their interests at heart.

" குடிதழீஇக் கோலோச்சும் மாநில மன்னன்
அடிதழீஇ நிற்கும் உலகு." (குறள், 544)

The unjust king is described as more cruel than a murderer.

" கொலைமேற்கொண் டாரிற் கொடிதே அலைமேற்கொண்டு
அல்லவை செய்தொழுகும் வேந்து." (குறள், 551)

Valluvar has stated elsewhere that the thing more distressing than poverty is poverty itself. He says that wealth becomes more distressing than poverty if the people were to live under the reign of an unjust Crown. Thus, we find that the ideas of justice, social, economic and political, have been emphasised in the Kural.

The preamble of the Indian Constitution declares that *fraternity* assuring the dignity of the individual should be promoted among the people. Valluvar calls this fraternity 'ஒப்புரவு'. He says that the wealth of a rich man should be useful to the public as a village tank with full of water:

" ஊருணி நீர்நிறைந் தற்றே உலகவாம்
பேரறி வாளன் திரு." (குறள், 215)

His wealth should be easily accessible to all like a tree full of fruits in the midst of the village.

" பயன்மரம் உள்ளூர்ப் பழுத்தற்றால் செல்வம்
நயனுடை யான்கட் படின்." (குறள், 216)

" A man without a sense of fraternity is to be counted as dead."

" ஒத்த தறிவான் உயிர்வாழ்வான்; மற்றையான்
செத்தாருள் வைக்கப் படும்." (குறள், 214)

CONCLUSION

As we are now having lectures under the Srimathi Sornammal Endowment Scheme, in England there is a Trust called the Hamlyn Trust created by one Miss. Hamlyn who had inherited a

taste for law and who bequeathed her estate for the furtherance by lectures on comparative jurisprudence of European and other countries. Under this Endowment, Dr. Goodhart delivered a series of four lectures in the University of Manchester in 1952. The title of the lectures is 'English Law and the Moral Law.' In the preface to these lectures, he has stated that he had attempted to show that there was not a single branch of English Law which does not, to a considerable degree, find both its origin and its force in the moral convictions of the English people. According to him, the principles of Constitutional Law, Criminal Law, Law of Torts, Law of Contracts, Law of Evidence, Commercial Law and Law of Practice and Procedure are based on the moral notions of the people. He says that, "In no part of the Criminal law is it more important to understand the correct relationship between the State and the moral law than it is in regard to punishment. There is an instinctive feeling in most ordinary men that a person who has done an injury to others should be punished for it. This instinctive feeling is taken as the moral feeling in man. Thus, he evolves his theory that the idea of punishment in Criminal Law is based on moral law, because on instinctive feeling is found in ordinary men that the person who committed injury should be punished for it and the law also states so, the learned professor comes to the conclusion that english law viz., the idea of punishment in criminal law is based on moral laws. Since, in the English language there is no work containing a collection of ethical principles, Dr. Goodhart had to depend upon the instinctive feeling of the people to substantiate his theory that the several branches of law are based on the moral law. Dr. Goodhart himself admits that the ground on which the moral law has been based is intuition or instinct. But, we are fortunate because of our priceless possession of Tirukkural which consists all the ethical concepts well-arranged. To establish that the idea of punishment in Criminal law is based on moral law, we need not have to explain it with reference to any instinctive feeling among the people. That instinct had been crystallised and stated in set moral principles in the Kural. In the following it is stated:

"மறந்தும் பிறன்கேடு சூழற்க ; சூழின்
அறஞ்சூழும் சூழ்ந்தவன் கேடு." (குறள், 204)

" நோயெல்லாம் நோய்செய்தார் மேலவாம் ; நோய்செய்யார்
நோயின்மை வேண்டு பவர்." (குறள், 320)

Thus, instead of pointing out the instincts of the people as the basis for the theory of dependence of the law on the moral law, we have in the words of Thiruvalluvar all those instinctive feelings, which are feelings of righteousness and morality, in the form of Kural verses proclaiming eternal truths. Thus, we are in a far better position to study the relationship of the law and the morals than the English jurists and lawyers or, as a matter of fact, than jurists of any other country.

Dr. Goodhart in his lectures has stated: "The relationship between law and morals is, therefore, of the utmost importance, because the recognition that a rule is obligatory under the moral law will be a powerful element in producing a similar recognition concerning the obligatory nature of a civil law. The conclusion is that the strength of English law depends in large part on the fact that the people recognise that they are under an obligation to obey the law, and that the sense of obligation is based not on force or fear, but on reason, morality, religion and the inherited traditions of the nation." We also, who have endeavoured through these lectures to understand the inter-relation between the concepts of law and those of the Kural, will realise that the law is to be obeyed as it is mostly based on ethics, and that the ideas in Thirukkural are not mere ethical aphorisms but dictums of practical value for harmonious social living and that those dictums contain concepts of law embedded in them.

Let me summarise what has been stated in these three lectures.

In the introduction, the relationship between the law and the ethics or justice was explained. Law is not a mere command by the State. It is a rule of conduct mostly based on ethical principles governing the conduct of man in society in order to establish harmonious social living. Law is not might alone or right alone, but a perfect union of the two. We also saw how the idea of ethics or justice was conceived by the ancient Greek philosophers and the modern jurists. The idea of justice as a divine mystery as expounded by the ancient thinkers is not

accepted by the modern jurists. They hold that justice is an ideal relation among men in society and that justice is social happiness. This ideal relationship in society is achieved because of the experience developed by reason and reason tested by experience. This modern concept of justice, 'அறம்' we find in the Kural. Valluvar has declared

" அறத்தான் வருவதே இன்பம் "

and

" அளவறிந்தார் நெஞ்சத்து நிற்பது அறம்."

All the essential qualities of man that are conducive for harmonious social living like house-hold life, love, sweet words, doing good to others—all these are termed as அறம் by Valluvar. Thus, we see that the norms of social conduct are termed as அறம் in the Kural. We also find that the idea of justice as envisaged by the modern jurists and that found in the Kural is almost identical. So, some fundamental concepts of modern law based on justice are found in the Kural. Once we realise this identity of approach in the conception of அறம் or justice by the modern jurists and by Valluvar, there is nothing surprising when we find that some concepts of அறம் as enunciated in the Kural are also concepts of law.

Thus we see how the following concepts of law are found embedded in the Kural :

" Mens rea".—doctrine of

Intention and Motive,

Falsehood,

Concept of Vāimai,

Principle of 'Jus Necessitates'

Act of Commision and omission,

Criminal Jusiice,

Administration of justice,

Measure of Punishment,

Arithmetical equality and Proportionate equality,

Justice—social, economic and political.

As a result of this analysis, we should not come to the conclusion that Valluvar has laid down these principles as legal principles. Of course, we do not find and one cannot expect to find in the Kural any distinction between law and ethics; but the chief characteristic of the Kural is that the moral notions have been expressed always keeping in view the social good that flows from it. Unlike other ethical works where அறம் is taught as a subjective virtue to promote the excellence of the individual, the Kural lays down those principles with a view to achieve social good. This marks out the Kural from other ordinary works on ethics. Even while defining தவம், which is naturally a spiritual discipline for the elevation of the individual soul, Valluvar says that doing no harm to other lives is a sign of 'தவம்'.

> "உற்றநோய் நோன்றல் உயிர்க்குறுகண் செய்யாமை
> அற்றே தவத்திற் குரு." (குறள், 291)

We should also not forget that Tirukkural is essentially a a work on ethics, but it is a work on ethics of social life. As an ethical book, it tries to elevate the character of man by attaching much importance to his mind and thought.

> "மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல்; அனைத்தறன்
> ஆகுல நீர பிற." (குறள், 34)

> "உள்ளத்தான் உள்ளலுந் தீதே பிறன்பொருளைக்
> கள்ளத்தாற் கள்வே மெனல்." (குறள், 282)

These Kurals indicate that Valluvar is anxious to set aright the mind in man as an ethical teacher. But, all the same, since the predominant purpose of the Kural in the establishment of harmonious social life, many of the ethical concepts of the Kural bear the marks of the modern legal concepts. Hence, we are able to see concepts of law in Tirukkural.

POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL

BY

N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

FOREWORD

The Sornammal Endowment lectures, founded by that great scholar, Dr. R. P. Sethu Pillai, have always been considered in the University of Madras as a means to enrich the literature of the world by an exposition of the great classics in Tamil. Tiruvalluvar has been and will continue to be recognised as one of the great thinkers that Tamilagam has produced and his work Tirukkural has been and will continue to receive the utmost consideration, study and thought by all interested in the philosophy, religion and the moral codes practised by Tamilians in ancient days.

The author has made a deep study of this work and has expounded in clear and unambiguous terms Tiruvalluvar's ideas of the State, of the Government, of the responsibilities of Ministers, and, what is of far more importance, of the duties of a good citizen. It is often forgotten in these days that self-government is no substitute for good government and that unless a high level of integrity, honesty, nobility of purpose and a spirit of self-sacrifice is inculcated in the minds of true lovers of the State, that State will not and cannot produce any tangible results in the evolution of what the ancients called '*Rama Rajya*'. In his epic, Tiruvalluvar does not dogmatise but, in inimitable terms, he portrays vividly a picture of all the component parts of good government in any State.

With his practical knowledge of administration, the author has given us some clear indications of the trend of thought in Tiruvalluvar's great work, Tirukkural, and he has to be congratulated on his exposition. It is hardly necessary to try to identify the thoughts in Tirukkural with those outlined in Kautilya or, for the matter of that, with any of the other works of ancient philosophers. Suffice it to say that great ideas and great laws of universal application are, through the hoary centuries, the heritage of all mankind. Mr. Murugesa Mudaliar has done a service in bringing out this publication which, I am sure, will be read with profit by all lovers of Tirukkural.

Madras,
7th Dec. 1967

A. L. MUDALIAR,
Vice-Chancellor,
University of Madras.

PREFACE

I am grateful to the authorities of the University of Madras for having invited me to deliver these Lectures on 'POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL' under the Srimathi Sornammal Endowment founded in memory of his mother by late Professor R. P. Sethu Pillai, a doyen among Tamil scholars and for a long time Head of the Department of Tamil in the University. They were delivered in January, 1965.

The Lectures are presented here more or less in the form delivered with some amplification. As one deeply interested in the Tamil legacy and as one connected with Administration for nearly three decades as an official of Government, I felt it my double good fortune to explain ihe Polity in Tirukkural. I believe my approach to the subject and my exposition will be found useful as no attempt at comparative criticism or modern interpretation has so far been made. I hope that this exposition will be appreciated by both Asian and Western scholars and that these lectures would be a small service to all those interested in Tamiliana.

I am indebted to various authors in the preparation of this volume and I have acknowledged them duly.

But for the encouragement of my friend Dr. M. Varadarajan, the present Professor of Tamil in the University, to accept the Lectureship, I would not have had the opportunity of writing these lectures as my humble homage to the immortal Tiruvalluvar and in the process to re-discover his wisdom on one of the most discussed subjects of the present day, namely, social order and government.

MADRAS,
NOV. 1967. N. MURUGESA MUDALIAR

POLITY IN TIRUKKURAL

CHAPTER I

THEORY OF STATE—RELEVANCE OF TIRUVALLUVAR

I. INTRODUCTORY

This exposition of 'Polity in Tirukkural' aims at a wider world understanding of the theory of State, social order and government found in Tiruvalluvar's great book *Tirukkural*. Except the more recent writers, very few authors on Ancient Indian Polity have given sufficient attention to the ideas and ideals of polity of Tamil classical writers of whom Tiruvalluvar is the best known throughout the world as his work has been translated into many languages and his contribution to Indian thought has been valued by thinkers and scholars like Albert Schwietzer and others. Because Tiruvalluvar is a more fundamental thinker and less traditional, his ideas have an extraordinary freshness and relevance even to the modern times so that a re-statement and interpretation of them today is of value not only as a historical study but also as a foundation for the development of a polity on lines which instrinsically will conserve all that is best in the past. Tiruvalluvar's validity arises out of the fact that he was speaking to a free society and he was rational and did not dogmatically base his authority on any ancient injunctions. He is something even more than rationalistic or pragmatic because his statements are based on a sense of values not circumscribed by the conventions of a static society or the unquestioning authority given to ancient Law-givers. He is not also an utopian but a realist. He does not, however, lose himself in details of state-craft which might look mediaeval and crude at the present day. In many respects he differs from Kautilya, the author ef *Arthasastra*, although it is commonly believed and stated that Tiruvalluvar was indebted to Arthasastra in some respects. It does not appear that

Tiruvalluvar has based his ideas of kingship and government on Kautilya and indeed the Tamil tradition was somewhat different from those which find embodiment in the Arthasāstra. Tiruvalluvar has not written of the actualities of his time, idealising them in that process, but as thinker and philosopher, he has formulated the substrates of a good polity. In this sense he is somewhat different from the philosophers of the ancient and mediaeval world like Plato, Aristotle and Confucius and Manu and Yajnavalkya. Similarities between them could easily be found because all these are universal minds, and to a greater or lesser degree what they said are universal options. The uniqueness of Tiruvalluvar, however, is that there is no reference in his doctrines to the contemporary conventions, social modes or laws. He, like all other political theorists of the past, wrote only of a monarchical State but his concept of kingship was not based on birth or heredity or the performance of sacrificial rites. In fact in Tirukkural the power of the people is found concentrated in the Ministers to the Prince and by the institutional arrangements in vogue in his time the people had free access to the Prince Naturally we do not find any elements of 'social contract' which is sometimes spoken of as the beginnings of a democratic form of government, but the insistence is on a good citizenry whose welfare was paramount, and the Minister was the collective voice of the people. Thus Tiruvalluvar, although he does not suggest any institutional forms of government resembling the modern democratic processes, places great emphasis on the role of Ministers and servants of the State as enlightened advisers to the Prince against self-interest, deceipt and corruption. Similarly Tiruvalluvar speaks of the role of ambassdors and their art of diplomacy which appear surprisingly modern. A stranger well-acquainted with modern affairs will be struck by the fund of commonsense found in the Kural. These truths are expressed as aphorisms without verbiage and with the greatest measure of simplicity. The writings of the theorists like Locke, Hume and Mill would appear like expositions of Tiruvalluvar in modern parlance. It would, however, be an exaggeration to say that everything is found in Tiruvalluvar (or Kautilya) and there is nothing outside which is not in them. Our admiration of the past need not lead us to uncritical assessments.

The balanced judgments of Tiruvalluvar lie in the fact that he did not regard polity as something fundamentally different from other human activities or virtues. In fact he did not set about to write a book on polity but it is one of the three main divisions of human aspirations and endeavour, viz., virtue (*aram*), wealth (*poruḷ*) and love (*kāmam*), which are called the purushārtas, about which he wrote in this book. This integral treatment gives balance and dignity to his views about the individual, society and government. It may also be noted that Tiruvalluvar did not include in his book the fourth human aspiration of *vīdu* (liberation) which would have got him entangled in theology or religion. He has freed his concepts of the individual and the State from the 'tutelage of religion'[1] and explained them in their own right. His great work is therefore called the *podu marai* (the universal law) by virtue of its validity and preciousness which transcend the limitation of immediacy of age or country for which the author wrote. The relevance of Tiruvalluvar is thus a justification and need for his wider understanding in an era when inspite of its professed democratic basis makes the State more and more powerful, if not authoritarian. It is immaterial whether the authoritarianism is imbedded in the power of the monarch or the power of an elected government but the ethic of the ruler and the ruled and the sense of values on which each functions must be the same. It is therefore irrelevant to argue that Tiruvalluvar, or for that matter any other like him, wrote for a monarchical and not for a democratic state. Democracy is still in the hour of trial and the recovery of faith in it and its survival to the challenges against it depend on a devotion to goodness and nobility which are underlined again in the Kural.

2. APPROACH TO KURAL'S POLITY

In dealing with Polity in Tirukkural, I have organised the topics in such a way that we will not lose sight of the historical perspective as well as a comparative treatment. I have devoted some attention to the determination of the dates of Tiruvalluvar and other writers of the contemporary epoch as it is the first

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1. Cf. William S. Haas, *The Destiny of the Mind East and West*, (Faber & Faber, London 1956), p. 86

requisite for a correct understanding of any author and his work. Such an attempt is also necessary to determine the tradition which an author carried forward and influenced it in one way or another by his genius and the compulsions of his own special message. I consider this aspect very important. As Mr. D. Macfienzie Brown[2] observes in his book *Indian Political Thought,* the contribution of South Indian theorists are only beginning to be recognised with the gradual appreciation of the richness of The South Indian culture. In giving an accent to this aspect, it is not to be misjudged that my intention is to apotheosise any one school of thought or culture against another, as the synthesis known as Indian Culture and tradition is a charming diapason to which each individual note has contributed its distinctive quality. Nevertheless it must be stressed that owing to accidental circumstances the richness of the South Indian heritage has not been sufficiently understood due to lack of exponents and the fact that Tamil has a very selective place in the academic contres all round the world although this position is improving in recent years by the inception of the departments of Tamil Studies in many Universities abroad and the increasing importance and interest which the study of Tamil linguistics has gained in foreign universities and in Indian universities as well. I hope my Lectures will serve as a small breakthrough in the discovery of the political ideas in the Tamil work of Tiruvalluvar.

My next task has been to assess the oft-repeated assumption of Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya's Arthasāstra and to point out the fundamental differences and the trenchant distinctions and also to draw attention to some similarities wherever they exist. The difference between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya as regards the concept of kingship the theory of State, and the type of societies kept in view which I have pointed out at some length are sufficient to dismiss the supposition that Tiruvalluvar drew inspiration from Kautilya. The divergence of views as regards the divinity of kingship, conventions of caste and the authority of ancient lawgivers is so sharp that any suggestion of indebtedness could only spring from the absence of a close study of both the books which no Indian writer, except one or two recently, has so far attempted. There are, however, a few

2. D. Mackenzie Brown, *Indian Political Thought*, Jaico Books, 1964.

similarities, sometimes amounting to identity, and these could be explained only as ideas which had become axiomatic and which are often repeated by ancient writers without any derogation to their own individual views on other matters. I have in particular dwelt at length on the concept of *'aram'* (righteousness) in Tiruvalluvar which is in many respects different from *dharma*, *niti* or *danda* of the older Dharmasāstra on which Kautilya based his Arthasāstra. A whole volume could be written on the concept of *aram* in Tamil didactic works and classical literature and it is a keynote difference between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya.

Excepting perhaps Dr. Saletore in his recent work, very few writers have compared Indian thinkers on Polity with philosophers like Plato and Aristotle and still less Chinese philosophers like Confucius. In Tiruvalluvar's time it is quite probable that besides Buddhistic and Jaina doctrines, the Greek and Chinese schools were known as there was considerable cultural and trade contacts between South India and those countries. I have therefore attempted a comparative study with my limited equipment and basing my authority on other writers whom I have acknowledged in the footnotes. So my mind the ideal of the Prince in Triuvalluvar was one better than the philosopher king of Plato and the gentleman image of Confucius. Tiruvalluvar has typified his ideal as 'Sanrōr' a word for which there is no perfect equivalent in English or probably in any other language and which might be translated as 'noble' or 'perfect'. This comparative study with other ancient and mediaeval philosophers deserves to be taken up more fully by some one who has the facilities. I have not attempted to compare Tiruvalluvar with the modern political theorists and philosophers except incidentally and to indicate the relevance of Tiruvalluvar and his modernity where they deserved to be noted. It is beyond the scope and compass of these Lectures to attempt to do so with even the slight justice.

In the second half of these Lectures I have dealt with at considerable length Tiruvalluvar's own ideas about the various constituents of Polity, viz., the King, the Ministers and Ambassadors, Fortresses, Army, Wealth, Allies and Citizenry. Tiruvalluvar's lofty concepts on these ingredients of the State expressed in language of matchless beauty and with a remarkable brevity and clarity have to be read to be admired. The commentaries on

the Kural by mediaeval scholars like Parimēlalagar, Manakkudavar, etc. about whom non-Tamil scholars are not likely to know anything, throw much light on the views of Tiruvalluvar. I have drawn brief attention to these commentaries wherever needed to explain Tiruvalluvar's ideas. In particular. Parimēlalagar (10th Century), a scholar well-read in ancient Dharmasāstras, is the most brilliant, although in a few places he is tempted to read in the Kural the ideas of caste and ritualism found in the ancient works. I have also cited parallel ideas to Kural found in Tamil Sankam classics like *Puranānūru* and epics like *Silappathikāram* and *Manimēkalai*. It does not appear that Tiruvalluvar is much indebted to the pre-existing *Tolkappiyam*, the earlist extant grammar in Tamil language whose unique distinction is that it deals not only with language but also with life. However, we find some seminal ideas in Tolkappiyam which might have developed and gained expression in literature in later years. The fact that Tirukkural is the earliest didactic work with a perfection and fullness inconceivable in a first work of its kind has misled many scholars into the belief that Tiruvalluvar was largely indebted to the Sanskrit writers. There is no basis for this because many early Tamil works going back to over 2000 years appear to have been lost but the thoughts and ideas surely must have survived in the memory of the race. Nor could it be said that Tiruvalluvar was unaware of the pre-existing and contemporary writers in Sanskrit, but it is well-known that Tamil classicists maintained their own tradition, orginality and discipline both in thought and language and this lasted till about the 12th Century. It must be admitted, however that Kautilya goes into elaborate details over many branches of State-craft like the army, spies, taxes etc. while Tiruvalluvar touches only on the principles, the obvious reasons being that organisational details are subject to change and that elaboration would disrupt the scheme and proportions of Tiruvalluvar's work. The great admiration we have for Kautilya's work is for the elaboration and orderly classification of the minutest details of government which will not be found even in the present day manuals of government. In this Kautilya certainly excels and his is more the administrative approach rather than a philosophic approach or as I have termed it an approach of 'values'. The greater acceptability of Tiruvalluvar to the modern mind is doubtless due to this approach of values.

Apart from the organisational part of government or the mechanics of it which are comparatively of lesser importance, I have attempted to stress the distinction between Tiruvalluvar and Kautilya as regards the concept of good government and the means and end thereof. The compendious word that Tiruvalluvar employs for good government or just government is 'Sengōnmai' (செங்கோன்மை) for which there is no exact parallel either in Sanskrit or English. Even the commentator Parimelalagar equates it inaccurately with *danda-niti*. The concept of good government being based on *danda* or the authority of the State is alien to Tiruvalluvar. The Tamil polity is not based on the matsyanyāya of the old Sanskritists. The internal or external order in its polity is not dependent on the use of power to protect the weak against the strong or the maintenance of right against evil. The cohesive element according to Tiruvalluvar is the 'aram' of both the individual and the ruler. It is not an idealistic or impossible conception because Tamil polity conceives of governments governing the least by force or authority or by elaborate interference with the individual or communal life of the people. It comes nearest to the concept of an ideal democracy of some modern thinkers. The State or the Prince is a witness of a well-ordered polity sustained by its own 'aram' and 'anbudaimai' (righteousness and love). In fact in a most illuminating Kural in the section 'Virtue' (Arathuppāl) Tiruvalluvar gives an explanation for the existence of have-nots in this world as due to the fact that only a few preserve virtue while many do not. (Ilar palar ākiya kāranam, norpar silar; palar nolatavar—270). The class conflict which the Communistic philosophy envisages is unnecessary if the State helps to see that the preservasion of righteousness is pervasive. Socialism is thus no substitute for a spiritual impoverishment. The politico-economic doctrines of our present day fail to recognise the basic requirement of an egalitarian society based on righteousness and not on mere distribution of wealth by State management of the means of production and distribution. If those who have stuck fast to 'tavam' (righteousness) are the majority, there is least necessity for the State to interfere. It cannot be said that Tiruvalluvar has visualised in precise terms the desiderata for a modern egalitarian society and the State's responsibility therefor, but undoubtedly he has touched on the basic truths.

Tiruvalluvar's treatment of the qualifications of Ministers, Ambassadors and servants of the State are interesting and have a modern relevance in the context of the prevalence of political and administrative corruption and ineptitude. Tiruvalluvar requires in a Minister not only dignity of conduct, but also dignity of speech which is indicative of the fact that the polity he was describing was not an 'illiterate democracy' but a cultured one and the society he was addressing was cultured and born of a tradion of civilisation which had qualities not found in the complex material civilisation and advancement of today.

Tiruvalluvar has not devoted much space to questions relating to army, fortresses etc., at least not to the same extent as Kautilya has done. The reason is that Tiruvalluvar has not visualised unrighteous or imperialistic wars but only wars to blot out tyranny and to succour the weak and the helpless. In a discussion on polity there is not enough scope to enlarge on Tiruvalluvar's ideas on war and peace, but it is enough to state that the ideas of ancient philosophers are not wholly inapplicable to modern times as the problems of individuals and nations are essentially the same although they repeat themselves in different forms according to the circumstances and tempers of the times.

Conflicts and tensions arise, as has been discovered today, in men's minds rather than in external circumstances and hence Tiruvalluvar again and again stresses on the purity of mind and motives and positiveness in speech and action which admits of no dubiousness which is false diplomacy and the foundation for policies of treachery and deceit.

Tiruvalluvar devotes the largest space to a discussion of the virtues of a good citizenry. It must be noted that he does not treat the body politic as the 'ruled' but as members of an orderly system subject to the rules of virtue and goodness. He sees in a good citizenry the virtues of correct conduct (ozhukkam), truth (Vāimai) and sense of decency (nān) and above all not stooping below one's dignity (tan nilayil tāzhamai). Just as Tiruvalluvar uses, the compendious word 'sengōnmai' for a good government, he uses the word 'sānrānmāi' for the attributes of a good citizenry. As Parimēlalgar says, this nobility is that which is not exhausted by other qualities but something which

gives integrity and fullness to it. Its five distinctive features are love to all, sensitiveness to shame, complaisance, indulgence to faults of others, and truthfulness. It is no wonder that philosophers and thinkers like Gandhi and Bhavē were attracted to the teachings of the Kural. The quality of the State depends on the quality of the individual and his integrity and his desire to live and let live. The grassroots of a good polity are the enlightened citizenry—a polity whose aim is the sustenance of a Great society which is the dream of some of the modern States.

The criticism is sometimes levelled against Tiruvalluvar that he has postulated two kinds of morality, one for the State and the other for the individual. This criticism is in a sense true but it overlooks the sense of realism and the sense of the practical in Tiruvalluvar. For example in one Kural Tiruvalluvar says, "If thou cannot break openly with a foe who pretends friendship with thee, feign thou also friendship to his face but keep him off from thy heart." This might look like double-crossing which will not be allowed in an individual. V. V. S. Ayyar, a translator of the Kural, explains this correctly as follows :[3]

> "We must understand that the author makes a clear distinction between private morality and State necessity. In private life, for instance, forgiveness is one of the greatest virtues and Chapter 16 sings its praise abundantly. But, for the king as a representative of the State it is only a limited virtue."

The standard of truth cannot be the same for the individual and the State. Truth has no pragmatic value if it does not contain in its womb the productivity of good. Similarly, non-killing which Tiruvalluvar has prized beyond measure in the individual cannot be applicable to the State when dealing with the enemy or treachery. Nowhere has Tiruvalluvar given the slightest suggestion that the State should be sustained by subterfuge or violence or the grosser practices of State-craft. There is no element in Tiruvalluvar of Chānakyanism or Machiavellinism which are both admired for their cleverness and perfection and disapprobated as wanting in ethics to a smaller or

3. V. V. S. Ayyar, *The Maxims of Tiruvalluvar*, Madras—p. xl.

greater degree. The moral rearmament of the State depends to a large extent on its near perfection in ethics as absolutes cannot work. Tiruvalluvar does not lay down impossible standards.

Tiruvalluvar's polity in essence does not contemplate a 'police state' always in surveillance over the ruled or a 'belligerent state' always at discard with others or even a 'weak state' torn by divisions, treachery, divided counsel or the tyranny of the Prince, which keep the door open to an aggressor. Tiruvalluvar's concept is that of a State in which people live in harmony among themselves, with the Prince and at peace with neighbours, but strong, united and upholding the highest ideals of righteousness and goodness and correct economic doctrines and free from want and disease where men have freedom to rise to the full stature of their human excellence. Tiruvalluvar has visualised the ideal of a Welfare State which may not be the same as it is conceived of today because Tiruvalluvar believes in a manly society which raises its own economic and human resources and what is more important its moral stature, instead of the State becoming the universal provider by working economic levers reducing the citizenry to a stereotyped society of taxpayers and producers for the State.

The relevance of Tiruvalluvar for the modern age is, without exaggeration, a matter for deep satisfaction and value and it is hoped that it will be appreciated more and more not only in the country of his birth but also all round the world, that his lofty principles may become guidelines of State policies and his concepts of war and peace and better understanding among peoples may evoke a kindly response in the Chancellories of the world and that the re-discovery of Tiruvalluvar may bring about a welcome realisation that here is a polity and philosophy which have been well articulated presenting an ideal which they have been looking for.

Writing about Tiruvalluvar's genius, V. V.S. Ayyar, says :[4]

> "The prophets of the world have not emphasised the greatness and power of the Moral Law with greater insistence or force. Bhishma, Kautilya, Kāmandaka, Rama Das, Vishnu

4. V. V. S. Ayyar, *The Maxims of Tiruvalluvar*, (Madras, 1925, p. xl, (preface)

> Sharman or Machiavelli or Confucius have no more subtle counsel to give on the conduct of the State."

I remember that on one occasion an American Ambassador in India who was referring to India's criticism of one aspect of American Foreign Policy took consolation in the fact that it is a sign of good friendship which takes the liberty to criticise a friend in best interest. A Vice-Chancellor of a Southern University in India offered a prize to the students who identified the Kural[5] couplet which the Ambassador referred to.

Alexander Pyatigorsky, the Soviet Indologist, who has translated the Kural into Russian recently (1964) has expressed the relevancy of this work and its excellence in the following words :

> "It (Tirukkural) is an integral, homogeneous work of art, the author of which addresses neither king, subject nor priest, but *men*. And he (Tiruvalluvar) does not address man either as law-giver or prophet but as well-wisher, teacher and friend. He neither prophesied, nor spoke in hints and riddles; his words contained no shade of doubt, he had full conviction of the truth of what he said, both as artist and thinker.
>
> The Kural of Tiruvalluvar is rightly considered as chef d'oeuvre of both Indian and world literature. This is due not only to the great artistic merits of the work but also, and this is most important, to the lofty humane ideas permeating it, which are equally precious to the people all over the world, of all periods and countries."

Today as never before the reading of the *Tirukkural* by Heads of States, Ministers, Generals, tribunes of the people and public servants and no less by students at the Universities, will be found a satisfying and beneficient experience. Tiruvalluvar, like many great men, is not to be circumscribed to one country or to one age. The light will shine far beyond.

5. See *Kural*, stanza 784.

CHAPTER II

TIRUVALLUVAR AND ANCIENT HINDU THOUGHT

I. THE CONCEPT OF POLITY

I must first enter on a brief consideration of Polity before I discuss Tiruvalluvar. What exactly is Political theory ? The word 'theory', of course, cannot be defined like the word 'law', Theory is employed to mean thought, ideas or speculation. Political theory is thus ideas on government or philosophising about it. It enquires into or reflects upon ends, goals or values and upon the conception of good and right. Ends or goals may be immediate, intermediate or ultimate whereas value is normative and intrinsic and not phenomenal. In this sense theory becomes philosopy. It is less important to consider for example what Plato or Aristotle said about ends and means than it is to examine the interrelation of the concepts as value judgement. Political theory thus essentially fits under the concept of political philosophy. Vernon Van Dyke in his book *'Political Science—Philosophical Analysis'* [1] classifies political theory as institutional approach, legal approach, power approach and influence or value approach. These may roughly be equated as consideration of form of government, jurisprudence, statecraft and philosophy. It is easy to recognise into what groups Plato and Aristotle and Yajnavalkya, Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar will fit in. In my view Tiruvalluvar falls into the category of those whose approach considers value more than any other thing as important. The focus of interest in the study or theorising of State or polity in the Kural is not form or shape, strategy or power, law or jurisprudence but only value, which according to one American writer Harold D. Lassal will comprise well-being, skill, enlightenment, rectitude and affection. Value is something more than ethics and it connotes goodness and underlying obligations. A comparative reading of Arthasāstra and the Kural will convince that Tiruvalluvar was only dealing with values and not about

1. Vernon Van Dyke-*Political Science-Philosophical Analysis*, Stanford University Press (1960), p. 144.

the mechanics, form or legalistic basis of government. The keynote of polity in Tirukkural is thus value. Tiruvalluvar does not paint an Utopia or hold up any patterns of government as ideal. He does not also dwell upon fading ideas and forgotten issues and fossilised beliefs. In this sense he completely differs from all other writers, ancient and mediaeval, on Polity. He deals with the totality of the political phenomena comprising social order, government and universal good of the individual and society.

II. WORLD CHRONOLOGY OF POLITICAL THOUGHT

In discussing the polity of Tiruvalluvar it is necessary to do some chronological spade work so that we may view Tiruvalluvar in the correct historic perspective. A chronological approach is a corrective lens to set right some myopic beliefs and assumptions.

The earliest date for all considerations of Indian civilisation, culture and institution is now indisputably the period of the Indus Valley civilisation which goes back to 2500 B. C. The Aryan advent is placed somewhere about 1500 B. C. The Babylonian civilisation goes back more or less to 2500 B. C. and the date of Hammurabi, the Babylonian Law-giver is fixed at about 1800 B. C. The revolt of Moses against Ramses II is about 1200 B. C. The hymns of the Rig Veda go back to 1500 B.C. but the Vedas were not compiled till about 900 B.C. and Mahabharata period is also about the end of that period. The date of Manu the Law-giver is about 1900—1800 B. C. and the subsequent writers of Dharma Sastras, Brihaspati, Usanas, Bharadwaja, Visalaksa and Parasara cover the period 1700—1200 B.C. Others like Katyayana and others extend from 1200—400 B. C. The unnamed teacher of Kautilya and Kautilya himself are placed between 400—320 B. C. (although there is a contrary view regarding the date of Kautllya). The Dharmasastras of Gautama, Apastamba, Bōdhāyana and Vasishta cover the long period 600—200 B. C. Plato lived in 428—348 B.C., Aristotle in 384—322 B. C. and Confucius in 537—479 B.C. Gautama Buddha lived from 563—483 B. C. and the probable date of the death of Mahavira is 467 B. C. The invasion of India by Alexander of Macedonia is about 325 B. C. and the visit of Megasthenes to Chandragupta's court is about 300 B. C. The composition of

Manusmriti, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana is put at about 200 A.D. and those of Yājnavalkya smiriti about 100—300 A.D. and the 18 Puranas about 250—350 A. D. Panini is put about 300 B.C. The post-Kautilya writers on Artha, who generally took up the concepts of Kautilya and of the Mahabharata are Visnu (circa 200 A.D.), Yājnavalkya (circa 350 A,D.), Narada (circa 500 A.D.), Kāmandaka (circa 700 A.D.) and Somadeva Suri (950 A.D.). The last two, being Jaina writers, considerably departed from Kautilya.[2]

This is the all-India picture in the world context.

III. THE TAMIL TRADITION

I now come to the Tamil tradition. If we refer to it as the Dravidian or proto-Dravidian tradition, as it justifiably can be, we must hark back to the period of the Indus-Valley civilisation. viz., 2500 B.C. if not to the lost continent of Lemuria nearly more than 10,000 years ago which is not proved to be a myth judging from the recent geographical investigations. The evidence of the Adiccanallur excavations, revealed typological parallels in Palestine at about 1200 B.C. and also in Syria and Cyprus about the same time. I shall skip over the archaeological and epigraphic evidence in the intervening period till we come to the indisputable evidence from Arikamedu excavations (also in S. India), which gives a Roman synchronism about 100 A-D. Whatever may be the view and counter-views of scholars about the historicity of the first two Tamil Sangams, there is no dispute at all about the date of the last Sangam (third) as its existence is attested by the Sinnamanur plates. Tangible accounts of the Tamil kingdoms, their rulers, polity and culture and their trade are found in the Sangam literature and the writings of European writers of the first and second Centuries of the Christian era, particularly Pliny the Elder of the first century A.D .and Ptolemy, the geographer of Alexandra of the second century A. D. *Tolkappiyam* is the earliest and most comprehensive Tamil grammar of life and letters of the Tamils actually available to us now and it comes nearer to the Sangam period. As the tradition is that grammar

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2. J. N. Spellman, *Political Theory of Ancient India*, Clarendon Press, 1963, pp. xvii and 45-46.

follows literature a body of literature must assuredly have preceded Tolkāppiyam for a long period of time. The determination of the date of Tolkāppiyam, and for our present purpose of the date of Tirukkural are thus important. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar considered that Tolkāppiyam must have been composed not later than the first or second century A.D. and that a vast body of literature must have existed before then. He says, "Five centuries would be a modest estimate for the period during which the literature grew."[3] Before this period with its petrified poetical conventions, there must have been another period in which those conventions became realities. Mr. Ayyangar ascribes another five centuries for this period, thus reaching about 1000 B.C. for the earlier limit of the birth of Tamil poetry which spoke of the incidents in love and war of heroes and chiefs and the life of the people. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar[4] says more definitely that Tolkāppiyam must be assigned to the third or fourth Century B.C. As against views like these, S. Vaiyapuri Pillai[5] considers that Tolkappiyar could be given a date only posterior to Kautilya, i.e., 200 A.D. and that the earliest date which could be assigned taking into account Tolkappiyar's alleged indebtedness to Bharata Natya Sastra and Vatsyayana's Kamasutras, is fifth century A.D. He also suggests that no poet of Sangam age could be earlier than second century A.D. I shall show presently that pushing back or forward of dates is not of material consequence to the consideration of the Tamil tradition of polity as reflected to some extent in Tolkāppiyam and elaborated in Tirukkural and in other Sangam works. It has relevance only for those who seek to prove Tolkappiyar's indebtedness to Manusmriti and Dharmasastras and Tirukkural's indebtedness to Kautilya's Arthasastra. It must be remembered that Kautilya's date itself is uncertain, most Indian scholars ascribing to third century B.C. and European scholars like A.B. Keith and Winternitz to 300 A.D.

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3. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *History of the Tamils* (1929), pp. 70 etseq.

4. V. R. R. Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, Luzac & Co. (1930).

5. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Language and Literature*, N.C.B H. (1956), pp. 13-14 & 51 p. 22 ibid.

IV. DATE OF TIRUVALLUVAR

Coming to the date of Tiruvalluvar, I might recall that it was very ably dealt with by Dr. S. Natesa Pillai of Ceylon who delivered the first Lecture under the Endowment in 1959. There is general consensus among scholars that Kural is of later date than Tolkāppiyam. If Tolkāppiam is scaled down in date, naturally Tirukkural has also to be so done. It is also accepted that Silappadikaram and Manimekalai are later to Tirukkural as is evident from the presence of some Kural texts in them. Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai says that the earliest date to which Valluvar can be assigned is 600 A.D. and suggests that it accords with his date for Tolkappiyar. Of course it will also well accord with his date 800 A. D. for Silappadikāram and Manimēkalai, but the point is whether it is acceptable. Mr. Pillai says that Tiruvalluvar is largely indebted to well-known treatises in Sanskrit such as Manu, Kautilya and Kāmandaka, the Ayurvedic treatises and the Kāma-sūtras.[6] It will be noticed that he includes Kāmandaka's Niti-sāra also in the list and suggests actually that Tiruvalluvar had greater partiality for Kāmandaka, whose date has been fixed as 700 A.D. by A.B. Keith. Further on, I shall be discussing in detail how far Tiruvalluvar is indebted to Kautilya and Kāmandaka apart from superficial resemblances in a few things which could not obviously be different. The point is whether the Arthasāstra of Kautilya (who by the way is also believed to be a Dramila who hailed from the South) was of universal acceptance outside the Mauryan influence and whether the main theories and concepts of polity in Kautilya and the Kural are identical. We must be gratefull to Mr. Pillai that he has attributed Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness more to Kāmandaka than to Kautilya. For, it is important to point out that Kāmandaka, although he bases his work mainly on Kautilya, has differed from him in many respects, has made his work briefer and cut out many portions relating to State-craft and other absurdities like magic and superstitions. Little is known as to where Kāmandaka lived and I shall not be surprised if it is discovered that he also

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6. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, *History of Tamil Literature*, N.C.B.H. (1956) pp. 81 et seq.

belonged to the South. There was considerable intercourse in trade between the north and south and we have evidence of this in Kautilya's Arthasāstra itself which refers to imports from Dakshinapāta of goods the diamonds, conch shells, sapphire and gold. But the Tamil country was outside the cultural or political influence of Magadha even in the period of Asoka as history testifies. It is thus unlikely that Tiruvalluvar was obliged to import the tneories found in Kautilya. It is reasonable to accept the view of Dr. Natesa Pillai arrived at after elaborate enquiry that Tiruvalluvar's date is not latter than 200 A. D. I suggest that the dates are relevant only to prove any hypothesis of Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya or vice versa. What is more relevant is for whom Kautilya wrote and for what purpose Tiruvalluvar wrote, and what is more crucial is the radical differences in the theory and concept of polity in the two authors. The tradition that Tiruvalluvar was a contemporary of Elela Singha and that his work was published in the Madurai Sangam in the reign of Ugra-peru-valudi are sufficient to fix the date of Tiruvalluvar. Elela is the sixth descendant of a Chola prince, who according to Mahavamsa of Ceylon carried on a successful war against that Island about 2960 of Kali era. This works out to about or the first century A. D.] The date of accession of Ugra-peru-valudi is fixed by Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar as about 125 A. D.[7] There are thus sufficient data to put Tiruvalluvar's date indubitably not later than 2nd oentury A. D. M. Raghava Iyengar fixes the date of Tiruvalluvar as 5th century A. D. in his work on Ceran Cenkuttuvan. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar is definite[8] that Tiruvalluvar's date is the close of the first century or the beginning of the second century. (In his translation of the *Kural*, 20 years afterwards he says[9] in the Preface that he finds no reason to change that view). Professor A. Chakravarti, who identifies Tiruvalluvar with Elacharya (also called Kunda Kundacharya of a school of Jaina ascetics), seems to

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7. P.T Srinivasa Ayyangar, *History of the Tamils from the Earliest times to 600 A.D.* (C. Coomarasamy Naidu & Sons, Madras, 1928), p. 588.

8. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Studies in Tamil Literature and History*, (Luzac & Co., London, 1930), p. 54.

9. do. *Tirukkural of Tiruvalluvar* (in Roman transliteration with English Translation), Adyar Library, Madras (1943), p. ix.

fix the date as 1st century A. D. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar says that Tiruvalluvar cannot be assigned to any century earlier than the sixth century.

Soviet Indo-logists prefer to agree with Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai[10] although it is contradictory to tradition.

V. KAUTILYA AND TIRUVALLUVAR

Before I discuss whether Tiruvalluvar is indebted to Kautilya and if so how far, I must dwell on the different schools of political thought in India in the period from say 400 B. C. to 430 A. D. It must be said to the credit of Kautilya that he was a realist and he dealt with politics by itself as distinct from religion although he based his theories on Dharmasastras. Prof. Saletore says[11] that Kautilya's was a daring attempt at divesting politics from religion and that the whole treatment of the subject was based on ānvikshaki or reasoning or philosophy. He however points out that Kautilya was not free from supernaturalism and superstitions. It would be idle to look to Kautilya for modern concepts of the State and of political theories of the nature of the State although we find very elaborate treatment of the functions of the State and methods and procedures, while in the Kural we find a balanced treatment of the concept of the State and its consituents and functions, the reason being that Kautilya was engaged in writing a book on State-craft whereas Tiruvalluvar was moved

10. "The discrepancy in the dating of the Kural is rather great; it is much greater than the interval in such sources as the Arthasastra, for instance. The lack of modern linguistic analysis of ancient and medieaval Tamil texts, as well as the incompleteness of historical, religious and philosophical researches have been largely responsible for the discrepancy in dating stretching over a period of nearly one thousand years from 300 B.C. to 700 A.D. The latter date was ascribed to the Kural by the great Tamil scholar Vaiyapuri Pillai who died in 1956. Soviet Indologists agree with Vaiyapuri Pillai's point of view, "although it is contradictory not only to the traditions of medieaval commentators but also to the opinion of the majority of Tamil scholars of the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century"—Alexander Pyatigorsky in an article in the '*Mail*', Madras, in 1959.

11. B. A. Saletore, *op.cit,*

by no other purpose than stating the moral values which the State should secure. This is due not merely to the fact that the conditions of political and social life were obviously different even in the same stratum of time but also the fact that the traditions were different. According to Satapata Brahmana a Kshatriya to become a king had to perform a rajasuya sacrifice and the Brahman was excluded from kingship. A king who ruled over his entire land had to perform aswamedha sacrifice. We find no trace of such concepts in Tiruvalluvar. When there is such a great difference, it is not correct to suggest that Tiruvalluvar based his polity on Kautilya,

Kautilya says in his very first sutra that his work is a compendium of almost all the Arthasastras composed by ancient teachers. In the last sutra he says that the Sastra was written by him "who, from intolerance of misrule, quickly rescued the scriptures and the science of weapons and the earth which had passed to the Nanda King." He also says that his Sastra can not only set on foot righteous economic and aesthetic acts and maintain them but also put down unrighteous, uneconomical and displeasing acts. In the first four chapters of the Kural considered as Payiram (or preface), Tiruvalluvar on the other hand does not put forth any ephemeral reason for writing his book. It is obvious he did not write for any particular occasion or from any particular motive. The keynote of these chapters is the glory of righteousness for life here and hereafter for the individual and for society, and that there is no material happiness without the influence of good men who have renounced. It is obvious that Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the ferment of his times when the Brahminical religion, Buddhism and Jainism were trying to gain asceudancy through temporal power. He was therefore stating the fundamentals of a righteous life, of a good society and of an enlightened polity guided by men of virtue. His work is not certainly conventional ethics in Arattuppāl, conventional economic and political theories in Porutpāl or conventional love in Kamathuppāl. He was stating the highest values based on reason and judgment. So far as Porutpāl is concerned, with which we are concerned in these lectures, it is my thesis that Tiruvalluvar is expounding a theory of political values, a philosophy of politics and an integral concept of individual and social happiness, morality and love, and wealth and good government. His aim

was not to write a book on politics or State-craft which has, as its basis and objective, power and force to maintain social order. He did not conceive of the State as an embodiment of force to keep individual conduct and social behaviour to subserve moral good.

VI. CONTEMPORARY SOCIAL ORDER

I would like to lay stress on the society for which Tiruvalluvar wrote and the type of culture that existed at his time. Doubtless society and culture were in a process of change due to the impact of the changes in Northern India as a result of the Aryan advent and subsequent invasions and absorptions. It is unnecessary to go into these details as it may be agreed that such a phenomenon existed. Tiruvalluvar's task was apparently to present the fundamentals of a stable social order and good government sustained by 'aram' according to the Dravidian tradition. If it is agreed that the Harappan culture was proto-Dravidian it is necessary to hark back on the form of society which must have existed in the Indus valley. The Mohenjo-daro excavations have disclosed a certain amount of information as to the mode of life of their inhabitants. Archaeologists have in particular been impressed by the absence of remains of weapons of offence and defence. The ruins of those well-planned cities have shown no traces of walls, ramparts or fortifications. It has to be inferred that these early societies were comparatively free from fear of war and violence. C. E. M. Joad,[12] who luckily is a philosopher and not a historian troubled only by dates and events and not by the thought of men, answers the question how these early societies succeed in dispensing with those means of defence of which almost all the early societies of mankind seem to have felt the need. All known human societies seem to have been based on force within and to have feared force from without and what is more, the earlier the society the more universal, the more persistent the evidence of fighting. Quoting Gerald Heard (from his book *The Source of Civilisation*) Joad suggests that the explanation is found in the practice of a psychological technique by virtue of which these early societies not only in the Indus Valley and elsewhere but also

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12. C.E.M. Joad, '*The Story of Indian Civilisation*', (Macmillan), 1936, pp. 134-136

in Egypt and Mesopotamia had developed their consciousness in such a way that violence of any kind was abhorrent to it. This is the happy result of integration of personality in these peoples which while removing the will to violence, did not withdraw people's attention from the duties of our common life in the every-day world. Joad also points out that absence of palaces and temples and forts and municipal buildings indicate that the inhabitants dispensed with the machinery of government and religion. This is apparently the reflection of the basic culture on which there were impositions after the Aryan advent later and the concomitant skirmishes and wars with chariot and horse. Neither in the Sangam literature nor in the Kural do we notice reference to wars of the kind we read about in the Mahabharata. Joad, in my opinion has rightly found the key to the integrated personality of the people of these early Dravidian societies when he states that they practised the psychological technique of value in all human activities. This integrated personality was later conventionally divided in Tamil literature into *aham* and *puram* i. e. subjective reactions and objective events, centering round 'love' and 'war'. But Tiruvalluvar maintains throughout the ideal of integrated personality of individual and society and deals with the totality of life, And this I regard as a feature completely exalted over all other ideals of polity. Albert Schwietzer naturally observes[13] that the world and life affirmation found in the Kural is so much different from that in the laws of Manu. This is the philosophic element in the idea of polity in the Kural. It is a polity meant for a society not based on force deriving its strength from a hegemony bound by supra-ethical and sometimes superstitious rules and beliefs. The dictum that culture makes the State is only too true. The conquests of such a State will be more in the field of culture and not of people or territory because government is not based on power. This is what has happened in India before 200 A.D. from a reading of history.

VII. IDEAS OF KINGSHIP AND SOCIAL CONTRACT

Having this background in view let us examine briefly the form of social contract, if any, in the old Dharma and Artha-

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13. Albert Schwietzer, *'Indian Thought and its Development'* (Hodder and Stroughton) 1936, pp. 200-205.

sastras and in the Kural. Social contract is the opposite of divine right of kings. It was Dr. K. P. Jayaswal that suggested that a passage in the Rig Veda which says, "Let all the people desire thee (as king) is a contractual basis for kingship." Dr. P. V. Kane does not agree with this view as the hymn was only a benediction to be sung perhaps at the royal coronation. There is also a passage in the Atharva Veda which contains the statement " the people (visah) chose thee to govern the kingdom, these quarters, the five goddesses chose thee." In Aitereya Brahmana there is a passage which says that after the Mahabiseka (coronation) the king is required to take an oath before the consecrating priest, "From the night of my birth to that of my death for the space between these two, my sacrifices and my gifts, my place, my good deeds, my life and my offspring mayest thou take if I play Thee false." Kane does not agree with Jayaswal that this is a contract. Mr. Spellman[14] however considers that this contains sufficient to say that there was in embryonic form at least the concept of a contract which however was not later developed. When the king is ordained to rule by virtue of caste there is obviously no contract. At least in the early Vedic societies there may be some such element of consent when janapada (or the rural area) was the unit of government. There is obviously no contract after the introduction of caste and imposition of Manu dharma under which the king also takes taxes as his wages. On the other hand the Buddhistic theory of kingship by governmental compact (or mahasammata) in the scheme of its cosmic evolution suggests a quasi-contractual obligation to protect. In some of the Jataka stories there is reference to election of a king. Spellman[15] rightly points out that from the religious point of view it was easier for the Buddhist to suggest a human origin for kingship than the Brahmanical religionists. The Jaina conception is also similar to the Buddhist's. Some writers like Somadeva and Hemachandra follow the smriti principle of the ruler's obligation or authority while Jinasena speaks of a purely sectarian obligation based on a sectarian view of the kingship. Kautilya exploits both the divine right theory and the contract theory in his Arthasastra to suit the

14. Spellman - *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20
15. *Ibid.* p. 24

ideas current in his time. For example Sutra I, xii. 26 says :

> "People suffering from anarchy (matsyanyaya) first made Manu, the Vaivaswata, to be their king; and allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandise as sovereign dues. Fed by this payment, kings maintain the safety and security of their subjects, and if they do not impose punishment and taxes (properly) are answerable for the sins of their subjects. The king stands in the place of Indra and Yama and kings are visible dispensers of punishment and rewards; whoever disregards kings will be visited with divine punishment. Hence kings shall never be despised."

Dr. U. N. Ghosal observes[16] that Kautilya's Arthasāstra is really "wanting in a true theory of the king's relation with his subjects, although he exploits current ideas of the king's origin and office for the purpose of political propaganda in the interest of public security. Kāmandaka in Sukranitisara slightly varies the Smriti idea by attributing the king's authority to be derived from his superhuman origin on the ground of his virtue and past merit as well as from his office and functions, while he repeats the smriti principle of the king's ethico-religious obligation of protection.

VIII. TIRUVALLUVAR'S VIEW

Let us see what is found in the Kural. Tiruvalluvar must obviously be aware of the Smriti ideas of kingship as well as the theories of the Buddhists and the Jains. It will not be stretching a point if we say that he was likely to have been aware of the Greek theories as there was considerable trade with Greece and according to *Silappadikāram* Yavanas were living in Kaviripumpattinam. It is quite likely that he was aware of Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra* and Kāmandaka's *Nītisāra* as most scholars find parallelism in a few places between Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar. Indeed Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai has suggested, as

16. U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p. 533

mentioned earlier, that Tiruvalluvar had greater partiality for Kamandaka. But we do not find anywhere in the Kural any suggestion of divine origin of kingship. Parimelalagar explains in his prefatory remarks to the chapter 'இறை மாட்சி' that Tiruvalluvar calls the king as இறை only as the king protects the world in the form of lokapalika and cites *Tiruvoimozhi* which says that seeing a virtuous king is seeing Tirumal, the protector in the Trinity. In the first chapter in the Porutpal called இறை மாட்சி Tiruvalluvar says that the king who administers impartial justice and protects his subjects will be looked upon as god among men. Parimelalagar interprets the words இறை and வைக்கப்படும் in the following Kural :

"முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்
இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும்." (398)

as follows :

"பிறப்பான் மகனேயாயினும் செயலான் மக்கட்குக் கடவுள்." (i.e., though human by birth, by function godly). For வைக்கப்படும் Parimelalagar says மக்களிற்பிரித்து உயர்த்தி வைத்தல், i.e., superior to and different from ordinary men. Manakkutavar and Pariperumal interpret that, because the king protects, he is considered as the chief (மனிதனுக்கு நாயகன் என்று எண்ணப்படுவான்). Parithiyar says that the king will be looked upon as Parameswaran (பரமேஸ்வரன் என்று எண்ணப்படும்). Kalingar says that the king is placed first before men and looked upon as god (உலகத்து மக்கள் யாவர்க்கும் இறையவன் என்று முன் வைத்து எண்ணப்படும்). It is clearly not the intention of Tiruvalluvar, even according to the commentators, to suggest that the king is divine in origin or descent. The king is only looked upon with the same veneration as god as both protect. The king is not looked upon as the Viceregent of God as in Chiristian countries in the medieaval age or the Khalif in Islamic countries. Of course he is not considered divine by divine consecration as in the Smriti literature. The word 'வைக்கப்படும் is measured and has a limited import. The social contract between the king and his subjects is not because of payment of taxes or other mutual obligation or on any elective principle but purely based on justice. The king is open to criticism and then only the subjects will not like to leave his protecting umbrella. Kural 389 says, "Behold

the prince who hath the virtue to bear with words that are bitter to the ear; his subjects will never leave the shadow of his umbrella."

" செவிகைப்பச் சொற்பொறுக்கும் பண்புடை வேந்தன்
கவிகைக்கீழ்த் தங்கும் உலகு." (389)

There is a concept in Tiruvalluvar which is probably not found anywhere else. He says 'Behold the Prince who is liberal and gracious and just and who tendeth his people with care. These four excellences make him the light among kings.'

" கொடையளி செங்கோல் குடியோம்ப னான்கும்
உடையானாம் வேந்தர்க் கொளி." (390)

The word '*ஒளி*' is significant. It is not used simply to denote that such a king is an enlightened one among kings. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai[17] has given a wonderful exposition for this word '*ஒளி*' in his book '*திருவள்ளுவர் நூல் நயம்.*' He says :

" உலகம் காக்கின்ற வேந்தரிடத்து ஓர் ஒளி உண்டென்றும் அவ்வொளியே உலகினைக் காக்கும் பெருந்திறமாமென்றும், அவ்வொளியே அவர்மாட்டுள்ள தெய்வத்தன்மையை உணர்த்துமென்றும் தமிழ் நூல்கள் கருதுகின்றன. அவர்பாலுள்ள ஒளியால் அவனை மக்கள் வேண்டுவார்க ளென்னும் கருத்தை நாயனார்,

" இளையர் இனமுறையர் என்றிகழார் நின்ற
ஒளியோடு ஒழுகப் படும்." (698)

என்று அரசனிடத்துள்ள ஒளியைப் புகழ்கின்றனர்."

"Trifle not with the Prince because he is young or because he is kinsman. Act with deference to the light that resides in him" (Translation). Here also Tiruvalluvar refers to 'Oli'.

I find that Parimelalgar interprets *ஒளி* as the '*உலகம் காக்கின்ற தெய்வத்தன்மை.*'

I also find that in another Kural, Tiruvalluvar has clearly stated that this light resides in a king only so long as he is just :

" மன்னர்க்கு மன்னுதல் செங்கோன்மை ; அஃதின்றேல்
மன்னாவாம் மன்னர்க் கொளி." (556)

17. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Tiruvalluvar Nool Nayam*, Madras South India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Co., Madras (1952)

The Tamil classic *Jivaka Chintamani* has a passage which also refers to this ஒளி as protecting the people even when the king is asleep.

> " உறங்கு மாயினும் மன்னவன் தன்னொளி,
> கறங்கு தெண்டிரை வையகங் காக்குமால்
> இறங்கு கண்ணிமை யார்விழித் தேயிருந்து
> அறங்கள் வெளவ அதன்புறங் காக்கலார்."

The word ஒளி has a profound significance in the Tamil religious and philosophical tradition. St. Jnanasambandar in திருவெழுகூற்றிருக்கை refers to Lord Siva having showed the ஒளி நெறி to the four rishis:

> " ஓரால் நீழல் ஒண்கழ லிரண்டும்
> முப்பொழு தேத்திய நால்வர்க் கொளிநெறி
> காட்டினை." (Tevaram, I. 28.6-8)

'Oli' in the Tamil tradition means Divine knowledge. So, Tiruvalluvar in referring to this must not have meant mere glory or Divine origin, but grace born out of wisdom. It is the King's grace that binds the subjects to him than any other manifestation of social contract. Dr. N. Subramaniam in his paper 'Political Philosophy of Ancient Tamils' (*Madras University Journal*, Vol. XXXII, No. 2, January 1961) says that divine qualities were attributed to the King and that his divine right to rule was accepted. This is not absolutely correct so far as Kural is concerned. Even Dr, U. N. Ghosal, who is the only non-Tamil Indian author who has devoted some attention to Tamil classics, in discussing Indian political ideas says, "that the influence of the Smriti ideas of divine kingship is found in all Sanskrit literary works like Ramayana, Pancatantra, etc, as well as the Kural and Silappadikaram of the Tamil classical literature." This does not appear to be entirely correct so far as Tiruvalluvar is concerned.

Prof. Spellman[18] classifies different gradations of kingly divinity and they are interesting :

(1) God is king.
(2) King is God.

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18. Spellman, *op. cit.*, p. 24 et seq.

(3) All kings are divine.

(4) Religious kings are divine.

(5) King's descent is from god.

(6) King is a divine agent.

(7) King incorporates particles of god in him.

(8) Institute of Kingship is divine.

(9) King's functions are comparable to god.

(10) King achieves occasional divinity through sacrifices and ceremonies.

(11) King is endowed by superhuman attributes.

(12) King is a special concern of the gods.

Tiruvalluvar's very carefully qualified statement that—"The Prince who administereth impartial justice and protecteth his subjects will be looked upon as god among men."

> "முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்
> இறையென்று வைக்கப் படும்." (388)

does not seem to fall into any of the above classifications. Manu claimed king's divinity as one of the reasons for the king being entitled to obedience. But there were so many other things also which were considered sacred in the ancient tradition. Narada Sutras say, "a Brahman, a cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, the sun, the waters and a king as the eight" are sacred. On this Prof. A. L. Basham dryly remarks that 'divinity was cheap in India'. Kural at any rate does not endow any kind of cheap divinity to the king in its polity.

I have dealt with at some length on this aspect of kingship as it is the fountain head for all other concepts of polity. Listing of qualifications for the king, his education, his council, his need for forts, army and other resources are all ordinary considerations, which any writer on polity could compile. What I wish to emphasise is that in Tiruvalluvar the idea of polity completely secular and there is nothing sacred or sacerdotal attached to it which will not stand validity at the present time.

IX. OLD THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT

Before discussing in detail the ideas of polity in the Kural it is necessary to examine the theories of government and the State in the ancient world before the age of Tiruvalluvar. The usual starting point for such an examination hitherto was the Rig Veda but we have now to start from Mehenjo-daro civilisation. I have already referred to the state of society in the Harappan culture and its probable system of government. We can neither ignore it nor exaggerate it. That civilisation was not, of course, a state of nature—"a lush paradise where righteousness prevailed, no laws were necessary, no king needed; everything was perfect." After the disappearance of the Harappan culture in the Indus valley either by flood or by annihilation, it persisted in other areas in a decadent form but still maintaining some distinguishing features. Its dominant characteristic was, judging from the seals, the monotheistic idea of God and the absence of any evidence of divine kingship. The most important seal only bears the figure of Pasupati. The earliest reference to kingship in Rig Veda is on the divine level rather than on human level. To Indra was given the Kingship—"the hero who in all encounters overcometh, most eminent for power, destroyer in conflict, fierce and exceedingly strong, stalwart and full of vigour." In Aitereya Brahmana the story is given in greater detail in the war between gods and asuras. In Satapata Brahmana it is even more specific. In the evil fight the gods yielded to the excellence of Indra—"Indra is all the deities, the gods have Indra as chief." In the historical situation of the Vedic times, the king was predominantly a military leader with supernatural powers. Throughout the Vedic times upto the time of Manu, the fear of anarchy was almost endemic which is a symptom of an unstable society. The doctrine of Matsyanyāya was predominant, the strong dominating the weak like the big fish eating the smaller fish. The Satapata Brahmana states that the stronger seizes the weaker. Manu states, "The creator created the king for the protection of all this world when every thing ran through fear hither and thither, as there was then no ruler of the world." We find these ideas stressed in the Santi Parva of Mahabharata. This idea of rulership as a safeguard against anarchy must naturally engender some important political concepts of rights and duties, but even

upto the time of Kautilya the development of ideas was onesided. The king had no doubt the obligation to protect but the citizens had no right to revolt if their unalienable rights were usurped. Mr. Spellman says,[19] "The idea of Matsyanyaya became more than simply the raison detre for kingship. It underlay the concept of varnasrama dharma. Just as the various classes had been created separately, they should remain distinct. If it were otherwise and a confusion of castes resulted, one would be encouraging social chaos and eventually a kind of anarchy. It is one of the functions of the king to ensure that people remained in their assigned places in society. The doctrine of Matsyanyaya was thus the dominant justification for the theoretical basis of kingship. This in due course gave rise to the organic theory of the State as consisting of several elements of which the people (or rashtra) are the most important. The Matsya Purana states "The king was the State and the subjects were the tree". Later on the State is said to be composed of seven angas—(1) the ruler (Swāmin) (2) the minister (amātya), (3) the territory and the people (rashtra or janapada), (4) the fortress (durg), (5) the treasury (kosa), (6) army (danda) and (7) friends and allies (mitra). Superimposed on this purely secular concept is what Mr. Spellman calls the sacrificial theory of State according to which the State exists for maintaining the varnasrama dharma, the performance of which is considered as a grand sacrifice to please the gods. The danda niti of the king is for ensuring the performance of these duties. The importance and privileges given to Brahmans were to ensure them to perform the rituals necessary for the welfare of the State. Even in Kautilya we find this concept underlined. Sutra 1-III-6 says, "Of a king, the religious vow is his readiness to action: satisfactory discharge of his duties is his performance of sacrifice; equal attention to all is the offer of fees and ablution towards consecration." The king is divinely appointed in a Rājasūya sacrifice when he takes on the amsa of Prajapati. Strangely enough it is not stated how the first king came to be appointed and even Kautilya is silent as to how kings were appointed or elected. According to the Brahmanas the king is divinely appointed from the Kshatriyas and the oath for him to carry out his royal duties was administered by the priest. (Dr.

19. J. W. Spellman, *op cit*, pp. 7 and 8

U. N. Ghosal has dealt with this topic exhaustively but still the exact manner of election of king is not clear.) Between the theory of divine kingship and that of the theory of social contract, which are the two extremities, there are intermediate theories. One is semi-divine appointment by rishis. In Atharva Veda we have a passage[20] which says, "Desiring what is excellent, the heaven finding rishis in the beginning sat down in attendance with (upanisad) ardour and consecration; thence was born royalty, strength and force; let the gods make submissive to this man."

In Mahabharata also we find many stories of kings created by rishis. This is occasional divinity as distinguished from *functional divinity by virtue of varna*, Prof. Saletore calls these occasional divinity and divinity through incorporation. The theory of Social Contract, a concept elaborated by Rousseau, is of course totally absent in these early theories of kingship in India and the citizen has no right to depose a ruler, and no remedy, apart from regicide or rebellion, which the Sastras did not allow, to correct a king who fails in his duties.

X. KURAL'S CONCEPT OF 'ARAM'

Let us see whether Tiruvalluvar's task was only to continue or repeat the ideas in Dharmasastras.

It is superficially stated that later writers on Dharma niti or artha merely repeated or explained what was contained in the Smritis and Srutis. This is not exactly so, as even Kautilya himself has criticised some of his predecessors. But the Dharmasastra attributed to Manu has pervaded for a long time and probably throughout the country, whether tacitly or otherwise. There is however, a lot of confusion as to what exactly Dharma, niti or danda means although in the Tamil tradition the word 'aram' has been used from time immemorial with more or less the same connotation and embraces niti. Parimelalagar calls it துணைக்காரணம் for 'aram' and its fulfilment as porul and inbam. The Manu of the northern tradition mentioned in the Rig Veda, Atharva Veda and the Taitteriya Samhita is only a legendary

20. Quoted by Spellman, p. 16

person to denote the father of the race. In the Yajur Samhitas and in the Brahmanas and later in the epics he is spoken of as a king or consecrated person. In the Dharmasastras, Manu refers to the Vedas being the root of Dharma and hence the law-giver is different from the Manu of the Vedas. Kautilya doubtless follows this Manu of the Dharmasastras in many particulars and there is evidence to indicate that there was an earlier Manava Dharma Sutra as distinct from the Manu Smriti. Brihaspathi's Artasastra is said to be a summary of an earlier work on danda niti. The date of this Brihaspati is fixed at 200-400 A. D. by Dr. P. V. Kane and at 600-700 A.D. by Professors Buhler and Jolly. Similarly Parasara is attributed to 100-500 A. D. and Yājna-valkya to 400 A. D. There appears to have been more than one person bearing the same name in each case. The identity of Kautilya is itself in doubt, some scholars assigning him to 400 B. C. and some to 300 A. D. Kāmāndaka, author of Nitisara is attributed to Circa 587 A. D. and by some others to 700 A. D. Apart from the identity doubts and chronological uncertainties of these writers on dharma, artha and niti, there is no unanimity either about the exact connotation of the words and their relationships. This is very important to indicate that canonical laws were not distinct from similar theories of polity. Prof. Macdonnell interpreted dharma as law, custom and morality, Prof. Keith as duty and morality, and Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar as precepts and canonical law. Even such a learned scholar in Dharmasastras like Dr. P. V. Kane[21] considers that the exact meaning of the term is uncertain. He says that its most prominent significance came to be 'the privileges, duties and obligations of a man, his standard of conduct as a member of the Aryan community, as a member of one of the casts, as a person in a particular stage of life'. The commentators of Manusmriti also refer to dharma as five-fold, viz, varna, dharma, asrama dharma, varnasrama dharma, naimithika dharma and guna dharma. When applied to polity, only the last is relevant, as it alone is bound by ācara (law) and vyavahāra (administration). Refering to Artha, Dr. Kane says that, "Though Arthasastra and Dharmasastra are often contra-distinguished on account of the difference of the two sastras in ideals and in the methods

21. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharmasastra*'î Vol. I, pp. 2 and 3

adopted to reach them, Arthasastra is really a branch of Dharma sastra as the former deals with the responsibility of the kings for whom rules are laid down in many treatises on Dharma. The purpose of Arthasastra as stated in Kautilya itself is 'to prescribe means for securing and preserving power over the earth.' (*Prithivya labapaleno upaya sastram Arthasastramithi*, p. 15-1) Referring to danda or niti, Prof. Saletore[22] says that even Vijnaneswara, the famous commentator of Yājnavalkya Smriti does not enlighten us on the content of dharma and its relation to the science of danda niti or niti-sastra. Later on Emperor Asoka in the Brahmagiri edict uses dharma in the sense of the sum of moral duties. Danda niti is clearly a penal or corrective code as 'danda' is the stake to which an offender is tied. Dr. Ghosal states the relation between Arthasastra and danda niti fairly clearly. He says that the scope of danda niti is simply defined as comprising policy and impolicy, while Arthasastra is shown by definition as well as its content to mean the art of government in the widest sense. Rajadharma is referred to in both the dharmasastra and Arthasastra but in the former it is stated as a class duty while in the latter it "concerns itself as a rule with the inductive investigation of the phenomena of the State. It is evident from a study of these sastras that some placed emphasis on trayi (the Dharmasastras derived from Vedas), some on anvikshiki (the philosophies like Sankhya etc.) and some on danda niti (the coercive power of the ruler). It is Kautilya and to a greater extent Kāmāndaka that placed emphasis on varta, the economics and politics of the State, as mankind is principally devoted to the pursuit of wealth.

The point I am driving at is that it is in the Kural that we find the advent of a rationalistic concept of politics based primarily on virtue and wealth, 'aram and porul', which are not governed by class duties laid down in canonical books like Manu which cannot obviously hold validity for all times. Prof. Keith has clinched the point when he says that the arthasastra and nitisastra were opposed to the dharmasastra in as much as they are not codes of morals but deal in the main with action in practical politics and conduct of the ordinary affairs

22. Saletore, *op. cit.* pp. 12-13

of every day life and intercourse. Both Kautilya and Yājnavalkya gave precedence to Dharmasastra over Dhanda niti and said that when there was conflict, the injunction of the former should prevail. Tiruvalluvar gives importance to *'aram'* out and out but it is not the canonical law, and not even ethical law, but moral value and goodness. Consider for example the following Kurals :

" இருமை வகைதெரிந்து ஈண்டுஅறம் பூண்டார்
பெருமை பிறங்கிற்று உலகு." (23)

" அழுக்காறு அவாவெகுளி இன்னாச்சொல் நான்கும்
இழுக்கா இயன்றது அறம்." (35)

" என்பி லதனை வெயில்போலக் காயுமே
அன்பி லதனை அறம்." (77)

" அல்லவை தேய அறம்பெருகும், நல்லவை
நாடி இனிய சொலின்." (96)

It may be noted that Tiruvalluvar uses two different words '*அறம்*' and '*அறன்*' (*aram*) and (*aran*). The latter refers to ethical merit or conformism to the ethical law or the unalterable fruit of action. For example, in the Kural we notice the word '*aran*' in the following lines :

" அறனீனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்." (754)

" திறனறிந்து சொல்லுக சொல்லை ; அறனும்
பொருளும் அதனினூஉங்கு இல்." (644)

" அறனறிந்து ஆன்றமைந்த சொல்லான்எஞ் ஞான்றுந்
திறனறிந்தான் தேர்ச்சித் துணை." (635)

" அறனறிந்து மூத்த அறிவுடையார் கேண்மை
திறனறிந்து தேர்ந்து கொளல்." (441)

" அறனிழுக்கா தல்லவை நீக்கி மறனிழுக்கா
மானம் உடைய தரசு." (384)

'அறன்' (*aran*) is of a lower order than 'அறம்' (*aram*) which is absolute goodness. This is clear from the following Kural :

> " மனத்துக்கண் மாசிலன் ஆதல் ; அனைத்துஅறன் ;
> ஆகுல நீர பிற." (44)

'அறன்' (*aran*) apparently refers to ethics whereas 'அறம்' (*aram*) is goodness. In Arattuppāl Tiruvalluvar lays stress on 'aram' more than 'aran'.

The State morality must be based on goodness whereas individual morality is necessarily subordinate to social ethics and convention and religious injunctions which may have only limited goodness although conventionally meritorious. Tiruvalluvar transcends the conventions and prejudices of the earlier times and thus presents a theory of values based on 'aram'.

CHAPTER III

TIRUVALLUVAR, PLATO AND CONFUCIUS

I. TIRUVALLUVAR AND THE GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

It will not be irrelevant to compare Tiruvalluvar's ideas with those of Plato in his *Republic* for both are principally philosophers. Plato lived in the first half of the 4th Century B.C. He was an aristocrat and related to the thirty tyrants who ruled in Greece. He was a youngman when Athens was defeated by the democrats, and a pupil of Socrates whom democracy put to death. He therefore turned to Sparta for the administration of the ideal commonwealth. Being an admirer of Socrates, his approach to political problems was more teleological than rational explanations. He considered the God-state to be the one which 'most nearly copies the heavenly model by having a minimum of change and a maximum of static perfection and its rulers should be those who best understood the eternal good.' Like the Pythagoreans he believed that only a man who knew the good could be a good statesman and those who do not have a combination of intellectual and moral discipline if allowed a share in government, will corrupt it. He, therefore, insisted on much education in a Ruler. In common with most Greek philosophers he thought that leisure was essential for wisdom and therefore would relieve those who have to govern from the burden of having to work for their living.

In his *Republic* Plato deals with three aspects. The first is the construction of an ideal commonwealth, the second the concept of a philosopher-king and the third different kinds of constitution and their merits. His main idea is to define what justice is and because the state is a magnification of the individual, he deals with the attributes of a just State. In Plato's utopia citizens are divided into three classes: the common people, the soldiers and the guardians. The last are the rulers to wield political power. The guardians will be chosen by

legislators and thereafter by heredity. The guardians are to carry out the intentions of the legislators. The education of the guardian is to comprise many things including geometry, gymnastics and music. Gravity, decorum and courage are to be cultivated by this education. The guardians should have only small houses and simple food and should have no private property. Plato's idea of justice consists in every citizen doing his just business without interference with others. It implies more a sense of law than one of equality. On this basis the reposing of more power in the guardians is justified because they are wiser. This really, as Thrasymachus put it crudely, is 'Justice is nothing else than the interest of the stronger,' although it is refuted in the Dialogues. Bertrand Russell[1] who thinks that Plato is more praised than understood puts the question: 'What will Plato's Republic achieve?' He answers: "It will achieve success in wars against roughly equal populations, and it will secure livelihood for a certain small number of people. It will almost certainly produce no art or science because of its rigidity. . . . Plato had lived through famine and defeat in Athens; perhaps subconsciously he thought the avoidance of these evils the best statesman could accomplish." Plato's ideas are sometimes described as communistic because he disfavoured private property and he desired that citizens should be as sons and elders as fathers. Plato's communism is disapproved by Aristotle. He criticises Plato's utopia as giving too much unity to the State and that without private property there would be no virtue like benevolence and generosity. Both Plato and Aristotle were not aware of the system of Government in non-Hellenic states although Aristotle makes references to Egypt, Babylon, Persia and Carthage. But he is influenced by the causes of revolutions in Greece and therefore his defence of democracy is qualified. Monarchy is better than aristocracy and aristocracy is better than democracy, but the corruption of the best is the worst and hence tyranny is worse than oligarchy and oligarchy worse than democracy. Aristotle makes an interesting distinction between oligarchy and democracy. There is oligarchy when the rich govern without consideration for the poor and democracy when the power is in the hands of the needy and they disregarded

1. Bertrand Russell, p. 200.

the interest of the rich. Aristotle considers that foreign conquest is not the end of the State except wars against barbarians and slaves. In small States war is not an end but only a means for its happiness. Even in Aristotle's days this proved obsolete as the city state was overrun by Macedonia. For Plato, the only chance for happiness is to put Government in the hands of philosophers—men of good strata, good physique, good mind and good education and create a ruling class of such men unchanged and uncorrupted. The ideal of Aristotle is the state which produces cultured gentlemen, i. e., men with aristocratic mentality with love of learning and arts. It must be noted that Plato does not equate a philosopher king to a man of learning. A good and noted guardian of the city, he considers, will be by nature philosophical and spirited and quick and strong. There was much scepticism even in his own time about philosophers being able to rule and remaining uncorrupted.

I shall later on refer to Tiruvalluvar's concept of learning and wise counsel for the Prince in the *Kural* which is entirely different from those of Plato and Aristotle.

Plato conceives of a State without war but that a city suffering from luxury, or inflammation as he calls it, will lead to war with neighbours. " If we are to have enough for pasture and ploughland, we must take a slice from our neighbour's territory. And they will want to do the same to ours, if they also overpass the bounds of necessity and plunge into wreckless pursuit of wealth."

Plato considers that the State will need a professional army and that according to his idea, will mean not a citizen army but a special class or caste and that the business of war is a matter of craftsmanship. The army would largely be drawn from the higher castle to which the philosophers belonged and that has not all of that caste would be fit for ruling, the rest would remain as soldiers and auxiliaries.

What is Plato's conception of the common man, the governed, the citizen? There is little indication of what his educaation should be, and what his laws of property, marriage etc., should be. Plato seems to have thought that once the rulers

or guardians are properly instituted, the rest would automatically follow. It is for this defect that Plato's *Republic* is considered more as an utopia than as practical proposition. He considered that his Republic would decline not so much by other factors as by the process in the decline of the 'guardians'. The first and least bad decline is what is called Timocracy. Timocracy is the regime where honour is the dominant principle giving rise to love of gold. A property qualification is introduced and wealth becomes the principle of power. The result is that the State is divided into rich and poor, the one conspiring against the other. Plutocracy is the natural offspring of Timocracy. Plutocracy passes into democracy when the civil conflict becomes open and the masses of the poor get the power. Plato thinks that democracy is worse than oligarchy and says that "the excess of wealth and neglect of all else but money-making destroyed oligarchy" and that the excess of the good in democracy dissolved it in its turn. The thirst for the wine of liberty will lead to defiance of the rulers who will not satisfy it and the rulers will naturally have to use strong measures. Thus democracy leads to a form of tyranny. Liberty will go beyond limits and lawlessness " will make its way down into private homes and end by implanting itself in the very animals." The tyrant in Democracy is full of promises to the individual and the public, grants release from debts, distributes lands to the public and pretends to be gracious and good-natured to all. All his time is consumed in keeping rivals under check and will stir up conflicts to keep the public in need of him, while taxes might impoverish them. The whole argument of Plato was that a just man is better and happier than the unjust and that the philosopher is better fitted to rule than the vulgar caught up in constant bouts for power and pleasure. It will be interesting to note that Plato later more or less abandoned his argument of government by philosophers and in his old age he appealed to the authority of religion in his work. 'The Laws' He considers that the strongest motive to hold men to their duty is judgment after death. He advocates a moderate democracy where government by philosophers is abandoned but in which there will be weightage of power to

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2. G. Lowes Dickinson, p. 148.

the richer classes while excluding no one from political influence. The communism of the Republic is also abandoned and only the avoidance of extremes of poverty and wealth is recommended.

I have dwelt at some length on the concepts of polity and the political theory of Plato only to show by contrast that Tiruvalluvar has placed his concepts above the quicksands of conflicts between the rich and poor and the competitions between tyrants. His is the concept of constitutional rule by a Prince of inherent qualities for rulership and aided by a council of competent ministers and the rule being based on justice and manly action as will be seen from Chapters 55, 56, 60 and 62 of the Kural, Tiruvalluvar's concept of the Prince appears to be somewhat similar to the concept of Philosopher-Ruler in the *Republic*. The Philosopher-Ruler represents the highest talent given the highest training both by education from books and instruction by wise men and put at the disposal of the State. Although Plato contemplates hereditary succession after creation of the class of Philosopher-Ruler, Tiruvalluvar does not refer to hereditary succession at all. The Philosopher-Kings of Plato's ideal do not serve the State because they want to but because they have the supreme vision and have a duty to their fellow men and thus the discharge by doing work of the government. They are a dedicated minority. The perennial attraction in this conception is that it puts the highest talent at the disposal of the community, a ruler whose heart is in heaven but dedicates himself to the service of society. One criticism against this concept is that a self-perpetuating minority of experts is undesirable and undemocratic. There is no democratic election because Plato thought that as bad a way of choosing rulers as choosing them by their wealth. Another criticism is that the ideal of a Philosopher-Ruler is more an ideal than fact to be found in practical life and hence the moral problem of power corrupting a ruler who is supposed to be ideal. The argument against Plato's system is not that it trusts the common man too little but it trusts the rulers too much.

Tiruvalluvar rightly stresses more on the virtues of the councillors than the king himself and the duty of the councillors to correct the king where need be. Mr. Gosman regards Plato

as a *reactionary* who encouraged in practice the 'dictatorship of the virtuous Right.' Dr. Proppert considers him a totalitarian and a Utopian who prepares in advance a blue print of the society he aims at and then is ruthless in trying to put it to effect. Mr. Weldon styles Plato's concept as 'the illusion of the geometrical method', a phrase which has cynical reference to Plato's prescription of training in mathematics and astronomy for the Philosopher Ruler. Tiruvalluvar differs from Plato and also from Manu and Kautilya in this respect.

Manu and Kautilya dwell more on the sacraments to be performed by the ruler as a Kshatriya including the performance of sacrifices. Kautilya advances on the injunction of Manu as he insists on the instruction of the king by experienced man in addition to guidance by men learned in the Vedas. The king has to learn the sacred canon (trayi) and philosophy (anvikshika) from cultured persons, ecoeomics (vartha) from the heads of administrative departments and polities (danda niti) from those versed in theory and practice. Kautilya has no doubt an eye more on the practical requirements of state-craft than sacerdotal obligations. He gives a formidable list of qualifications for the king and even prescribes a daily time-table of his duties. He insists on the king keeping company with aged professors of sciences and law for proper discipline (*asya nityas-ca vidyaniddha samyoga vinaya—vriddhyarathm tat mulatvat vinayasya* (Art. I. V. 10), He even goes to the extent of saying that where the letter of the sacred law (Sastra) comes in conflict with the rational interpretation of dharma (dharma nyāya), then reason shall be held authoritative.

Tiruvalluvar steers clear of the sacerdotal theories or the theory of kingship by karma found in Manu, Kautilya and the Mahabharata. There is no reference to any caste or sacerdotal or karmic qualifications. He doubtless enumerate the qualifications for the Prince, his education, and his instruction by the wise and this some scholars ascribe as a debt which Tiruvalluvar owès to the Arthasastra. This is on the face of it untenable as no writer on Polity can omit to refer to it. On the other

3. H. D. P. Lee, *Plato, the Republic*, *Penguin Classics (1955)*, p. 45.

hand what is important is whether the qualifications prescribed are a mere copy of the old or traditional, either because of reverence for the old or because the society depicted in Arthasastra is better and a model for all times and all societies. It is no doubt true that Tiruvalluvar does not discuss the origin and criteria for kingship just as Plato or Kautilya does because it is immaterial what the custom approved by society is, but what is more important is that the Prince should have the competence and wisdom and training to uphold a just government no matter whether he is elected or succeeds by heredity. That the Prince is not to be a Rajan remote from his subjects is clear as he is enjoined in Kural 386 to be accessible to all his subjects and never to be harsh of word.

" காட்சிக் கெளியன் கடுஞ்சொல்லன் அல்லனேல்
மீக்கூறும் மன்னன் நிலம்." (386)

In the Chapter on *கல்வி* (learning) Tiruvalluvar does not mention any particular sastras as does Kautilya of 'trayi'. It is safe to infer that Tiruvalluvar wants the Prince to learn all that is worth knowing in his own society and in others. Otherwise how is the relevance of Kural 397 in the Chapter *கல்வி* (learning) ? ' All lands and places are acceptable for those who wish to learn, then why not continue to learn till life lasts ?' asks Tiruvalluvar.

" யாதானும் நாடாமால் ஊராமால் என்ஒருவன்
சாந்துணையுங் கல்லாத வாறு ? " (397)

Tiruvalluvar's prescription is universal and is valid for all times. His concepts transcend the limitations of geo-politics which are circumscribed by factors of location and environment, both in place and time. Lack of fulness of knowledge in an intercommunicating society, Tiruvalluvar holds, is like playing at chess without squares.

" அரங்கின்றி வட்டுஆடி யற்றே, நிரம்பிய
நூலின்றிக் கோட்டி கொளல்." (401)

II. MANU AND HAMMURABI

Now, I wish to make a brief reference to the Babylonian concept of the State as Dravidian pre-history goes back to the contacts with Sumeria in 3000 B. C. Hammurabi was the Babylonian law-giver. Manu could be hypothetically assigned to circa 1800 B. C. It is the same age to which Hammurabi has been assigned by Prof. Gordon Childe. There is some resemblance in the two codes as they appear to have been made when city states were absorbed in territorial states comprising larger societies. There is abundant evidence of the existence of cities in the Mohenjo-daro and Harappa epoch (circa 2500 B. C.) but beyond their general lay-out, civic amenities and their trade and articles of merchandise, no information is available about the state of polity. There is, however, little doubt from the seals, even in their present state of undecipherment, that there was foreign trade, that there was orderly civic government and that its polity must have been highly evolved. Manusmriti itself was believed to be valid only in Aryavarta, in the country between the Himalayas and Vindhyas, the different regions of it being Brahmavarta (the land between Sarasvathi and Drsadvati, Brahmarsi (the land comprising Kurukshetra, Matsya, Pancala or Kanyakubja and Surasena or Mathura) and the Madhyadesa (the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas to the west of Vinasara and the east of Prayaga. It is clear that the codes of Manu and Hammurabi were made after a sort of politico-social consolidation was made. There is said to be similarity of views between Hammurabi and Manu on the questions of landed property and wages. Slavery was known both to Hammurabi and Manu, but we do not find a whisper of it in Tiruvalluvar. Manu mentions seven kinds of slaves—he who is made captive in war, he who works for his daily food, he who is born in the house, he who is bought, he who is given as gift by another and he who is inherited from ancestors. The Babyloninan law-giver conceded property rights to the slave but Manu would not, and it is stated that the priest could seize the property of a slave. Kautilya also has a chapter on slaves but he is a little more liberal. According to him the king shall punish those who do not protect the rights of the slaves (dasas) and hirelings (chatikas) but it seems that an Arya could never be made slave except when taken captive in war. In Hammurabi, Manu and

Kautilya we find differences in penalties and protection based on social differences and there is no equality before the law or the king's code. But we are not concerned here so much with this aspect as with the concept of the State. The Babylonian concept of kingship was based on the 'idea of *'ishakku'*, the king being the vice-regent of the city of god. He is one who rules by divine right and could be opposed only by priests who were the repositories of magic and the messages of the gods.

In the official hierarchy also the priests played a part. Prof. Saletore[4] thinks that the king in Manu was not an unbridled despot although as in Hammurabi he had the power over the life and death of his subjects. He states that the king in Manu was properly more afraid of the Kshatriyas than the king in Hammurabi who was afraid of the priests.

III. ROMAN THEORISTS

Considering that ancient South India had contacts with Rome and China both in trade and culturally and also with the early Christian civilisation, it is necessary to touch even though briefly on the contemporary development of political thought in those civilisations. There was no striking originality in Roman thought and for the most part the ideas current were those of the Hellenistic period. Plato and Aristotle made little impact and Rome's influence was the development of jurisprudence which later profoundly influenced the Western world. The stoic doctrine of the brotherhood of man and citizenship of the world (which is a parallel to the Sangam poet's *'yādum ūrē, yāvarum kēlir*) suited Rome which had its eyes on pax Romana. Cicero in his *De Republic* says that people are brought together because of their consent to law than by anything else. The distinguishing feature of this concept is that whether power resides in a king or the people or a tyrant it is vice, that wrong-doing produces inequality and that all men are capable of virtue. It is observed that it is here that the study of State begins with human nature as by that nature men are equal. This is the turning point and the beginnings of a theory of society

4. Saletore, *op. cit.*, p. 166

of which Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity of the later French revolution is an expression. This idea of the equality of men is the profoundest contribution of the Stoics to political thought which changed the conception of law and influenced modern political philosophers like Locke. For Plato and Aristotle men are bound to be ruled by natural superiors and aristocracy becomes the form of government. But to Cicero law is coeval with man and man shares it with god and by nature he shares it equally with men of whatever race or city and this precedes the establishment of any State or government. This led to the replacement in the Middle ages of the old Greek idea that great men are a law unto themselves or that the discretion of the philosopher-king is higher than the fixity of law. (The impact of this could be traced in the differences in concepts in the Old and New Testaments). It is well to take note of this also as it is sometimes suggested that Tiruvalluvar was influenced by the Christian doctrine of faith, love and charity if not of political ideas. The old Jewish tradition was purely theocratic with a later development towards monarchy but there is little evidence of any theory of government or the nature of political relations. In the New Testament we find many cross-currents of thought particularly in the Epistles of St. Paul and in the words of Jesus, "Render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's"—This finds crystallisation after Christianity was established in Rome. In his *City of God* St. Augustine says, "A people is not an assemblage of men brought together in any fashion but an assemblage of a multitude associated by consent to law and community of interest."

In Tirnvalluvar we do not find any reference to the supremacy of any law except the natural law in the governance of a State and of course no theocratic element. There is therefore not much in common in Tiruvalluvar with the Roman and Jewish traditions.

IV. TIRUVALLUVAR AND CONFUCIUS

Let us now turn to Chinese thought. Confucius who lived in 557—479 B. C.[5] was born in a common family and later became

5. C. N. McIlwain - *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* The Macmillan Co. New York (1960), p. 115

Grand Secretary of Justice and the Chief Minister in the Chou dynasty. He re-gained some territory lost to a neighbouring State by his moral force, executed a Minister who created disorder and restored peace in the land. He travelled from State to State and was consulted by dukes and princes but no one would put his doctrines into force. His judgements on social and political events were such that "unruly ministers and villainous sons were afraid to repeat their evil deeds".[6] His teachings are found in his *Analects*. He placed emphasis on virtue *te* as contrasted with physical force *li*. His concept of *Chun* or the rular is bound by a particular code of morals and manners so that the word *Chun-tzu* implies not merely superiority of birth but also superiority of character and behaviour. The requisite of birth is waived. The way of the *Chun-tzu* may be called the way of the Gentlemen. One recognises him by the fact that his movements are free from any brusqueness or violence, that his expression is one of complete openness and sincerity, that his speech is free from any low or vulgar tinge. As regards his conduct, he must be extremely careful to make friends only with people of his own sort but he need be never lonely. If he behave like a gentleman he will be welcomed by his brothers everywhere within the four seas. The whole world is his club and country. Because it is only small men that develop hostility, while gentlemen are loved and respected. He has no politics, but sides with the right wherever he finds it. He must not lay himself open to the accusation of talking too much, still less should he boast or display his superiority (except in sports). He must not exalt himself by denigrating the people which is the method of small men. His education is for building up his *te* or character. He will face emergencies without fret or fear and his head will not be turned by success nor his temper soured by adversity. The success of Confucianism and its triumph over other schools of his time in the second Century B. C. was due to its moderation. Confucius placed much store on culture (*wen*) and on keeping faith (*fen*) more than merely telling truth. He also gives importance to 'learning much' and he did not attach any importance to rituals. It seems to me that the confucian doctrines come very close to the image of a good Prince in the *Kural*. Particularly the

6. Arthur Waley, The *Analects of Confucius*, George Allen & Unwin London (1949), pp. 34 et seq.

importance of keeping faith rather than adhering to literal truth corresponds to Tiruvalluvar's definition of வாய்மை. (*Vāimai* or truth). Confucius also speaks of a Saviour King (*Wang*) who, unlike monarchs of the world ruling by magic, moral force or by feudatory succession, would make goodness universal.

In my view Tiruvalluvar's conception of the Prince as சான்றோன் ('*Sānrōn*') is comparable to Plato's 'philosopher king' and the Confucian ideal of the 'gentleman king'.

V. BUDDHIST AND JAINA SCHOOLS

I would now like to touch on the Buddhist and Jaina theories of State and Kingship as it is likely that they were known throughout the country at that time. (It is sometimes claimed that Tiruvalluvar was a Buddhist or Jaina.) The Buddhist concept of Kingship is mostly based on the Buddhist works like *Tripitakas* and the Jataka stories. Of these, the Digha Nayaka is said to contain some useful material. There is no agreement about the date of Triptitakas and it is assigned a period ranging from 4th Century B. C. to 4th Century A. D. The Buddhist tradition relates that the Jataka stories were taken to Ceylon by the Royal missionary Mahendra during the reign of Asoka. Dr. Saletore[7] states that Buddhists and Jains led two vigorous protestant movements against Hinduism from the 5th Century B. C. onwards and both were essentially concerned with ridiculing the earlier Hindu political concepts although that did not prevent them from either adopting or modifying some of them. The Digha Nayaka gives an insight into the fanciful picture of the primeval human society. Only after the degeneracy of this society from its ethereal to physical plane, the two human institutions of family and property began and in order to maintain social order, the people on agreement chose a chief to maintain order and lawfully inflict punishment. The institution of kingship arose in this way and the rise to Power of the great Elect or the Mahasammata also arose in this way. The King was 'Rajan' because he delighted the people and was their leader and guide. Asvaghōsa says that

7. Saletere of at pp. 322 and 323

the king was elected by the princes among themselves and not out of any divine right and that the King had councillors. Arya Sura in his work *Jātakamāla,* attributed to 4th Centuary A.D., says that the King was a Bōdhisattva and was the embodiment of all virtues pertaining to dharma, artha and kama. He ruled his subjects like his own children and he dispensed law and protected his state by the sword. There is a curious story that when there was famine, the Bōdhisattva was advised by the Brahmin councillors to perform a Vedic sacrifice, but he refused. The Buddhists denied that one of the duties of the king was to maintain the social order by maintaining the four varnas in their respective spheres. This was because they did not subscribe to the Caste system and they denied the restriction of kingship to Kshatriyas. They ruled out hereditary suecession because the king was mahāsammata. The king wielded the sword only to command the respect of other kings. There are some republican elements in these ideas of the State, but it is clear that except for the departure from divine right and heredity as a general rule the Buddhist theory was more or less similar to Kautilya's had purified from the earlier Manu's doctrines. Emperor Asoka's edicts themselves are said not to follow strictly the Buddhist doctrines. The references we have in the Tamil classic *Manimēkalai* are more relevent to our evaluation. For the first time we find that in Buddhistic theory the king is said to be an embodiment of Dharma, and Kāma excellences.

The Jaina school was more or less contemporary with the early Buddhistic school although in its origin it was older, but Jains continued to flourish in the country and particularly in South India long after the Buddhist school was on the wane. Of the most important of the Jaina canonical works is the *Jaina Sutras.* The date of these sutras is unsettled although they are undoubtedly old and Prof. Jacobi said that their earliest redaction was in A.D. 453. Prof. Beni Prāsad considers that the sutras are on the whole disappointing to the student of governmental theory. *Uttarādhyāyana Sūtras* contains information about kingship and royal duties in the form of conversation between Nami who was descended from the Gods and born a man and Indra disguised as Brahmin. The main concepts in the Jaina school are :

(1) the duty of the Kshatriya and the king is to fortify the capital,

(2) he must establish public safety by punishing the wicked,

(3) he must suppress recalcitrant chiefs,

(4) he must uphold dharma by performing sacrifices and feeding Bramanas and Sramanas and

(5) he must increase wealth in the shape of gold and silver.

Prof. Saletore says that there is agreement between *Jaina Sutras* and Manusmriti although such a verdict is not liked by Jaina scholars. The Jaina sutras list universal monarchs from Bharata, Sagara, Maghavan etc., down to Mahabharata of Hastinapura. This also seems to correspond to the concept of universal monarchs of the ancient Hindus. It is pointed out that the Jaina sutras for the first time gave a description of anarchical states in the Acāranga sutras. They are states ruled over by (1) ganas, (2) yuvarajas, (3) dvirajas (two kings), (4) vairrajya and (5) vairuddha rajya. There were later Jaina works in the 9th Century A.D. with which we are not concerned at the moment. They speak of patriarchs or Kulakara of whom Pratisruti was the first in a line of fourteen. They fall into four categories according to the functions performed by them. They are (1) Manus, those who taught the means of livelihood, (2) Kulakaras, those who taught the Aryas how to live together, (3) Kulādharas, those who established families and (4) Yugādhipurusas, those who were the embodiments of age cycles. The important fact to be noticed is that the Jaina school adhered to the Caste system with some modifications. There is also a curious fact relating to the evolution of danda niti or punishment. In the pristine state there was complete obedience. Later the punishments merely consisted in crying *he* (alas), *ma* (warning against repetition of the offence), and *dhik* (crying shame). When earth no longer remained bhōgabhumi but became a karma bhumi did the Jaina school think danta necessary for social order and preventing matsya-nyāya preponderating. We find a long succession of Jaina writers on Polity commencing from Jivasenacārya, Somedeva Suri (who served

under a Deccan ruler (in circa 958 A.D.,) and Hemacandracarya (circa 1089 A.D.) the author of *Trisasti Salakaprusa Carite*. This indicates the continuance of the Jains in temporal power long after, particularly in South India. The important contribution of the later Jaina School is the emancipation of the socio-political system from divine ordainment and the fact that ahimsa should be the basis of State action rather than merely danda which is merely that of a police State.

In *Silappadikaram* we have authentic overtones of purified concepts influenced by the Tamil tradition and culture. In the *Kural* itself we find that the importance of *danda* is not minimised and is referred to in two or three couplets only while preponderatingly we find that the insistence is on *aram*. This is the important distinction of the *Kural* from the Buddhist and Jaina schools of thought on polity.

CHAPTER IV

IS TIRUVALLUVAR INDEBTED TO KAUTILYA?

1. SOME FUNDAMENTAL CONSIDERATIONS

Before going into detail about the idea on Polity in Tirukkural, I wish to dispose of the question of the oft-supposed Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya. I have already referred to the relative chronology of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar. There is doubt among scholars whether Kautilya the author was really the minister of Chandragupta and his date is put down to 200 A. D. Some scholars are inclined to identify Kautilya with Vatsyāyana, the author of Kāmasutras. We shall assume for purposes of discussion that Kautilya was anterior to Tiruvalluvar in date. Sometimes a sweeping suggestion is made that Tiruvalluvar's Arattuppāl is based on Dharmasastras, Porutpāl on Arthasāstras and Kāmathuppāl on Kāmasutras. This is based on ignorance. Arathuppāl is certainly not based on Manu as will be evident to even a casual student. Similarly any one who suggests that Kāmathuppāl is based on Kamasutras only betrays abysmal ignorance of Aham literature in Tamil and the excellence of Tiruvalluvar's philosophy of love over Vatsyayana's mechanics of love. This is attributable to the craze among scholars to trace a Sanskrit origin for everything in Tamil. Even P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar[1] says that Tiruvalluvar borrows freely from Sanskrit sastras in regard to Aram and Porul as, before Tiruvalluvar's time, there was no didactic poetry in Tamil literature. As regards Kāmathuppāl, Mr. Ayyangar recognises however, that Tiruvaullvar has followed the Tamil tradition of Karpu and Kalavu propounded in *Tolkāppiyam* and whether he borrowed his material from Sanskrit or Tamil, he displays an originality of treatment and a sequence of ideas entirely his own. Mr. Ayyangar also says that the author of the Kural must have been a good Sanskrit scholar and must have made a special study of Niti and Arthasāstra literature and that he must have been familiar with Pancatantra and Hitōpadēsa and Bhartruhari's works. He concludes that it is reasonable to assume that

1. P. T. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *cit* pp. 587 et seq.

Tiruvalluvar follows mainly in his Arathuppāl the most popular Dharmasastra of Manu and in his Porutpāl the well-known Arthasastra of Kautilya. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai[2] has very forcefully and clearly refuted this suggestion in his திருவள்ளுவர் நூல் நயம். He has examined Parimelalagar's statement that 'அறமாவது மனு முதலிய நூல்களில் விதித்தன செய்தலும், விலக்கியன ஒழித்தலுமா மென்பது. அவ்வறம் வடநூல்களில் ஒழுக்கம், வழக்கு, தண்டமென மூவகைப்படும்.' Parimelalagar himself finds it difficult to explain why Tiruvalluvar has not dealt with even slightly வழக்கு and தண்டம் in Arathuppāl. Prof. Sethu Pillai is right in saying that Tiruvalluvar who set about writing a treatise applicable universally and to all times did not base it on Manu which was based on customs and prejudices of his time. Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar[3] who has referred to Prof. Pillai's criticism did not rebut it but merely says, "We do not propose to examine here these views (Prof. Pillai's) which are yet to be proved before they could be adopted as conclusive. It may be that Tamilian genius developed itself on independent but parallel lines and the process of such slow but sure development culminated in the genius of the Tirukkural's author." Prof. Pillai also points out that Tiruvalluvar wrote about the three fundamental aspirations of man, viz., aram, porul and inbam, following Tolkappiyar.

> " அந்நிலை மருங்கின் அறமுத லாகிய
> மும்முதற் பொருட்கும் உரிய என்ப."
>
> —*Tolkoppiyam* (செய். 102)

In my opinion a complete departure from Manu is found in Tiruvalluvar's unequivocal lines :—

> " பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் ; சிறப்பொவ்வா
> செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்." (972)

It is a man's work and not his birth that determines with, as all men are equal by birth. This cardinal doctrine which is revolutionary from the point of all earlier Dharmasastras is

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2. Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai, *Tiruvalluvar Nool Nayam*, S. India Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Co., Madras (1952), pp. 120—22.

3. V.R.R. Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 126

sufficient proof that Tiruvalluvar was not adapting Manu or any other ancient law-giver whose influence in the Tamil country was only partial. Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai[4] soys, "Never before, nor since, did words of such profound wisdom issue forth from any sage in Tamil land. It is true that Valluvar drew his material from Sanskrit sources (as indicated above) but his genius transmuted them into real gold. Manu had features which were peculiar to his own time and to the times of his subsequent redactors. His society was god-ordained, hierarchic in structure and unalterably fixed by Karmic influence. It denied equality between man and man. Valluvar, the Tamil sage excels each one of these ancients (Kautilya and Vātsyāyana) in his respective sphere." Scholars like Dr. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Mr. V. R. R, Dikshitar and even Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai have attempted to indicate or list out parallelisms, sometimes even amounting to identity, between the maxims of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar but these are few, by and large. Nevertheless, these parallelisms have to be explained rationally Dr. N. Subramanian in a recent paper 'Political Philosophy of Ancient Tamils' (1961) says, "It is our view that while Valluvar was in all probability quite aware of Kautilya's Arthasastra in fact Valluvar was not indebted to Kautilya for his views. The political conditions and institutions of South India were not broadly speaking fundamentally different from North Indian Polity,—the King, his advisers, aristocracy and its checks were all there in both places. These institutions provoked certain thoughts in the minds of Kautilya and Valluvar. There is no wonder that Kautilya and Valluvar reacted alike in certain circumstances and it is notable that they reacted differently elsewhere. When this is the position there is no ground for saying that there was any 'indebtedness' suggesting that the Porutpāl is all but a translation of Artha Sastra. . . it is very clear that Valluvar as well as Kautilya have both borrowed from a common source namely, anonymous purvachariyas and existing practices." Prof. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar[5] in his *'Ancient Indian Polity'* makes a statement that, "In the most representative political thought of ancient India, there is complete agreement on two matters, viz., (1) on the idea of what constitute the essential elements of a State and (2) on the natural necessity for the

4. S. Vaiyapuri pillai, *op. cit.* p. 86

5. K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar, *op. cit.* p. 40

State." (Prof. Ayyangar was, of course, not instituting a comparison of Kautilya with Tiruvalluvar and I may state that even in the elements or 'angas' of the State the views of Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar are *not identical* as we shall presently see). It is well-known as observed by many scholars including Mr. Vaiyapuri Pillai that Kautilya himself made many departures from the earlier dharmasastras and arthasastras because he was more a statesman and politician than a lawgiver and it is obvious that he did not want to emphasise differences in birth because the overthrow of the Nanda line and the restoration of the Mauryas which he is supposed to have brought about was not propitious to dwell on them and it was politic to push them to the background. Dr. U. N. Ghosal[6] *in referring to certain* similarities suggests that the old Arthasastra tradition was important in the concept of the author of the Kural. If there is any historical truth in the tradition that Kautilya was a Dramila from the South, it is likely that some of the more liberal ideas that are definitely found in his Arthsastra then in the earlier works were due to the prevalent ideas in the South having travelled to the North. It may be said that Kautilya was a synthasiser, while Tiruvalluvar adhered to the original heritage of the South.

The most important thing to be remembered in instituting comparisons of the two works is that Kautilya presents as a political theorist the image of statesmen and politician comparable in later days to Machiavelli, Richelieu and Wolsley, while Tiruvalluvar presents the image of a philosopher comparable to Plato, Aristotle, Confucius and Marcus Aurelius.

2. DIFFERING SOCIAL ORDER AND ETHICS

To compare Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar it is necessary to compare the contemporary societies and their backgrounds. Let us first take up the backgrounds. Anthropoligists and political theorists conceive of men as nomads first before they cry a halt to their wanderings and settle down in groups. Many peoples of history have gone through this stage. This is particularly true of

6. Dr. U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.*, p.

the Aryan settlers in the north of which there is sufficient evidence. We have not sufficient information as to when the Dravidians in the South passed through this experience. If we accept the theory of some scholars that South India was the original home of the Dravidians, this element of nomadism is completely ruled out. On the other hand if the Dravidian people were from the Mediterranean or Caucasian regions, there is irrefutable evidence that the wanderings of the Dravidians were some millenia before the similar phenomenon in the case of the Aryans who colonised and merged with the original inhabitants history have gone through this stage. This is particularly true of the Aryan settlers in the north of which there is sufficient evidence. We have not sufficient information as to when the Dravidians in the South passed through this experience. If we accept the theory of some scholars that South India was the original home of the Dravidians, this element of nomadism is completely ruled out. On the other hand if the Dravidian people were from the Mediterranean or Caucasian regions, it is irrefutable that the wanderings of the Dravidians were some millenia before the similar phenomenon in the case of the Aryans who colonised and merged with the original inhabitants of the Gangetic plains. As there is an irrefutable link with the Mohenjo-Daro and Dravidian elements in the culture of the two peoples; it is evident that the original Dravidians were a more evolved society, but they had not the same challenges to meet as the Aryans to form into exclusive groups for political purposes. Neither the Aryans nor the Dravidians were however the makers of large States. Till the time of Asoka, the Aryan States were only small States. Similarly the contemporary States of Mūvendars in the South were also relatively small. The original States were only tribal communities in all countries of the ancient world and later on they grew by incorporation of smaller classes and tribes. In South India there were not any clans or tribes, but distinctive geopolitical features grew up on the basis of *tinai* (regional characteristics) till the time of Muvendars. The stage of imperial expansion came very much later in South India than in the North but so far as State-making is concerned, as Prof. M. Ruthnaswamy[7] has

7. M. Ruthnaswamy—*The Making of the State* (Williams & Norgate, London), p. 446.

observes in his excellent work '*The Making of the State*' it was the Dravidians of the South who set the example and the pace to the Aryans in the business of the formation of States. Hence it may be assumed that Tiruvalluvar had in his time more settled ideas of the theory of a State than Kautilya who however, displays more remarkable ideas about State-craft and strategies. The need for State-craft and strong government were felt by the Aryans from the earliest times as apparently they found it extremely difficult in overcoming the original inhabitants. As Prof. Ruthnaswamy remarks. "The prayers that they addressed to Indra and Agni must have been wrung from hearts stricken with anxiety and depressed by despair of overcoming their formidable enemy. Across the ages, the Vedic hymns still palpitāte with the fear and trembling of a people who had ventured far from their bases and had counted on easy settlements on fertile fields. In their despair the Vedic people invented charms, spells and sacrifices and pressed them into service to defend against their terrible enemy." We find echoes of this patina of magic and ritualism even in Kautilya, which later Kāmāndaka has wisely eliminated or reduced in his Nitisara. Dravidian civilisation continued to be more agricultural and devoted to the arts and culture peculiar to the different regions because of leisure and freedom from political challenges. Dravidian social organisation in the South, it must be admitted, was weak and they were only makers of small States till the times of the Imperial Cholas, and even their conquests within India and outside were more cultural than territorial. From the time of the Upanishads there has been considerable cultural exchanges between the North and South and one remarkable feature is the infusion of Tamil monotheistic philosophy into the philosophy of the Upanishads which will be evident to even the most casual student and is distinctly different from the beliefs and religious practices found in the Vedas and Brahmanas. It is possible that some ideas of State-craft from the North spread in the South but it is clear, so far as the Kural is concerned, that the concepts are more philosophic and less sophisticated. The Kural therefore seems to owe nothing to Kautilya in its Weltenschaung. While Kautilya deals only with Polity, the Kural deals with Moral order and Love also. It is obvious that dharma, artha

and kāma were not separated in the culture and civilisation of the era which Tiruvalluvar represents. The archaeological findings at Arikamedu relate to the period about 1st century A.D. The current excavations (1964-65) at Kaviripoompattinam are also tentatively said to relate to the 2nd century A.D. Here the excavations have revealed irrigation works, a sea-wharf and Buddhist chaitya besides coins, some of them bearing the figure of linga, bull, tiger, etc. There is no basis for suggesting that the culture of Dravidians before the Aryan advent was primitive and poorish (as Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri[8] states unjustifiably in one of his books). A civilisation, it must be remembered, takes aeons to bloom and flower. A primitive civilisation could not have suddenly become rich and refined, as evidenced by the Sangam literature, in one or two centuries as if by a magic touch. The same must be said as regards polity which is even more leisurely process. It must be admitted that Tamil social organisation was not so well-knit as the Aryan hegemony. There was no need for it. The view that the Tamils were makers of only small States before the first two centuries of the Christian era is probably true but the justification for a State lies in its moral basis than on its aggressiveness and State-craft and its Imperial ambitions.

Another important difference between Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar is that in Kautilya and the preceding Arthasastras generally, 'artha' is largely identified with State and only secondarily with what is called 'artha' or wealth. In a state of society where there is no social justice, wealth will distort the other two desiderata, viz., Dharma and Kāma. Tiruvalluvar says in plainest words that worldly happiness is impossible without wealth as the other world is impossible for those who do not have compassion and love:

> " அருள் இல்லார்க்கு அவ்வுலகம் இல்லை பொருளில்லார்க்கு
> இவ்வுலகம் இல்லாகி யாங்கு." (247)

He goes a step further and says that compassion which is the child of love requires the kindly nurse of wealth.

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8. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri—*The History and Culture of the Tamils*, (Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, Calcutta, 1964), p. 7.

" அருளென்னும் அன்பீன் குழவி பொருளென்னும்
செல்வச் செவிலியால் உண்டு." (757)

But this wealth must be acquired with means that are not evil, to sustain *aram* and *inbam.*

" அறன்ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்." (754)

One who has produced untained wealth is assured at once the other two objects of life, viz., righteousness and love.

" ஒண்பொருள் காழ்ப்ப இயற்றியார்க்கு எண்பொருள்
ஏனை இரண்டும் ஒருங்கு." (760)

Wealth is important for both individual happiness and for the happiness of the State and it is the individual that sustains the State, although the more direct responsibility is that of the King, Ministers and all the rest.

Dr. M. Varadarajan[9] in his book 'திருவள்ளுவர் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை நலம்' has clearly explained that there will be a clash of family duties and State duties without wealth and even married love would become unhappy without wealth righteously acquired. He calls them நாட்டுக்கடமை and வீட்டுக்கடமை. This politico-economic theory of State is particularly emphasised in Tiruvalluvar although it is true that Kautilya deals elaborately with the revenues of the State, etc., but wealth viewed as such is only an appurtenance and does not have a metanomical significance. M. Ariel has observed that what is wonderful in Tiruvalluvar is that 'he formulates sovereign morality and absolute reason, and that he proclaims their very essence—in their eternal abstractness, virtue and truth— and he presents as it were in one group of the highest laws of domestic and social life."

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9. M. Varadarajan, திருவள்ளுவர் அல்லது வாழ்க்கை நலம். (Pari Nilayam, Madras-1, 1955) pp. 77—80.

CHAPTER V

MAKING OF THE STATE–TIRUVALLUVAR'S CONCEPT

1. MONARCHY OR DEMOCRACY ?

Neither Kautilya nor Tiruvalluvar wrote for a form of Government now known as democracy. It is therefore beside the point to discuss that Tiruvalluvar did not conceive of a democratic form of government but what is relevant is to examine whether the principles of government expounded by him are not valid for all times and whether Tiruvalluvar was writing for autocratic kings. At the time Tiruvalluvar was writing, the South was essentially a country of monarchical States and not of republics of an oligarchical of democratic nature. Being a self-contained country, the progress in the South and development of political and administrative institutions proceeded as Dr. T. V. Mahalingam[1] says "on almost independent and indigenous lines. Although there were Kings at Madurai, Puhar and Kānchi, there were a number of chieftains, and administrative interests were intensely local." Monarchy was, however, a political necessity to follow a leadership. Thus "the growth of monarchy as a political institution in South India was not due to any preference shown to it by the people as against any other form of Government." It is not, however, correct to say that the state in South India was not 'monistic'[2] but 'pluralistic' in character. The central government did not interfere with the smaller kingdoms and principalities. The King was leader and protector in war and exemplar in peace. The alternative to monarchy was anarchy. As Prof. Nilakanta Sastri points out Tamils did not sanction resistance to the King's will and tyrannicide was unthinkable. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar speaking generally of Hindu kingship says, "while in form the Hindu Government may be described as a monarchy and even an autocracy and while it may readily even be conceded that the Hindu monarchy had autocratic powers for application in times of emergency, the actual use of the power was made in a way to

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1. T. V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, (Madras University, 1961)
2. Dr. N. Subramanian's paper, *op. cit.*, p. 301.

satisfy the exacting demands even of a pure and complete democracy, not only in form but more completely in spirit, and that is what is really wanted, not the form of it." Dr. N. Subramaniam contends that the real test is not whether autocracy was benevolent or not but whether the people had legal and constitutional check against the King. This criterion is, of course, correct but the real check was applied by the Minister who advised the king taking into account the wishes and sentiments of the people. It is idle to suggest that democracy of the modern concept was present in those times but it is well to remember that modern democracy is not ideal and it cannot be pretended that an elected government does really carry out the wishes of the people. What is necessary to look for in ancient polity as in Kural is whether power resided only in the King and whether he was free to do anything he liked. It is important to examine this further as it will decide the question of the relevance of the Kural's teachings to the present day, which I presume is the object of all research and discussions. Dr- M. Varadarajan has pointed out in his book *Tiruvalluvar* or *Vazhkkai Vilakkam* that Kural's concepts are applicable both to முடியாட்சி (mudiyātchi) as well as குடியாட்சி (kudiyātchi). Significantly he has pointed out that nowhere does Kural speak of dynasties, successions and accessions, and not even the flowers that the King shall wear on victory, etc. as described in Sangam literature. Kural speaks of the justice and valour of the King. The qualities that Kural attributes to a king are equally applicable to the heads of a republic or democracy. Dr. M. Varadarajan has made a pains-taking analysis of the number of places in which Tiruvalluvar refers to the king in each of the sections of the Porutpāl. Porutpāl consists of 25 Chapters on Arasiyal, 10 on Amaichiyal, 2 on Aram, 1 on Koozh, 2 on Padai, 17 on Natpu and 13 on Kudi. In Arasiyal, Tiruvalluvar has referred to the king (as இறை, வேந்து, etc.) in 46 places. In Amaichiyal only *once*, in Aram thrice; in Koozh once; in Padai twice, in Natpu twice and in Kudi-iyal consisting of 13 Chapters *not* even once. The last feature is remarkable and significant. It is clear that though political power formally resided in the King, it really was endowed by the people and the ministers. Although Tiruvalluvar uses the words அரசு, வேந்து, மன்னன், etc. to denote the ஆட்சித் தலைவன், he frequently refers only to his functional descriptions

as *கோலொடு நின்றான்* (552), and *காவலன்* (560) etc. In the Kural polity, the people or *மக்கள்* are not mere subjects to be ruled but citizens who participate in the political power and responsibilities. *populis* is really *res publica* in the Kural and this corresponds to the theories of certain political philosophers that the idea of State is in fact a myth. Tiruvalluvar was not making his polity an Utopia or myth.

III. KURAL AND ARTHASASTRA—A COMPARISON

Let us now make a brief comparison of the groundwork of the two works, *Arthasastra* and *Tirukkural*. Arthasastra is very careful in the arrangement of the topics and Prof. Kane observes that the unity of design impresses one as the product of a single brilliant mind. The subjects of its adhikaranas are :

(1) The discipline of the king, sciences to be learnt by him, the place of anvikshaki and politics, qualification of ministers and purohits and their temptations, the institution of spies, council meetings, ambassadors, protection of princes, duties towards the harem, the king's personal safety.

(2) About superintendents of various State departments, founding villages, pastures, forests and forts, duties of the chamberlain (Sannidhata), the commissioner of revenues from forts, mines, forests, roads, etc., accountant general's office, embezzlements of public funds, royal edicts, examination of precious stones for the treasury and mines, superintendent of gold (i.e., of coins, issued from the mints), superintendent of store house (of agricultural produce etc.) of commerce, of forests, of farms, of weights and measures, of tolls, of weaving, of liquor-houses, of slaughter houses, of prostitutes, of shipping, of cows and horses, and of the capital and cities.

(3) Administration of justice, rules of procedure, forms of marriage, duties of married couples, sridhana, twelve kinds of sons, other titles of law.

(4) Removal of thorns - protection of artisans, merchants, remedies against national calamities such as fires, floods, pestilence, famines, demons, tigers, snakes, etc., suppression of those who live by foul means, detection of juvenile crime, arrest

of criminals on suspicion, accidental or violent deaths, torture to extort confessions, protection of all kinds of State departments, fines in lieu of cutting off limbs, sentence of death, death with or without torture, intercourse with maidens, punishment by fine of various wrongs, conduct of courtiers, award of punishment of treason, replenishing of treasury in case of emergency, salaries of State servants, qualifications of courtiers and consolidation of royal power.

(5) Constitution of the mandala, seven elements of sovereignty, qualities of king, peace and arduous work as the source of property, sixfold royal policy and threefold sakti.

(6) Circle of states is the field for the employment of the six lines of policy; the six gunas (samdhi, war, neutrality. marching, taking shelter, dwandhi-bhava); causes leading to the dwindling and disloyalty of armies; combination of States; samdhi for the acquisition of friend, gold or land; an enemy in the rear; recouping of lost strength; a neutral king and a circle of States.

(7) About vyasanas (vices and misfortunes) of the several elements of sovereignty; troubles of the king and kingdom; troubles of men and of the army.

(8) Work of an invader, proper time for invasion, recruitment of the army, accoutrements, internal and external trouble, disaffection, traitors, enemies and their allies.

(9) About war, encamping the army, march of the army, battlefields, work of infantry, cavalry, elephants, etc., and array of troops for battle in various formations.

(10) Concerning corporations and guilds.

(11) Concerning a powerful enemy, sending of envoy; intrigues, spies, with weapons, fire and poison and destruction of stores and granaries, capture of the enemy by strategems, and final victory.

(12) Capture of forts; sowing dissensions, entering of kingdom by strategem; spies in a siege; restoring peace in a conquered country.

(13) Secret means; strategems for killing an enemy producing illusive appearances; medicines; incantation.

(14) Division of this work into sections and their illustration.

It will be seen from the above synopsis that *Arthasastra* is something more than a treatise on polity as it deals in a large part with the machinery and controls of government. It looks as if the State Kautilya had in view was a State which is both a welfare and police state with imperial aims.

Turning to the *Kural*, Tiruvalluvar's Porutpāl consists of 70 chapters, and divided into three sections viz., (1) Kingship, (2) Body politic and (3) Miscellaneous. The first section Arasiyal, consisting of 25 chapters, deals with kingship, his duties, qualifications, just government and so on. The second section (Angaviyal), consisting of 32 chapters, deals with the elements of the State, the first (10) dealing with Ministers and ambassadors, the second (5) dealing with territory, fortresses, wealth, and army, the third (6) dealing with friendship and allies and the fourth (11) dealing with follies and dangers (sometimes called நண்பவியல்). The third section, consisting of (13 chapters called ஒழிபியல்), which treats in common of virtues essential *both* for the ruler and the citizen like honour, worth, courteousness, sensitiveness to shame, husbandry and avoidance of degradation.

It will be seen that the Tiruvalluvar has taken for discussion the general principles and philosophy of government and social order instead of going into the mechanics of them. As Prof. Vaiyapuri Pillai observes, "Kautilya was more a politician than statesman. He found in his great work room for statecraft motivated by an unquenching thirst for conquest and characterised by mechanistic efficience and thoroughness which we now associate with Germans. He would consider humane considerations a weakness ... ... His political wisdom is characterised by a breadth of vision at once noble and elevating." As regards the Kural, Mr. V. V. S. Ayyar in the preface to his translation of it says, "As in the first part (Arathuppāl), the poet shows himself as a moral teacher of the very highest

order, so in this part, he appears as a consummate statesman and a thorough man of the world. Not a single function of the statesman is unfamiliar to him. Everywhere he reveals the firm grip that he has of the fundamental principles that underlie the art of government. There is no confusion, there is no haphazard imaginings, there is no mere wordiness in any of his 700 verses on the subject of wealth. Everything is in the right place and is seen in proper proportion. It is the dry light of reason illuminating the whole field of the statesman's art."

It is not possible in the space at my disposal to go into detail the views of Kural in each of these sections and compare them with Kautilya. A summary of the sections are given in the books of Prof. R. P. Sethu Pillai and Dr. M. Varadarajan. Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar has given in his '*Studies in Tamil History* and *Literature*' a fairly exhaustive list of parallels and sometimes even identical ideas in Kautilya and Tiruvalluvar. To quote a few examples, the Kural says,

> " படைகுடி கூழ்அமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்
> உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு." (381)

The parallel in Kautilya is,

> "Svāmyamātya-janapāda-durga-kōsa-dandamitrāni" (VI—I)

The Kural says,

> " வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்
> துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல்." (471)

The parallel in Kautilya is,

> "Yadi vā pasyēt svadandir mitratavidaindar
> va samam jyayāmsam va karsayitu mutsapae" (VII—4)

Dr. U. N. Ghosal is the only non-Tamil author who has devoted a section of five pages in his book '*A History of Indian Political Ideas*' to the Tamil classics. While it is a good summary, the author however, in some places, has vaguely stated that Tiruvalluvar 'evidently followed the Smriti tradition

or the older Arthasāstras.' I have sufficiently discussed earlier that the Kural is not an adaptation of dharma-sastras and artha-sastras. Tiruvalluvar has nowhere claimed that he is a new law-giver or is propounding a new theory of dharma or polity. Nor has he stated that he is following the earlier writers. In this respect I am tempted to compare Tiruvalluvar with Sri Meikantadeva (13th century) who wrote the *Sivajñānabōdha* sutras in which the tenets of the Saiva Siddhanta are codified. Although the latter is considered the quintessence of Veda-agamas, Sri Meikantadeva has not referred to any earlier texts at all but only stated his (முடிந்த முடிவுகள்) final and logical statements on the problems of philosophy. Similarly, Tiruvalluvar has not tried to find authority or support in earlier writers or to refute them or even proclaim his doing any of these things. He has not modified them or even referred to Tolkāppiyam, the earliest extant Tamil source, where we find some seminal ideas relating to polity. Tiruvalluvar's writings are not subjective and the sage's utterances to my mind are reflections valid for all time. Hence he is called (தெய்வப் புலவர்) divine poet and his treatise is called (பொதுமறை) universal vēdā or (உத்தரவேதம்) uttara vēdā. It is clear that the standpoint and contents of *Arthasastra* and the *Kural* are distinctively different.

CHAPTER VI

ELEMENTS OF THE STATE

We shall discuss here a few selected maxims in the *Kural* to show its distinctive ideas, and its relevance to the modern times in ideas of polity, ethics, social order and government.

The first chapter in Porutpāl deals with இறை மாட்சி and the first Kural therein starts with an enunciation of the elements of the State.

"படைகுடி கூழமைச்சு நட்பரண் ஆறும்
உடையான் அரசருள் ஏறு." (381)

This Kural states :—

He is a lion among princes who is endowed w· h (1) army (2) citizenry, (3) resources, (4) ministry, (5) allies and (6) fortifications.

In Book VI, Chapter I of the *Arthasastra*, Kautilya enumerates the following as the elements of sovereignty :—

(1) The King, (2) the Minister, (3) the country, (4) the fort, (5) the treasury, (6) the army and (7) the allies.

(Kamya, amātya, jana pāda, durga, kōsa, danda and mitrāni)

It will be noted that Kautilya mentions the King as one of the saptāngas of the State whereas the Kural places the King apart from the other six elements. Kāmāndaka's *Nitisara* says,

Nyāyō nār jana marthasya rakshānam
vardhanam tata satpātra pratipattiseha
rajavruttam chaturvidam (*I-20*)

The Kural identifies the King with the State while Kautilya treats the King as only a limb of the State. Kālingar, one of the commentators of the Kural, gives an explanation for this difference :—

He says, "அரசனையும் உறுப்பாகக் கொண்டு இவை ஆறனோடும் கூட்டி இராச்சியமெல்லாம் ஒன்றாக்கி வடநூலார் கூறும் ஆற்றின் சில வேறுபடுத்து மாசனம் (mahajanam) முதலாக நாட்டிற்கு இவ்வாறனையும் உறுப்பாக்கிக் கூறினர் என்பதூஉம் கொள்க. இனி இங்குச் சொன்ன இறை முதலாகிய எழுவகைப்பொருளுமே இப்பொருட்பால் நடைப் பொருள் என அறிக."

Hence இறைமாட்சி of Tiruvalluvar, which includes the King, is an integral theory of the State. Dr. T. V. Mahalingam[1] says, "The Kural makes the King the most important of the seven elements of sovereignty and considers the rest as subordinate to him. This significant distinction by the great author of the Kural throws much welcome light on contemporary political thought. The King was the main pivot of the administration, and the strength and durability of the government very much depended on his personality."

In *Purananūru* (in a song sung by Kiran of Mosi) the King is described as the life of the country and the people.

> " நெல்லும் உயிர்அன்றே; நீரும் உயிர்அன்றே;
> மன்னன் உயிர்த்தே மலர்தலை உலகம்." (*Puram.* 186)

This is the traditional conception of the Tamil metaphysicians also. God and soul are regarded as உயிர் and மெய். The souls have real existence but not absolute except with God, just as although consonants are not derived from anything else, can exist only with vowels.

In *Kambarāmāyanam*, Rāma is spoken of as the life of the people in accordance with the Kural concept.

> " பெருநில வரைப்பில் மன்னுமன் னுயிர்க்கு
> ராமனின் மன்னவ ரில்லை."

The people of Ayodhya followed Rāma as body follows life. The people are not the life, but Rāma. Thus the concept of the state from Tiruvalluvar down to Kambar in the Tamil tradition is different from that of Kautilya.

The Kural speaks of many necessary qualities of the King like diligence, valour, learning, courage, alertness etc., which

1. T. V. Mahalingam.

we may perhaps skip over as these attributes are quite common.

But there is one qualification which deserves attention, i.e.,

"அறனிழுக்கா தல்லவை நீக்கி மறனிழுக்கா
மானம் உடைய தரசு." (384)

(Tr.) The Prince shall not fail in virtue and shall abolish unrighteousness ; he shall guard his honour jealously but shall not sin against the laws of valour.

It is to be noted that the Prince has to stand by *aram* himself and eliminate that which is not *aram* in his State.

Purananūru also speaks of அறநெறி as the basis of the King's power.

"மாண்ட, அறநெறி முதற்றே அரசின் கொற்றம்."

The 'aram' is more powerful than elephants, horses, chariots and warriors (கொல் களிறு, கதழ்பரிய கலிமா, நெடுங்கொடியநிமிர்தேர், நெஞ்சு உடைய புகல் மறவர்). The bard, மதுரை மருதன் இளநாகனார், compares this 'aram' to the unique third eye of Lord Siva which gave victory to the Devas. *Jivakachintāmani* (2361) refers to the deeds, which a King who guards his valour, will not do. Kautilya also speaks of an unrighteous King as the worst enemy but one of the elements of unrighteousness is considered by him to be not being born of a royal family and not coming directly from father and grandfather.

It is in the commentary on the Kural mentioned above that Parimēlalagar reminds us that,

"அரசு என்பது அரசனது தன்மை; அஃது உபசார வழக்கால் அவன்றன்மேல் நின்றது."

It cannot therefore be said that there is no abstract theory of State in the Kural. Dr. N. Subramanian's view that the abstraction known as the State was not known to the Sangam Tamils is therefore open to argument.

Another important element of polity is contained in the following ural,

"இயற்றலும் ஈட்டலும் காத்தலும் காத்த
வகுத்தலும் வல்ல தரசு." (385)

(Tr.) The Prince shall know how to develop the resources of his kingdom and how to enrich his treasury, how to preserve his wealth and how to distribute it worthily.

Tiruvalluvar here strikes a profound keynote of polito-economic theory of State. In referring to the resources of the State he does not speak of the taxes alone, but to all resources of the State and he uses a very significant word இயற்றல் which means production of wealth, a concept familiar in modern economics. Tax alone is not wealth of the State. It is not the 'national product'—to use an economic term. Tiruvalluvar is a fundamental thinker. It will be remembered that in Arathuppāl, he has placed the chapter on the Glory of Rain next to Invocation to God. He refers to the creation of wealth by the utilisation of natural resources and production. Tiruvalluvar assigns to the king in the State the essential functions of public finance without which no polity could exist. If taxes alone were to be the strength of the State it would become tyrannical.

" வேலொடு நின்றான் இடுஎன் றதுபோலும்
கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு." (552)

(Tr.) The demand of the king for what is not due is like the bandit who demands, 'stand and deliver'.

On the other hand the real wealth of the State is indicated in the Kural as follows :

" உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும்தன் ஒன்னார்த்
தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள்." (756)

(Tr.) Escheats and derelicts, customs duties and prizes acquired in war, all these contribute to the wealth of the State.

I am tempted to dwell at greater length on this aspect of political economy but I shall desist as the economic ideas in the Kural has been the subject in a series of Lectures under this Endowment on an earlier occasion.

Tiruvalluvar lays stress on the necessity for the King being graceful, loving and liberal besides being impartial in justice.

" முறைசெய்து காப்பாற்றும் மன்னவன் மக்கட்கு
இறைஎன்று வைக்கப் படும்." (388)

முறை is not merely technical justice according to the law of the land which is a narrow concept. I suppose in all land governed by civil law, whether ancient or modern, that kind of justice could be found. Parimēlalagar interprets முறை as அறநூலும் நீதி நூலும் சொல்லும் நெறி. Not only must the King enforce the law but also render natural justice. That is *murai*, the essence of constitutionalism.

Tirnvalluvar says that the King must not be averse to criticism if he wants his people to be happy and loyal.

> " செவிகைப்பச் சொற்பொறுக்கும் பண்புடை வேந்தன்
> கவிகைக்கீழ்த் தங்கும் உலகு." (389)

(Tr) Behold the Prince who have virtue to bear with words that are bitter to the ear; his subjects will never leave the shadow of his umbrella.

This has relevance to the modern times more than to the age of royal princes. We come across criticisms that men in power in a democracy prefer yes-men around them and resent criticism in Parliament and the press and by popular forums. Tiruvalluvar suggests that the king must put up with criticism even if it is bitter and unjust. This is truly democratic concept.

CHAPTER VII

THE PHILOSOPHER KING

Tiruvalluvar devotes three chapters for learning, neglect of instruction and listening to advice of the wise and crowns them by a chapter called அறிவுடைமை or understanding. The insistence on the proper education of the Prince is in conformity with the injunctions of other ancient philosophers like Plato, Aristotle and Confucius. Learning in a prince is desirable but what is most essential according to Tiruvalluvar is that he should act in accordance therewith. Such learning and conduct are necessary even for a person of high birth. The power of a prince who is unlettered is dangerous and it will soon vanish. Even if a prince's learning is not perfect, he must improve it by enquiry and listening to the wise. Without such discipline, says Tiruvalluvar, the King does not acquire humility of speech. The end of all learning and enquiry is wisdom or அறிவுடைமை which is a fortress and a defence which no one can storm or take by surprise. Kautilya speaks of learning enjoined by Manu Brihaspati and Usanas who speak of three, two and one science only to be learnt by a Prince but he considers that a Prince should learn from sciences, viz., Anvikshaki (i.e., philosophy), Vedas (i.e., Dharmādharmam), Varta (wealth and non-wealth) and Nyāyānyaya (i.e., expedient, and inexpedient or balā balē (i.e., potency and impotency). He also attaches importance to danda nīti as the power of the sceptre depends on it. He has no concept like கேள்வி (enquiry and oral instruction) of Tiruvalluvar but insists on the Prince keeping company with aged professors of the sciences referred to above.

Tiruvalluvar does not treat of danda nīti separately. Danda nīti as such is only a penal code which the authority dispensing the law could administer. The concept of danda is part and parcel of just government in a Prince. So, Tiruvalluvar includes this in the chapter 'செங்கோன்மை' or 'Just Rule.

" கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல் பைங்கூழ்
களைகட் டதனொடு நேர்."

(550)

(Tr.) Punishing the wicked with death is like the tiller removing the weeds from the crops.

Parimēlalagar difines கொடியன் as ātatāyin in Sanskrit, viz., தீக்கொளுவுவார், நஞ்சிடுவார், கருவியிற்கொல்வார், கள்வர், ஆறலைப்பார், சூறைகொள்வார், பிறனில் விழைவார்.
Another Kural says,

> " குடிபுறங் காத்தோம்பிக் குற்றங் கடிதல்
> வடுவன்று ; வேந்தன் தொழில்." (549)

(Tr.) It is no matter for blame but the office and duty of the Prince to protect his people both within and without and to punish those that go wrong.

Punishment is of three kinds (ஒறுப்பு மூன்று), viz., (1) துன்பஞ்செய்தல் (corporal), (2) பொருட்கோடல் (fines) and (3) கோறல் (killing).

Kautilya does not appear to have a chapter comparable to அறிவுடைமை of the Kural although in Bk. I-VII of *Arthasastra* he speaks of the saintly King.

In my opinion the most important quality that Tiruvalluvar enjoins in a King which no other author has stressed is this :

> " எப்பொருள் யார்யார்வாய்க் கேட்பினும் அப்பொருள்
> மெய்ப்பொருள் காண்ப தறிவு." (423)

(Tr.) To discern the truth from whichever quarter it comes is verily wisdom.

This is a quality necessary in persons in exalted positions. They should be receptive as well as discriminating in judging the truth.

The necessity for the friendship of the wise and worthy is enjoined by Tiruvalluvar, like all ancient philosophers and also Kautilya. This also gives strength to the King. Tiruvalluvar says,

> " தம்மிற் பெரியார் தமரா ஒழுகுதல்
> வன்மையுள் எல்லாம் தலை." (444)

(Tr.) So to act as to make wise-men, i.e., those greater than himself, his own is of all strength the highest.

Kautilya lists what all the Prince should learn from aged professors of sciences in whom alone discipline could be found. Tiruvalluvar lists among the wise whom the King should keep company, those that would be courageous enough to reprove him.

" இடிக்கும் துணையாரை ஆள்வாரை யாரே
கெடுக்குந் தகைமை யவர் ? " (447)

No one can ruin such a King. Otherwise he will perish even if there are no enemies to destroy him. Such men are the pillars (மதலை) for the stability of the King. The King has therefore to be careful in choosing those that surround him (சூழ்வார்) in whom counsellors will also be included. Parimēlalagar says, that such wise men will prevent தெய்வத்துன்பம் (divine punishment) which armies and fortresses cannot prevent. I don't think however that Tiruvalluvar has in mind such superstitions as divine wrath.

Tiruvalluvar is a great psychologist when he says that environment will alter the mentality of the King when he warns the Prince against the company of the law.

" மனத்து ளதுபோலக் காட்டி ஒருவற்கு
இனத்துள தாகும் அறிவு." (454)

(Tr.) The understanding of a man is not in the quality of his mind but by the influence of his companions.

Both purity of mind and purity of action issue from the purity of association.

" மனந்தூய்மை செய்வினை தூய்மை இரண்டும்
இனந்தூய்மை தூவா வரும்." (455)

In three consecutive couplets (457, 458, 459) Tiruvalluvar speaks of the complementary necessity of மனநலம் and இனநலம் (beautiful words !), i e., goodness of mind and goodness of association.

CHAPTER VIII

EXECUTIVE POWER

In four subsequent Chapters Tiruvalluvar speaks of deliberation before action necessary in a king தெரிந்து செயல் வகை, வலியறிதல், காலமறிதல் and இடனறிதல்.

The King has to weigh the magnitude of the action (வினை வலி), his own strength (தன் வலி), the strength of the enemy (மாற்றான் வலி) and strength of allies (துணை வலி).

> " வினைவலியும் தன்வலியும் மாற்றான் வலியும்
> துணைவலியும் தூக்கிச் செயல்." (471)

The analysis might look simple but we know how often modern governments go wrong by miscalculation of these factors. (Recent classic examples are the Korean war and Cuban invasion).

Those who are not able to size up a situation will, Tiruvalluvar says, fall in the middle of their adventure—இடைக்கண் முரிந்தார் பலர். (473)

The Kural also says that,

Self-admiration (தன்னை வியந்தான்) without knowing the strength of the enemy will bring disaster.

In the Chapter வலியறிதல் Tiruvalluvar, speaks of both the military strength as well as the economic strength which are factors to be counted both in peace and war. Speaking of judging the time for action, that which is favourable to the King and unfavourable to the enemy is best, just as even a crow could kill an owl during day time. Judging the place is equally important. Even the powerless will become powerful if they select the proper fields for action, just as a crocodile in deep waters could overpower anything, while it falls an easy prey when once it leaves the water. Similarly, a fox will have the upper hand over an elephant if the later is caught in marshy mud. It may be mentioned that Tiruvalluvar deals with these in three Chapters while Kautilya deals in only one stanza. The

illustrations referring to the crow and the owl and crocodile also occur in Kautilya. These parallelisms are frequently cited as Tiruvalluvar's indebtedness to Kautilya. Sakti, dēsa and kāla jñāna in action are very common concepts and these parallelisms have probably passed into the common speech like proverbs whose origins no one could trace.

In a Chapter earlier to these three entitled தெரிந்து செயல் வகை (Deliberation before action) Tiruvalluvar has stressed the importance of planning and, what is more, the means employed.

> " ஆற்றின் வருந்தா வருத்தம் பலர்நின்று
> போற்றினும் பொத்துப் படும்." (468)

If the right means are not employed, it will be useless if hundreds of men stand up to uphold a King. Just as means are important, men employed are still greater so. Tiruvalluvar employs two chapters தெரிந்து தெளிதல் and தெரிந்து வினையாடல் (testing men for confidence and testing them for assignment of duties). Men have to be tested by four tests, viz., love of (1) virtue, (2) money, (3) pleasure and (4) fear of life. Kautilya also says that these four tests should be employed :

Amātyānu upatibi, souchayēt, dharmōpādha, adharmō-upādha, Kamō-upādha, bhayō-upādha.

There is an interesting gloss of Parimēlalagar on this concept. Briefly it is this. Testing a man though a purohit, a military chief and a woman suggesting that the King is unworthy and that before he tries to kill us, we should kill him. These are called the four upādhas but I don't think we can read so much into Tiruvalluvar who is generally averse to mean strategy. I think the simple meaning is whether the person has due regard to fundamental value like அறம், பொருள் and இன்பம் and whether he is sensitive to the value of life and fear of a re-birth due to wrong karma. பிறவிக்கஞ்சுதல் (fear of rebirth) is a common concept of virtue in olden days and it is found in Sivajñānaswami's commentary on Sivajñānabodham. Kāliṅgar's commentary also brings this out clearly.

The fear of death is the Damocle's sword over even the head of top men who stand in danger of being liquidated by the party which takes the place of the King.

Regarding assignment of duties, the Kural says,

As each man's special aptitude is known
Bid each man make that special work his own. (518)

Let the King search out his servant's deeds each day
When these do right, the world goes rightly on
its way. (520)

" வினைக்குரிமை நாடிய பின்றை அவனை
அதற்குரிய னாகச் செயல்." (518)

" நாடொறும் நாடுக மன்னன் வினைசெய்வான்
கோடாமை கோடா துலகு." (520)

Kautilya's test for each category of office is according to the upādhas referred to above. In Bk. I.x of the Arthasāstra he says that those who come out successful

in dharmōpadha — are to be appointed judges and commissioners ;

in arthōpadha — to offices of treasurer and collector ;

in kāmopadha — to guarding frontiers, harem and sporting grounds ;

in bhayōpadha — to the King's household.

These are more ordeals than tests and judgments on the basis of one's deeds and actions. According to Kautilya these are the tests on which Ministers should be selected, and their loyalty should be got confirmed by spies.

Tiruvalluvar says that the right man for the right job should be selected and left alone to do his duty and in making the selection there should be no favour or partiality.

" இதனை இதனான் இவன்முடிக்கும் என்றாய்ந்து
அதனை அவன்கண் விடல்." (517)

" ஓர்ந்துகண் ணோடா திறைபுரிந்து யார்மாட்டும்
தேர்ந்துசெய் வஃதே முறை." (541)

These are maxims which should be hung up in Ministers' offices and Public Services Commission's offices of the present day because the ideas are so modern and up-to-date.

Tiruvalluvar is a realist. He recognises that even men with rare learning (அரிய கற்றார்) and of flawless character (ஆசு அற்றார்) will not be without some sort of imperfection (வெளிறு இன்மை). So he recommends that the King should consider merits and faults and find out which weigh more. He also lends a touch of humaneness. He cautions against those that have no kindred because they will be heartless and callous. Deliberation before selection and proper assignment of work thereafter is the sagacity of the King. This is an important principle in modern public administration. Tiruvalluvar sounds a very realistic note of warning which is relevant more than ever to the present day when persons doing public duties are suspected and every one is tarred with the same brush of corruption and the like.

"தேரான் தெளிவும் தெளிந்தான்கண் ஐயுறவும்
தீரா இடும்பை தரும்." (510)

(Tr.) To trust a man whom thou hast not tried and to subject a man whom thou hast found worthy lead alike to endless ills.

Strangely enough Parimēlalagar, one of the commentators, refers the Kurals in this Chapter (51) to correspond to the doctrine (மதம்) of Sukra, Dronacharya, Kautilya, Narada, Maheswara, Vyasa and Udvacharya. Kautilya refers to some other names like Bharadvaja, Visālāksa, Pisuna, Vatavyadi and Bahudanti. He ends by saying: "This says, Kautilya, is satisfactory in all respects; for a man's ability is inferred from his capacity shown in work." He also makes a difference between councillors (mantrināh) and ministerial officers (amātyah). Kautilya finally proclaims lyrically (because he uses here sloka metre and not the sutra metre). "The Kshatriya breed which is brought up by Brahmans is charmed with the counsels of good counsellers and which faithfully follows the precepts of the sastras becomes invicible and attains success though unaided with weapons." There is no such doctrine in Tiruvalluvar who believes more rationally

"பெருமைக்கும் ஏனைச் சிறுமைக்கும் தத்தம்
கருமமே கட்டளைக் கல்." (505)

One's deed and not birth is the touch-stone for greatness or littleness.

In the chapter தெரிந்து வினையாடல் (testing and employment) Tiruvalluvar gives eminently practical advice which would hold good in the complex administration of modern times. Those employed must be able to choose the good from the bad, those who can develop the resources and explore the obstacles, those who are endowed with intelligence, kindness and decision and freedom from greed and wisely say that many will satisfy the tests but will change in actual performance of duty. We find this happening every day in modern life.

" எனைவகையான் தேறியக் கண்ணும் வினைவகையான்
வேறாகும் மாந்தர் பலர்." (514)

(Tr.) Though tested in every way, many are the men who change due to the nature of the work.

This justifies the in-servicc tests and confidential reports on administrative personuel current at the present time.

Power and authority easily corrupt men who start well. Parimēlalagar compares them with the Kattiangaran (கட்டியங் காரன்) who falls in love with kingly pleasures. Servants of the State should be free from lust for power and what is now called conspicuous living. It is for this reason that Tiruvalluvar insists on freedom from greed and avarice along with other virtues like nobility, intelligence and power to take decision and clear-headedness. Where there is love of power, judgement will be easily vitiated. Says Tiruvalluvar,

" அன்பறிவு தேற்றம் அவாவின்மை இந்நான்கும்
நன்குடையான் கட்டே தெளிவு." (513)

(Tr.) Let him alone be selected for service who is well endowed with kindness and intelligence and decision and who is free from greed.

Paripperumāl in his commentary says,

" இது பெரும்பான்மையும் காரிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு அதிபதியை
நோக்கிற்று."

This refers to the Secretariat of the Government which examines proposals for action (காரிய ஆராய்ச்சிக்கு).

The modernity of these ideas in the Kural is striking and is in refreshing contrast to ideas in Kautilya which though very clever do not go to fundamentals or the philosophy of government but only with dispositions and regulatory procedures.

Having laid down the rules for the King to associate with the wise, to deliberate before action and to choose the right men. Tiruvalluvar significantly devotes a chapter on cherishing the kindred (சுற்றந்தழால்) because estrangement of kith and kin is as dangerous as allowing them to have sway over the actions of men in authority. We in the present day life hear of many Ministers being discredited because they allow their close relations to exploit their position. Tiruvalluvar also warns against insolence or laziness of the King, as the King should constantly aim at மூவகை ஆற்றல், நால்வகை உபாயம், ஐவகைத் தொழில் and அறுவகைக் குணம் :

> மூவகை ஆற்றல்—இடமறிதல், காலமறிதல், வலியறிதல்.
>
> நால்வகை உபாயம்—வன்கண்மை, குடி காத்தல், கற்றறிதல், ஆள்வினை.
>
> ஐவகைத்தொழில்—வினை வலி, தன் வலி, மாற்றான் வலி, துணை வலி, தெரிந்து செய்யும் வலி.
>
> அறுவகைக் குணம்—நட்பாக்கல், பகையாக்கல், மேற்சேறல், இடித்தல், பிரித்தல், கூட்டல்.

Kautilya says that a wise king shall observe a six-fold policy—

(1) Peace (sandhi),

(2) War (Vigraha),

(3) Neutrality (asana),

(4) Marching (yama),

(5) Alliance (samsraya) and

(6) Making peace with one and waging war with another (dvaidhibhava),

and elaborates on them. Tiruvalluvar however is only suggestive.

CHAPTER IX

JUST GOVERNMENT

The most important Chapter on polity in Tiruvalluvar is செங்கோன்மை or Just Government (Chapter 55) for which word I have not been able to discover an exact parallel in Kautilya although in many chapters he speaks of its ingredients. செங்கோன்மை in abstract is not discussed in Kautilya. A virtuous king besides protecting his subjects and maintaining peace and prosperity is enjoined by Kautilya to do many things which smack of ritualism, magic and witchcraft.

For example in Bk. I. xix of *Arthasastra* Kautilya says that the King shall personally attend to the business of gods, of heretics, of Brahmans, of cattle, of sacred places, minors, aged people, women, etc. He shall seat himself in the room where the sacred fire has been kept, shall attend to the business of physicians and ascetics practising austerities and be in attendance with the high priest and teacher and those who are experts in witchcraft and yoga when hearing petitioners. There is no place for priests and magicians in the *Kural* although in the pāyiram (prologue). Tiruvalluvar has stressed faith in God and greatness of those who have renounced. There is no suggestion of the King being surrounded by knights spiritual, besides knights templars to keep him straight and guard him againsts evils. Dr. U. N. Ghosal[1] points out that in the Vedic Samhitas and the Brahmanas, the purohita holds a conspicuous position in the counsels of the king. This position is maintained in the *Dharmasastras* and even in the *Arthasastra* of Kautilaya. It is remarkable, however, that the purohita is conspicuous by his absence in the list of seven prakritis or angas given in *Kural*. Purohita has no place in the elements of the State even impliedly in the Kural.

1. U. N. Ghosal, *op. cit.* p. 86

In dealing with செங்கோன்மை of Tiruvalluvar, I must dispose of a preliminary point. Parimelalagar in explaining செங்கோன்மை says,

> "ஒருபாற்கோடாது செவ்விய கோல் போறலின்
> செங்கோன்மை எனப்பட்டது. வடநூலாரும்
> தண்டம் என்றார்."

I think emphatically that *dandam* does not convey செங்கோன்மை. The meaning of *dandam* is vague but it is mainly identified with the coercive authority of the King which sustains *dharma*. Dr. Ghosal has discussed the evolution of the idea of danda in Manu, Yājnavalkya and Kautilya and he observes that in Kautilya we notice a development or the theory of danda into a new technique, the right application of which would help dharma. Traditionally the word danda is identified with sceptre and hence the word danta-nīti, but கோல் in Tamil tradition refers to the pointer in the balance. It will also be noted that Tolkāppiyar in *Tolkappiyam* 'Marabiyal speaking of தெரிவுகொள் செங்கோல் அரசர் has not mentioned any sceptre or danda.

> "படையும் கொடியும் குடையும் முரசும்
> நடைநவில் புரவியும் களிறுந் தேரும்
> தாரும் முடியும் நேர்வன பிறவும்
> தெரிவுகொள் செங்கோல் அரசர்க் குரிய." (மரபியல், 72)

Mahamahopadyaya Panditamani Kathiresan Chettiar in his notes to Bk. 1-4 of his Tamil translation of Kautilya's *Arthasastra*[2] says,

> "தண்டம் ஈண்டுச் சாமம் முதலிய உபாயம் நான்கனுள் ஒன்றாகிய ஒறுத்தலை உணர்த்தும்; காரிய காரண அபேதத்தால் அத்தண்டத்தைச் செய்யும் அரசனும் தண்டம்" என்று கூறப்படுவான்.
>
> இனித் தண்டம் என்பதைக் கோல் எனக்கொண்டு பரிமேலழகர் உரை எழுதியுள்ளார்.

2. Kautilya's *Arthasastra* with notes (Annamalai University) 1954, p. 34.

In Kural we find தண்டம் used only in the sense of punishment *e.g.*,

“ கடுமொழியும் கையிகந்த தண்டமும் ” (567)

and Silappadikāram says that without king's control there will be no blameless safety to anything.

“ அரைச வேலி யல்லது யாவதும்
புரைதீர் வேலியில்.” (சிலப். 23. 44, 45)

Sengol is completely different from தண்டநீதி although it may be a part of Sengol. It will also be noticed that in the second Kural in this Chapter, Tiruvalluvar compares Sengol to rain, which has no punitive implication at all.

The 'sengol' is only symbolic of the just government of the king and without it even the service of great men (அந்தணர்) and அறம் (or righteousness or dharma) will not endure. The reference to அந்தணர் நூல் is usually taken as Vedas although Tiruvalluvar has not cited the Vedas. In every religion there are spiritual seers and sages who speak the voice of God. They are called அந்தணர் just as when we speak of 'wise men' we do not refer to the Magi of old. It is for this reason perhaps that in *Manimekalai*, importance is given not to the scripture but to the spirituality of great men. Manimekalai has the following lines :

“ மாதவர் நோன்பும் மடவார் கற்பும்
காவலன் காவல்.” (மணி. 22.208-09)

In a multi-religious society with freedom for religious belief a work on polity or a work on ethics cannot swear by a particular scripture. So அறநெறி has to be distinguished from வேதநெறி. In the third Kural in this chapter Tiruvalluvar speaks of the subjects clinging to a King's feet if he is loving and wields his sceptre justly. If the கோல் is a symbol of punishment it cannot be used in the sense in which it is used in the Kural. Rain as well as plentiful crops will be had in the land when the king is true to the spirit of the scriptures. (The words இயல்புளிக் கோலோச்சுதல் are significant).

It is not the lance that gives victory and success to a king but his கோல் sceptre, if it is straight and does not swerve from justice.

" வேலன்று வென்றி தருவது ; மன்னவன்
கோல்;அதூஉம் கோடா தெனின்." (546)

In contrast, the Arthasāstra says, "That State which is disciplined by the established laws of the Aryas which is rooted in the organisation of castes and orders and which is protected by the three Vedas progresses and never deteriorates." :

" *vyavastitarya maryate : krutha varnasramastitah :*
triyohi : rakshita : loka :
pracidatu nasodati" (Bk. 1. 3)

On the other hand, the Tamil classic *Manimekalai* says :

" கோனிலை திரிந்திடின் கோள்நிலை திரியும் ;
கோள்நிலை திரிந்திடின் மாரிவறங் கூரும் ;
மாரிவறங் கூரின் மன்னுயி ரில்லை;
மன்னுயி ரெல்லாம் மண்ணாள் வேந்தன்
தன்னுயி ரென்னும் தகுதி இன் றாகும்." (மணி. V. 8-12)

Just as the king protects his subjects, justice protects him. It will be noted that in the last two Kurals in the Chapter Tiruvalluvar speaks very forcibly about punishing the wicked even with death and to be severe with those who transgress and go wrong. So 'செங்கோல்' is not merely saintly rule or a rule of compassion but a just rule. It is a just rule but not devoid of love and generosity.

CHAPTER X

THE UNJUST RULE

In the next Chapter (56) Tiruvalluvar delineates the unjust king or the tyrannical king. Tyranny is not peculiar to monarchy. Political philosophers conceive of democracy also becoming tyrannical and so it is applicable to our democratic times also. The tyranny of democracy is that it may be seized and exploited in undemocratic ways for ostensibly democratic ends. In the name of the sovereign people, deeds may be done as cruel as those done by any Greek tyrant or Medieaval despot. It is terribly easy for those in power to confuse justice with the interest of the strong. Curiously enough I have come across that Earl Baldwin, who was not a political writer but a politician and leader of a democratic party, has referred to the tyranny of democracy. He says, "It (democracy) has lost ground in so many countries recently that once more we are told that there is no escape from the circular movement of tyranny, oligarchy, democracy and back to tyranny again/"[1] Under any government the poorest has the right to have his own individual life without being drilled or managed by individuals or groups by whatever name they are called. Tiruvalluvar calls this tyranny அலைத்தல், and a king who oppresses his subjects in this manner is worse than one whose profession is murder. Tiruvalluvar says that a king who demands from his subject anything, whether taxes or even loyalty by force is similar to a highway robber who asks people to stand and deliver by threat to life,

> " கொலைமேற்கொண் டாரின் கொடிதே அலைமேற்கொண்டு
> அல்லவை செய்தொழுகும் வேந்து." (551)

> " வேலொடு நின்றான் 'இடு'என் றதுபோலும்
> கோலொடு நின்றான் இரவு." (552)

கொடுங்கோல் in such circumstances is worse than danda; it is a murderous weapon like a spear.

1. Earl Baldwin, *The Torch of Freedom* (Hodder & Stoughton, 1951), p. 48

Manakkudavar and Paripperumāl list out the evils of tyranny as : (1) முறைமை செய்யாமை, (2) அருள் செய்யாமை,
(3) பிறர் நலியாமற்காவாமை, (4) முறை கெடச்செய்தல்,
(5) குடிகளுக்குத் தண்டனை ஆராயாது செய்தல்,
(6) அல்லவை செய்தல் and (7) குடிகளை இரத்தல்.

A King who thoughtlessly uses his power will lose both his subjects and his kingdom. The implication is that his subjects will cease to love him and may rebel. Even if that does not happen, some neighbouring power may use his unpopularity to oust him.

" கூழும் குடியும் ஒருங்கிழக்கும் கோல்கோடிச்
சூழாது செய்யும் அரசு." (554)

There is no weapon that will wear away the property of a king more surely than the tears of those groaning under his oppression. It is righteousness alone that gives permanence to a king's rule and the lack of it will tarnish his fame. A king who has no love for his subjects is worse than rainless blight on the land.

" மன்னர்க்கு மன்னுதல் செங்கோன்மை ; அஃதின்றேல்
மன்னாவாம் மன்னர்க் கொளி." (556)

" துளியின்மை ஞாலத்திற்கு எற்று? அற்றே வேந்தன்
அளியின்மை வாழும் உயிர்க்கு." (557)

This word 'அளி' (*ali*) has a very important connotation. It means giving oneself completely to another by identification, of which the spiritual basis is love. In *Thēvaram* and *Tiruvācagam* we come across, the word 'அளி' referring to God's grace. Thus *ali* is not merely the performance of a function but has a deeper spiritual significance.

It should not be supposed that under a tyrannical and unrighteous king, the poor alone will suffer. The rich will also suffer and they will be worse off than the poor. For a time the rich may try to prosper under an authoritarian rule but soon they too will suffer. Hence what is required is righteousness which will treat the poor and the rich justly.

" இன்மையின் இன்னு துடைமை முறைசெய்யா
மன்னவன் கோற்கீழ்ப் படின்." (558)

Purananūru gives at various places illuminating and many-sided interpretations of the duties of a king. He should be kind towards the law-abiding and the loyal and severe with offenders; he must be like a moon that equally pleases all good men and a sun that equally scorches all bad men and like rain must be impartial to all.

> " அறநெறி முதற்றே அரசின் கொற்றம்;
> அதனால், 'நமர்'எனக் கோல்கோடாது
> 'பிறர்'எனக் குணம்கொல்லாது
> ஞாயிற்று அன்ன வெந்திறல் ஆண்மையும்
> திங்கள் அன்ன தண்பெருஞ் சாயலும்
> வானத்து அன்ன வண்மையும், மூன்றும்
> உடையை ஆகி, இல்லோர் கையற
> நீடூழி வாழிய நெடுந்தகை!" (புறம். 55. 10-17)

It is significant that one of the king's main concern is to feed the people and secure freedom from hunger as giving food is giving life and this is necessary if the king desires all the best for his next life, to become powerful and rule all the world and to leave behind a good name.

> " செல்லும் உலகத்துச் செல்வம் வேண்டினும்
> ஞாலம் காவலர் தோள்வலி முடுக்கி
> ஒருநீ ஆகல் வேண்டினும், சிறந்த
> நல்இசை நிறுத்தல் வேண்டினும் மற்றுஅதன்
> தகுதி கேள்இனி மிகுதி யாள!
> நீர்இன்று அமையா யாக்கைக்கு எல்லாம்
> உண்டி கொடுத்தோர் உயிர்கொடுத் தோரே!"
> (புறம். 18. 13-19)

The duties of a king are to discard evil, maintain justice and collect taxes.

> " கொடிதுகடிந்து கோல்திருத்திப்
> படுவதுஉண்டு பகல்ஆற்றி
> இனிதுஉருண்ட சுடர்நேமி
> முழுதுஆண்டோர் வழிகாவல!" (புறம். 17)

Kalittogai suggests that the king's just rule must proclaim truth.

> " பொய்யாமை நுவலும்நின் செங்கோல்." (கலித். 99. 11)

In *Silappadhikāram* we find that Senguttuvan, the Chera King, felt ashamed of the royal injustice of the Pandiyan king in taking away the life of Kovalan thoughtlessly :

> " தென்னர் கோமான் தீத்திறங் கேட்ட
> மன்னர் கோமான் வருந்தினை னுரைப்போன்
> * * * *
> வல்வினை வளைத்த கோலை மன்னவன்
> செல்லுயிர் நிமிர்த்துச் செங்கோ லாக்கியது."

(சிலப். 25 : 93-99)

Even if the king's sceptre is not straight or his counsellors do not adhere to 'அறம்' (*aram*), even if the laws propounded are incorrect, even if the proceedings are onesided, in the பாவைமன்றம் of the king, the effigy will shed tears if there is miscarriage of justice, says Silappadhikaram :

> " அரைசுகோல் கோடினும் அறங்கூ றவையத்து
> உரைநூல் கோடி யொருதிறம் பற்றினும்
> நாவொடு நவிலாது நவைநீர் உகுத்துப்
> பாவை நின் றழூஉம் பாவை மன்றமும்."

(சிலப். 5. 135-38)

So even the king and the laws are not infallible and if there is miscarriage of justice, it is due to evil fate only.

> " வல்வினை வளைத்த கோலை மன்னவன்
> செல்லுயிர் நிமிர்த்துச் செங்கோ லாக்கியது."

(சிலப். 25. 97, 98)

If the divine law is allowed to prevail, Sekkilar, the author of *Periyapurānam*, says that,

> " ஒருமைந்தன் தன்குலத்துக் குள்ளானென் பதுமுணரான்
> தருமந்தன் வழிச்செல்கை கடனென்று தன்மைந்தன்
> மருமந்தன் தேராழி உறவூர்ந்தான் மனுவேந்தன்
> அருமந்த அரசாட்சி அரிதோமற் றெளிதோதான்."

(பெரிய புரா. 129)

If the செங்கோல் is shaken, the king regards himself as worse than a felon, as is seen in Silappadhikāram.

"தளர்ந்தசெங் கோலன்
பொன்செய் கொல்லன் தன்சொல் கேட்ட
யானோ அரசன்! யானே கள்வன்!
மன்பதை காக்குந் தென்புலங் காவல்
என்முதற் பிழைத்தது கெடுகஎன் னாயுள்!"

(சிலப். 20. 73-77)

Of the *Pandiyan* kings it is said 'செங்கோல் வளைய உயிர் வாழார் பாண்டியர்'. In ஆற்று வரி of the same classic 'திருந்து செங்கோல் வளையாமை' is said in praise of even the river Cauvery.

Of the same category as tyranny is the king's acts that cause fear. A king must make proper investigation before meeting out punishment, otherwise people will be terrorised. If the people think that the king is a tyrant, he will soon perish.

"இறைகடியன் என்றுரைக்கும் இன்னாச்சொல் வேந்தன்
உறைகடுகி ஒல்லைக் கெடும்." (654)

(Tr.) If he is dour-faced and harsh in speech, he will be feared like a demon.

The king will lose power if he only indulges in anger without consulting his ministers. Considerateness (கண்ணோட்டம்) is essential in a king. A king who desires to be called the pink of courtesy will drink off even the poison that is offered to him with a smile.

"பெயக்கண்டும் நஞ்சுண் டமைவர் நயத்தக்க
நாகரிகம் வேண்டு பவர்." (580)

The grace of the king's eye will accept what his eye alone will forbid.

This indicates the degree of forbearance and grace that is expected in a king. The outer rectitude and justice must be borne by an inner dignity.

CHAPTER XI

STATE-CRAFT

Tiruvalluvar devotes a whole chapter to the sources of intelligence necessary for a king although he rarely elaborates on strategy and state-craft of which we find plenty in Kautilya's *Arthasastra.* The king's two eyes are respectively the books on state-craft and the spy service. It is necessary for the king to know quickly all that happens in the land. Success is not for him who does not know how to get at news by scouts and spies. Those to be watched are his employees, his relations and his enemies.

" வினைசெய்வார் தம்சுற்றம் வேண்டாதார் என்றாங்கு
அனைவரையும் ஆராய்வது ஒற்று." (584)

Spies can disguise themselves as ascetics and holy men and should wear an unsuspicious appearance. The spy should bring reliable information that is hidden and the information brought by one spy should be got checked by that of another. Even spies should not know each other and if the reports of three agree, reliance could then only be placed on them.

Kautilya deals with the system of spies more elaborately than Tiruvalluvar. According to him a spy can take the guise of a fraudulent disciple (kapatika-chatra), a recluse (udasthita), a householder (grihapalika), a merchant (vaidehaka), an ascetic (tapasa), a colleague (sātri), firebrand (tikshna), a prisoner (rasada) and medicant woman (bhikshuki). The spies should sow dissensions in the enemy's country by using disgruntled persons. Similarly the king's own seditious ministers must be kept under watch. Kautilya also sketches out a system of intrigues which is spicy to read.

Tiruvalluvar discusses another group of virtues in a king, the keynote of which is the king's ability to take energetic action; otherwise even the spy system would be useless. They are energetic action, abstention from sloth, perseverance and courage.

The king must have capacity for work and it is not enough to have liberality of mind alone. Otherwise it will be like the courage that cannot be expected from an eunuch although armed with a sword, says Tiruvalluvar.

" தாளாண்மை இல்லாதான் வேளாண்மை, பேடிகை
வாளாண்மை போலக் கெடும்." (614)

The king shall spurn personal pleasures and love work, to ward off danger to his people, he will then be a tower of strength.

" இன்பம் விழையான் வினைவிழைவான் தன்கேளிர்
துன்பம் துடைத்தூன்றும் தூண்." (615)

To be luckless is no disgrace but to be without manly effort is disgraceful.

" பொறியின்மை யார்க்கும் பழியன்று ; அறிவறிந்து
ஆள்வினை இன்மை பழி." (618)

A king with manly effort will even defeat fate, says the Kural.

" ஊழையும் உப்பக்கம் காண்பர், உலைவின்றித்
தாழா துஞற்று பவர்." (620)

These are words of wisdom to be written in letters of gold for a Ruler to follow.

CHAPTER XII

ROLE OF MINISTERS

After expatiating on Arasiyal or Rajadharma as the Sanskritists call it, Tiruvalluvar proceeds to discuss the qualifications, functions and role of the ministers who are an important part of the Sate and equal in weight to the king himself according to Parimēlalagar.

This part of Porutpāl has a very intimate relevance to our times and deserves to be read and re-read.

The first essential in a minister is an ability to judge aright ways and means of achieving great things, timeliness of action and enterprise and initiative.

"கருவியும் காலமும் செய்கையும் செய்யும்
அருவினையும் மாண்டது அமைச்சு." (631)

Along with these the minister must have resolution, interest in the welfare of the people, constant study and drive to get things done.

"வன்கண் குடிகாத்தல் கற்றறிதல் ஆள்வினையொடு
ஐந்துடன் மாண்டது அமைச்சு." (632)

The affairs of the State are not simple things fit only for philosophers as many difficult situations have to be faced. Tiruvalluvar says that he is an able minister who possesses the capacity to disunite allies, cherish and keep friendship and bring back people who have estranged. This is paying attention to both 'santhi' and 'vigraha' aspects in relations within the State and outside.

The minister should not waver in his advice and must possess penetrating insight and comprehension and clear-headedness in decision and action.

"தெரிதலும் தேர்ந்து செயலும் ஒருதலையாச்
சொல்லலும் வல்லது அமைச்சு." (634)

The expression ஒருதலையாச்சொல்லல் (unambiguity and positiveness in speech) is simple but pregnant with meaning. In the present times we see ministers making contradictory and confusing statements and doing loud thinking in public because they advise nobody except themselves. The 'positiveness in expression of opinion' as V. V. S. Ayyar translates the term 'ஒருதலையாச்சொல்லல்', will be possible only in a responsible minister who deliberates deeply and speaks discreetly. When this is not found in an abundant measure even in the present democratic forms of government, it is remarkable that Tiruvalluvar places a great prize on it in a system of monarchy which means that Tiruvalluvar was really anticipating the modern concepts of the democratic process.

A worthy minister must also know the law (அறன்), must be calm and weighty in expression and knows at all times the right course of action.

> " அறனறிந் தான்றமைந்த சொல்லான்எஞ் ஞான்றும்
> திறனறிந்தான் தேர்ச்சித் துணை." (645)

All these qualities will add dignity to the office of minister and will make him a success and a tower of strength to the State.

It is not enough, warns Tiruvalluvar, that the minister has only மதிநுட்பம், நூல்நுட்பம் and வினைநுட்பம் but he should have knowledge of the ways of the world and practical experience.

> " செயற்கை அறிந்தக் கடைத்தும் உலகத்து
> இயற்கை அறிந்து செயல்." (637)

The practical man must know the உலக நடை (the way of the world), otherwise he will be an ivory tower minister and may bring about disaster, unintentionally albeit, to the State.

The most important advice that Tiruvalluvar gives to the minister is that he should dare to speak out and give correct advice even if the king is unwise and might throw away his advice. Duty must be performed at all costs and not burked to retain his position or the king's favour.

> " அறிகொன்று அறியான் எனினும், உறுதி
> உழையிருந்தான் கூறல் கடன்." (638)

(Parimelalagar points out that the meaning of Amāthya in Sanskrit is உழையிருந்தான் (one who is near). The Kural says, "Far better are 70 crores of enemies for a king than a Minister at his side who intends ruin."

> " பழுதெண்ணும் மந்திரியின் பக்கத்துள் தெவ்வோர்
> எழுபது கோடி உறும்." (639)

Above all these, loyalty is important—loyalty in the sense that it will not let down the highest good of the State, because he will be more dangerous than 'seventy crores of enemies.' Tiruvalluvar does not waste many words on this aspect as this one Kural is so forcibly expressed. Silappadikaram places disloyal ministers in the same category as other degenerates like a rascal monk, unchaste women, seducers, liars and informers.

> " தவமறைந் தொழுகும் தன்மையி லாளர்
> அவமறைந் தொழுகும் அலவற் பெண்டிர்
> அறைபோ கமைச்சர் பிறர்மனை நயப்போர்
> பொய்க்கரி யாளர், புறங்கூற் றாளர்"
>
> (சிலப். 5. 128–131)

All these standards might appear to be obvious but they are difficult to find even today, but Tiruvalluvar expresses these sentiments with such dignity and in most acceptable and valid forms that they are a marvel for all times. Compare for example Kautilya who goes into details like this: He says that to test the loyalty of a minister a woman-spy in the guise of an ascetic who is respected in the king's household should be asked to approach the minister and say that the queen is enamoured of him and that arrangements would be made for his entrance into her chamber. If the minister spurns this proposal, he would be deemed a pure minister. All this is rather coarse, smacking of palace intrigues rather than elevated standards of political conduct. Another test mentioned in Arthasastra is to try a minister like this: The king may pretend to take the ministers on a voyage and arrest them on pretext of their disloyalty. A spy in the guise of the king's favourite must approach the ministers and tell them that the king was unwise and cruel and they should murder him and put another in his stead. The minister is to be judged by his reaction to such temptations.

Kautilya further elaborates the topic of tests by allurements. Those who are tried by 'religious allurements' should be selected as judges (dharmasthaniya kantaka codhaneshu). Those tested by 'monetary allurements' should be selected for office as revenue collectors and so on. All these are very primitive methods worthy of a book on state-craft but not of one dealing with the principles of polity. Tiruvalluvar too, no doubt, has mentioned the fourfold tests (அறம், பொருள், இன்பம், உயிரச்சம்) that the king should employ for choosing the servants but he does not mention them with regard to ministers. To place espionage as the highest and surest and only guarantee of the safety of the king or the State is a poor form of polity. Rightly, it is relegated in the Kural to external relations with other kings or chieftains only and not to internal affairs.

CHAPTER XIII

MINISTERIAL SPEECH AND CONDUCT

Tiruvalluvar has devoted a number of Chapters on the speech and conduct of the ministers சொல் வன்மை, வினைத்தூய்மை, வினைத்திட்பம், வினை செயல் வகை (Chapters, 65-68). The king and ministers both participate in councils of the State, but the king does not in all others while the ministers do. So, if learning is necessary in a king, both learning and eloquence should be looked for in a minister. The importance of persuasion and of public communications now so much valued in modern governments is also valued by Tiruvalluvar. Monarchy of his concept is as much rule by discussion as democracy is today. That is why he calls நாநலம், the power of convincing speech, as a blessing greater than all other blessings, because words have power to build as well as destroy.

> " ஆக்கமும் கேடும் அதனால் வருதலான்
> காத்தோம்பல் சொல்லின்கண் சோர்வு." (642)

The power of speech must not only captivate the friendly but also those not so friendly.

> " கேட்டார்ப் பிணிக்குந் தகையவாய்க் கேளாரும்
> வேட்ப மொழிவதாஞ் சொல்." (643)

The use of words knowing their power and import is itself a discipline and a source of power.

> " திறனறிந்து சொல்லுக சொல்லை; அறனும்
> பொருளும் அதனினூஉங் கில்." (644)

The world will then wait to carry out what you desire.

> " விரைந்து தொழில்கேட்கும் ஞாலம், நிரந்தினிது
> சொல்லுதல் வல்லார்ப் பெறின்." (648)

The point to be remembered is that the minister is a part of ஐம்பெருங்குழு (the five grand councils) and எண்பேராயம் (eight popular assemblies) of the State and so the minister has constantly to speak to them. The five assemblies, which are

mentioned both in Silappadikāram and Manimēkalai are அமைச்சர், காலக்கணிதர், தானைத்தலைவர், தூதுவர், and சாரணர் (i.e., ministers, astrologers, military chiefs, envoys and scouts).

The eight popular assemblies are : .

கரணத் தியல்வர், கரும காரர்,
கனகச் சுற்றம், கடைகாப் பாளர்,
நகர மாந்தர், நளிபடைத் தலைவர்,
யானை வீரர், இவுளி மறவர்.

(i.e., assemblies of citizens, guardsmen, workers, treasurers, frontier men etc.) These popular assemblies are the beginnings of deliberative and legislative bodies now known to democracy. The learned ministers, if they are really learned, must be able to educate the assemblies and give a lead to them. Otherwise they would be like flowers, though in bloom, give no fragrance. That is to say these popular institutions will be only in form and not informed.

" இணரூழ்த்தும் நாறா மலரனையர் கற்றது
உணர விரித்துரையா தார்." (650)

As important as நா நலம் and துணை நலம் and more so is வினை நலம். Because, the ministers will be judged by their actions and not by their words and their advisers.

" துணைநலம் ஆக்கம் தரூஉம் ; வினைநலம்
வேண்டிய எல்லாம் தரும்." (651)

Those that wish to be great should therefore not do anything that will tarnish their name.

" ஓஒதல் வேண்டும் ஒளிமாழ்கும் செய்வினை
ஆஅதும் என்னு மவர்." (653)

The ministers shall not be guilty of unworthy deeds, and wealth and power earned by disreputable means are worse than poverty. Such power acquired by oppression is bound to be lost.

" அழக்கொண்ட எல்லாம் அழப்போம் ; இழப்பினும்
பிற்பயக்கும் நற்பா லவை." (659)

" சலத்தால் பொருள்செய்தே மார்த்தல் பசுமட்
கலத்துள்நீர் பெய்திரீஇ யற்று." (660)

The recipient of such power will himself be destroyed just as water poured in a pot of unbaked clay dissolves the clay and also itself runs out. The minister is expected to possess strength of character and firmness in action (வினைத்திட்பம்). A weak minister however well-meaning is no good because his plans will not be fulfilled.

> " எண்ணிய எண்ணியாங்கு எய்துப, எண்ணியார்
> திண்ணிய ராகப் பெறின்." (666)

In a Chapter entitled வினை செயல் வகை following the one on வினைத்திட்பம் Tiruvalluvar gives the ingredients of executive efficiency in a minister. Decision must follow deliberation and in the execution of such decisions, there should be no delay, says the Kural.

> " சூழ்ச்சி முடிவு துணிவெய்தல் ; அத்துணிவு
> தாழ்ச்சியுள் தங்குதல் தீது." (671)

The Kural also says that unfinished action and unended enmity are as ruinous as the remnants of a fire which will again consume.

In all matters, five things should be carefully considered, viz., the resources in hand, the instrument, the proper time and the nature of the action and the proper place for its execution. The minister should hasten to secure the alliance of the foe of one's enemies even more than rewarding friends. Ministers of small States should yield to and acknowledge their superior foes, if the latter offer them a chance of reconciliation. We find parallelisms to these in Kautilya also in Chapter XIV of the Arthasastra.

CHAPTER XIV

THE AMBASSADORS

From the conduct of internal affairs, Tiruvalluvar passes on to foreign affairs in the next Chapter (69). The king deals with external States only through diplomatic channels and hence the Chapter is devoted to தூது or Ambassadors. In an earlier Chapter Tiruvalluvar spoke of spies or ஒற்றர் to verify the loyalty of servants employed by the State. An Ambassador may be a spy in some circumstances, but a spy cannot be an ambassador who must be of high birth, good manners and loving nature.

" அன்புடைமை ஆன்ற குடிப்பிறத்தல் வேந்தவாம்
பண்புடைமை தூதுரைப்பான் பண்பு." (681)

The envoy must possess natural wisdom as well as knowledge of arts and sciences and a good personality.

" அறிவுரு ஆராய்ந்த கல்விஇம் மூன்றும்
செறிவுடையான் செல்க வினைக்கு." (684)

These ideas in Tirukkural are so modern and are worth noting, and hence the world needs to know more about the Kural. Conciseness of speech, sweetness of tongue and a careful eschewing of all disagreeable language, these are the means by which the ambassador will work for his State's well-being. The ambassador sent on missions should be firm of mind, pure of heart and engaging in his ways.

" தூய்மை துணைமை துணிவுடைமை இம்மூன்றன்
வாய்மை வழியுரைப்பான் பண்பு." (688)

Even when threatened with death the perfect ambassador will not fail in his duty but will promote his king's interests.

" இறுதி பயப்பினும் எஞ்சாது இறைவற்கு
உறுதி பயப்பதாம் தூது." (690)

Kautilya too deals with envoys in Book I, Chap. 29 of the Arthasastra. He prescribes minister's qualifications for the charge d'affaires (mantrinah) and lesser qualifications for parimitartah (agents entrusted with definite misssions), and sasanaharah (conveyor of royal writs). The envoy, says Kautilya, should avoid women and liquor, and shall take bed single as the intentions of envoys will be attempted to be found out while with women or under influence of drink. Kautilya gives elaborate methods for the envoy to adopt. Arthasastra has the perfection of Machiavalli in this kind of state-craft.

In a group of chapters Tiruvalluvar gives rules as to how ministers shall conduct themselves with kings, judge counsels, etc., (all of which it is not possible to cover within the brief compass of these Lectures) and with this, the section dealing with ministers concludes.

CHAPTER XV

CIVIL AND MILITARY RESOURCES

Then we come to Nādu or territory. That country is great, says Tiruvalluvar, which never faileth in its yield of harvests and which is the abode of wise men as well as worthy rich men.

> "தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
> செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு." (731)

The country should be free from starvation, epidemics and destructive foes. It should also be free from factions, anarchists and traitors.

> "பல்குழுவும் பாழ்செய்யும் உட்பகையும் வேந்தலைக்கும்
> கொல்குறும்பும் இல்லது நாடு." (735)

The country should have surface and subsoil waters, seasonal rains, well-situated mountains and strong fortifications.

The five ornaments of the kingdom are (1) freedom from disease, (2) wealth, (3) harvests, (4) happiness and (5) security. There should be natural wealth more than that produced by labour. Even if the land has all these, it is worth nothing if it is not blessed in its ruler.

> "ஆங்கமை வெய்தியக் கண்ணும் பயமின்றே
> வேந்தமை வில்லாத நாடு." (740)

It will be seen that Tiruvalluvar's monarchy is not for the purpose of keeping up the line of kings but to avoid anarchy.

Tiruvalluvar devotes one chapter to 'Fortresses' and two to 'Army' and in between a chapeter on 'Wealth'. Although fortress is part of land, it is given importance as an essential of State as in olden days warfare consisted in taking the fortresses of the enemy while in modern times it consists in surrounding the capital of the State and taking or destroying strategic targets. Actually fortress signifies only the capital and it is well known that the Tamil Muvendars were very energetic in building

their capitals and were proud of them. A fort is necessary for attack, defence and shelter. It should have the defensive barriers and facilities like unfailing supply of water, open space, hills and thick vegetative covering round about.

> " மணிநீரும் மண்ணும் மலையும் அணிநிழற்
> காடும் உடையது அரண்." (742)

Parimēlalagar calls these *நீரரண், நிலவரண், மலையரண்,* and *காட்டரண்.* These natural advantages only make the fort valuable for strategic use rather than troops and dump of arms. Tiruvalluvar also refers to some manual which refers to making the fortress impregnable by its height, thickness etc. It is not known what it is. The Silappadikāram commentary of Adiyārkunallar gives the requirements of a fortress from an engineering point of view :

> " மிளையும் கிடங்கும் வளைவிற் பொறியும்
> கருவிரல் ஊகமும் கல்லுமிழ் கவணும்
> பரிவுறு வெந்நெயும் பாகடு குழிசியும்
> காய்பொன் னுலையும் கல்லிடு கூடையும்
> தூண்டிலும் தொடக்கும் ஆண்டலை யடுப்பும்
> கவையுங் கழுவும் புதையும் புழையும்
> ஐயவித் துலாமும் கைபெய ரூசியும்
> சென்றெறி சிரலும் பன்றியும் பணையும்
> எழுவுஞ் சீப்பும் உழுவிறற் கணையமும்
> கோலுங் குந்தமும் வேலும் பிறவும்."
>
> (சிலப். 15. 207-216)

It is one of the functions of the King to distribute arms, *ஐவகை மரபின் அரசர் பக்கம்.* Commentator Ilampūranar explains this as,

> 'ஓதலும், வேட்டலும், ஈதலும், படை வழங்குதலும்,
> குடியோம்புதலும்.'

This commentator interprets these as the study of the Vedas, performance of sacrifices, giving away of gifts, looking after the welfare of the subjects and prowess in weapons. The commentator Nachinārkiniyar substitutes administration of justice for the last. Tiruvalluvar departs from Tolkāppiyar and does not refer to these traditional virtues.

Puranānūru speaks of the fortresses full of bows :

> " அம்புதுஞ்சும் கடியரணால்
> அறந்துஞ்சும் செங்கோலையே." (புறம். 20)

Tiruvalluvar also refers to the fortress being stocked with the necessary stores and a good garrison (நல் ஆள்) which is loyal and loving to the king. Parimēlalagar also refers to tunnels (கீழறு) and Manakkudavar to ramparts (அட்டாலகம்) and மதிற்பொறி guns mounted on them. It may be mentioned that in Tolkāppiyam we find it stated that 'all castes can bear வில் and வேல், bow and spear, as citizens. The inmates of the fortress should be doughty men to withstand sieze or storming by an enemy. Tiruvalluvar also warns that, however strong the fort may be, the men must have வினை மாட்சி, that is, freedom from inaction, panic and ill-judgment.'

Kautilya also refers to the requirements of a fort, viz., andaka (moat), parvata (hill), dhauvana (desert), forest (vana-durga) and water and thickets (khajana) and gives elaborate details of the fort which are really interesting (Bk. I Chap. III). In Bk. XIII Chap. 5 he gives details as to how to capture and destroy a fort.

Tolkāppiyam speaks in detail of meritorious acts in war, according to each 'tinai' and region. For example for 'vakai' there are twelve tinais :

(1) sending of royal umbrella, (2) sending of sword before attack, (3) clash between soldiers when getting up the ladder, (4) besieger besieging the inner fort after capturing the outer and killing the enemy's army, (5) asking besieged about defence desired, (6) miraculous attack, (7) defeating enemy in moat, (8) defeat of army inside fort, (9) attack of army on glacis, (10) purificatory bath of the crown of the vanguished, (11) purificatory bath of the sword of the victor and (12) collecting armies of the victor and honouring them (*Porul, Purathinai*, 68)

For some other tinais, other things like attack by elephant, hand to hand fight, fight with swords etc., are mentioned.

Significantly Tiruvalluvar places a Chapter on 'Wealth' following the Chapter on 'Fortress' as moey is the first require-

ment for peace and war and hence it is an important sinew of defence. He has framed the maxims in this chapter on very general lines and hence are universally applicable as the economic doctrine for polity.

> "பொருளென்னும் பொய்யா விளக்கம் இருளறுக்கும்
> எண்ணிய தேயத்துச் சென்று." (753)

Wealth is an unfailing lamp which goes to every place and dispels darkness and quells enmity. Wealth got by proper means is the basis for அறம் and இன்பம் (i.e., virtue and well-being).

> "அறன்ஈனும் இன்பமும் ஈனும் திறனறிந்து
> தீதின்றி வந்த பொருள்." (754)

> "அருளொடும் அன்பொடும் வாராப் பொருளாக்கம்
> புல்லார் புரள விடல்." (755)

Tiruvalluvar also gives the sources of revenue for the State. They are escheats, derelicts, customs, taxes and tributes from vanquished states.

> "உறுபொருளும் உல்கு பொருளும்தன் ஒன்னார்த்
> தெறுபொருளும் வேந்தன் பொருள்." (756)

There is no sharper steel than wealth to cleave the enemy's pride and strength, says the Kural.

> "செய்க பொருளை ; செறுநர் செருக்கறுக்கும்
> எஃகதனிற் கூரிய தில்." (759)

CHAPTER XVI

THE ARMY

Tiruvalluvar speaks of the characteristics of the Army and rightly enough he insists on military traditions, தொல்படை. The commentator Parimēlalagar refers to different categories of the army, viz., மூலப்படை (standing army), கூலிப்படை (mercenary army), நாட்டுப்படை (citizen's army), காட்டுப்படை (sappers and miners), துணைப்படை (auxiliaries) and பகைப்படை (combatants). Valour and gallantry and heroism are important in an army. With a dry sense of humour, Tiruvalluvar asks what is the good of having a large army of rats which can be hissed off by a snake ?

> " ஒலித்தக்கால் என்னும் உவரி எலிப்பகை
> நாகம் உயிர்ப்பக் கெடும்." (763)

A good army is the one which will not take defeat and will resist even if Yama, the god of death, comes against it. Its four qualities are : valour, honour, pride in tradition, and refusal to be confounded. This is a brilliantly succint statement.

> " மறம்மானம் மாண்ட வழிச்செலவு தேற்றம்
> எனநான்கே ஏமம் படைக்கு." (766)

The king has an obligation to see that the Army does not get reduced in numbers, is not forced to plunder the people and do humiliating things and is not ill-paid. Provided all this, even if the army is big it is of no use if it has not generals (தலைமக்கள்) and the army should be proud of them. The ethics of the army is to strike hard but it is chivalry to be generous to the fallen. It is unworthy of its steel to show its valour against the falling and disarmed foes. (Parimēlalagar cites Kamba Ramayana where Rama asks Ravana to go back and return next day duly armed). As in Kamathuppāl Tiruvalluvar becomes poetic when he speaks of the proud warrior who will not even wince if a spear is thrown at him or the warrior who will laugh nonchalantly if a lance thrown at an elephant comes back and hurts him. Love and War are inspiring

themes for Tamil poets. *Purananūru* contains a number of scenes of valour where mothers exhorted their sons to go and fight and would feel disgraced if the son got a wound in his back (i.e., if he turned his back instead of going down fighting). (see *Purananūru.* 279, 277, 274, 62). As regards chivalry *Tolkappiyam* (Puram) commentary (Nachinarkiniar's) says that a noble and benign rule consisted in not killing or fighting without giving due warning to the feeble, issueless, men with no hair on their heads, men who retreat, men who are not equals in valour etc.

Tiruvalluvar does not refer to any navy although *Tolkappiyam* refers to *நீர்ப்படை* in one place and *Silappadikaram* refers to Ceran Senguttuvan's navy (27.16). The Tamils were good ship-builders and their sea-borne trade was not unimportant.

The king, or the head of the State as now, was apparently the head of the Armed Forces and not any minister. In *Paditruppaṭṭu* in one place (24) the king is praised as the head of the Army *பீடுசால் மாலைப் பெருமபடைத் தலைவர்.*

In Books I to XIV,[1] Kautilya deals at great length with Army and Warfare. He speaks of different kinds of army—hereditary army, hired army, army formed by co-operation of the people, friend's army and army composed of wild tribes. Tiruvalluvar does not go into details like these although in Sangam literature we have ample references to methods and exploits of war. The point is that Tiruvalluvar was not writing a manual on war but only examining the ethics of war and peace and how they contributed to the other fulfilments of life namely *அறம், பொருள்* and *இன்பம்.* In his age obviously there were not external wars or invasions but the essential fact is that a well-trained and courageous army was an ingredient of the State.

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1. Cf. T. V. Mahalingam - *South Indian Polity*

CHAPTER XVII

ALLIES AND ENEMIES

Just as important as the Army are the allies which Tiruvalluvar deals with in 12 chapters which comprise the grammar of friendship, testing of friendship and enmity open and disguised. Tiruvalluvar says that there is no armour as friendship for defence against the machinations of foes.

" செயற்கரிய யாவுள நட்பின்? அதுபோல்
வினைக்கரிய யாவுள காப்பு?" (581)

Genuine friendship grows like the waxing moon and its purpose should be for correcting if one goes wrong. Friendship hastens to go to aid just as the hand of the man whose garment slips away. (We saw this in the aid of U. K. and U. S. A. at the time of Chinese aggression on India). Friendship should be made after due consideration as it is difficult to discard it after once contracted. It is a gain to put away the friendship of foes. These are not copy-book maxims but essentials of a wise foreign policy and peaceful co-existence. Those who loyally keep the ties of friendship will be loved and respected even by enemies. Friendship of the unworthy and the exploiting is no better than that of the harlot or the theif. The enmity of the wise is ten million times better than the intimacy of foes. The alliance of those whose deeds vary with their declarations is dangerous. Obviously Tiruvalluvar must have read the lessons of history carefully and no one knows if he was a minister himself.

Tiruvalluvar examines the causes that bring about enmity. Although these considerations are general propositions, they apply with greater force to the affairs of State. Earlier he discussed the factors brought about by others; he now discusses the factors brought about by one's own actions. They are folly (பேதைமை), conceit (புல்லறிவாண்மை) and amour de propre (இகல்). A person holding public office like a minister should not bend <u>h</u>is heart towards things unworthy and base. There is no want like want of sense and the pig-headedness which would not listen

to good counsel and such a man is a plague on the men around him. Quarrelsomeness is a disease and those who free themselves of it will acquire glory. The person who has the talent to avoid hostility cannot easily be overthrown. Fortune will smile on one if he ignores provocation, and ruin is in store if he is tricky and makes enemies all round. These are wise words applicable to the present political situation of many countries in the world.

In three chapters, Tiruvalluvar enumerates very fine principles of policy in judging enemies. His advice is intensely practical. For example, he says :— Some times it is wiser to be submissive and some times it is expedient to declare enmity. If the enemy is stronger, avoid a conflict and if he is weak, court the fray and pursue till he is vanquished. This is not unethical because a weaker person has no business to be impudent. An enemy who is unjust and who has no supporters deserves to be routed. All these are intensely practical. They breathe more of the dignity of the lion than the cunning of the jackal. He is a craven who lacks sense, understanding, liberality and he will be an easy prey to enemies.

> *" அஞ்சும் அறியான் அமைவிலன் ஈகலான்*
> *தஞ்சம் எளியன் பகைக்கு."* (863)

He is also an easy prey to enemies who does not explore ways for conciliation, take opportunities offered for it, avoid reproach and demeaning acts. It is a delight to an enemy if one is not well versed, does not make use of opportunities and does not care for blame or dignity because the enemy could easily overcome such a one.

> *" வழிநோக்கான் வாய்ப்பன செய்யான் பழிநோக்கான்*
> *பண்பிலன் பற்றார்க்கு இனிது."* (765)

Parimēlalagar explains *வழிநோக்கான்* as not being conversant with ancient books. Commentator Parithiyār explains it correctly as exploring all avenues. All these refer to defects in a king harmful to him. *Per contra* there are defects in the enemy which would be favourable to the king. They are blind wrath and lust. Such enemies will easily lose their balance.

It is worthwhile to purchase some enmities to destroy their power. This is analogous to agents provacateurs employed by dictators against enemies who are weak or divided.

There are certain enmities which should be carefully avoided. The prime importance is given to those who are powerful in speech. They may be either demagogues or tribunes of the people, but the latter are more dangerous because their influence are not momentary. The British regime was able to put down revolutionaries and firebrands who excited the people to disaffection against their rule but could not suppress the influence of the studied and sober but nevertheless powerful words of great leaders like Gandhi.

"வில்லேர் உழவர் பகைகொளினும், கொள்ளற்க
சொல்லே ருழவர் பகை." (872)

A king's sagacity consists in not provoking a multitude of foes when he has no allies. In such circumstances it is wise and tactful to convert enemies into allies. Discretion is the better part of valour.

"பகைநட்பாக் கொண்டொழுகும் பண்புடை யாளன்
தகைமைக்கண் தங்கிற் றுலகு." (874)

"தன்துணை இன்றால்; பகை இரண்டால்; தான்ஒருவன்
இன்துணையாக் கொள்கவற்றின் ஒன்று." (875)

In some circumstances it is better to put on the aspect neither of friend nor foe, but remain neutral. But enmities which are like thorns must be nipped in the bud before they grow in size.

Treachery within is more dangerous than enemies without.

Enemies who are open foes need not be dreaded but foes who profess to be by your side as friends should be dreaded.

"வாள்போல் பகைவரை அஞ்சற்க; அஞ்சுக
கேள்போல் பகைவர் தொடர்பு." (882)

The machinations of enemies masquerading as friends will poison even those who are friendly. It is expedient to avoid discords within as they are like a file which weareth away an iron or it is like living with cobras under the same roof.

Safety also lies in not offending great men and powerful potentates. Particularly men of lofty principles should not be

made to feel angry because of the injustice or wicked ways of the king. Even if such a king rests on most solid supports, he will not be saved if men of great spiritual power frown on them.

“ இறந்தமைந்த சார்புடையார் ஆயினும் உய்யார்
சிறந்தமைந்த சீரார் செறின்.” (900)

Tiruvalluvar also warns against dangers which though not direct will ruin a king or a minister. They are being under the influence of women, prostitutes, wine and gambling. The recent Profumo affair in England is a lurid illustration of such bad association. It will be remembered that the then Prime Minister Mr. Harold Macmillan said that Profumo scandal had shocked his government and he had to relinquish office soon after.

Kautilya like Tiruvalluvar goes into very great details about enmity and his treatment is interesting (Bk. I Ch. III). Tiruvalluvar's maxims are more or less parallel in general principles and it is likely that Tiruvalluvar was indebted in dealing with this aspect of Polity to Kautilya whose treatment is masterly. Kautilya says that a king desirous of expanding his own power shall make use of three broad principles:

(1) Make peace with an equal and superior and crush down an inferior.

(2) Do not foolishly go to war against a superior. You will be reduced to nothing as a foot-soldier opposing an elephant.

(3) War with an equal king is futile as it is like one unbaked pot knocking against another such.

Kautilya speaks of different kinds of peace—

(a) *atmanisha* (surrendering with a certain number of the army)

(b) *purushantara sandhi* (peace by sending hostages)

(c) *adrishta purush* (peace by sending an envoy signifying capitulation)

In my opinion it is in these chapters dealing with war and truce that Kautilya shows consummate knowledge and cleverness of dealing with enemies and there is much practical wisdom which is commonly called strategy, for without it no kingdom could survive.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE CITIZENRY

The most important section in the Kural is குடி இயல் which deals with the Citizenry apart from the king, ministers and the warriors. Tiruvalluvar deals with this in 13 chapters. Rectitude and sense of shame will be found in good citizens, he says, in a keynote maxim.

> " இற்பிறந்தார் கண்அல்லது இல்லை இயல்பாகச்
> செப்பமும் நாணும் ஒருங்கு." (951)

They will not fail in rectitude and sense of shame if the people come of good family and they will not fall from three things ;— correct conduct, truth and decency (ஒழுக்கம், வாய்மை, நாண்).

Cheerful countenance, liberality, pleasant words, and unreviling disposition are their qualities.

> இன்சொல், ஈகை, இகழாமை, நகை.

Even if they could gain crores upon crores they will not do what is derogatory. They will not stoop to deceit or cunning. Gentleness of speech and humility are their ornaments. These are attributes of a great citizenry.

Tiruvalluvar places the greatest importance on honour (மானம் i.e., 'தன்னிலையில் தாழாமை' acting beneath one's dignity). Even for the sake of glory men who aspire for greatness will not do dishonourable things.

> " சீரினும் சீரல்ல செய்யாரே சீரொடு
> பேராண்மை வேண்டு பவர்." (962)

They will prefer to die rather than lose their honour.

Although Tiruvalluvar speaks of a good family traditions, he quite emphatically points out that honour lies in deeds than in birth.

> " பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும் ; சிறப்பொவ்வா
> செய்தொழில் வேற்றுமை யான்." (972)

Greatness or பெருமை is like a woman's chastity which can be maintained only by his own conduct and nothing else.

> " ஒருமை மகளிரே போலப் பெருமையும்
> தன்னைத்தான் கொண்டொழுகின் உண்டு." (974)

If distinction alights on a little man he becomes only haughty and insolent and exults in self-praise.

And what is more, he is a great man who does not expose the failings of others whereas little men will delight in scandalising them.

> " அற்றம் மறைக்கும் பெருமை ; சிறுமைதான்
> குற்றமே கூறி விடும்." (980)

சான்றாண்மை is something which is above greatness. Parimēlalagar says about சான்றாண்மை that 'பெருமையுள் அடங்காத குணங்கள் பலவற்றையும் தொட்டுக்கொண்டு நிற்கிறது.' Manakkudavar says, 'இது பெரும்பான்மையும் அறத்தினால் தலையளி செய்தொழுகுவாரை நோக்குகிறது.' Its ingredients are goodness and perfection. குணநலம் or goodness of character comprises everything else. It may be called nobility and its five pillars are—love to all, senstiveness to shame, complaisance, indulgence to faults of others and truthfulness.

> " அன்புநாண் ஒப்புரவு கண்ணோட்டம் வாய்மையொடு
> ஐந்துசால்பு ஊன்றிய தூண்." (983)

Such men will be ready to acknowledge their faults.

Just as non-killing is best of tavam, so also, abstaining from speaking of other's faults is the best in the nature of man (gunam).

> " கொல்லா நலத்தது நோன்மை ; பிறர்தீமை
> சொல்லா நலத்தது சால்பு." (984)

Tiruvalluvar does not consider an ideal man or citizen as one who is pure and good in himself but he wants him to function in society and be a man of action to transform others into good and fruitfull purposes. The best strength of such a man, says Tiruvalluvar, is humility because it unites the friendly and disarms the hostile.

" ஆற்றுவார் ஆற்றல் பணிதல் ; அதுசான்றோர்
மாற்றாரை மாற்றும் படை." (985)

This quality is preeminently necessary in political action through democratic methods. In democracy the leaders function successfully through consensus and not by dictation. Where a leader is haughty, arrogant or overbearing, he soon becomes unpopular and falls from power, however clever, wise and well-intentioned he is.

The touchstone of a man's noble character is his willingness to accept defeat at the hands of an inferior without a sense of prestige or amour propre.

" சால்பிற்குக் கட்டளை யாதெனின் தோல்வி
துலையல்லார் கண்ணுங் கொளல்." (989)

This is a rare quality and true mark of a democratic leader.

Such men will not swerve from their principles even if the seven seas break the shores and deluge.

" ஊழி பெயரினும் தாம்பெயரார் சான்றாண்மைக்கு
ஆழி எனப்படு வார்." (989)

Tiruvalluvar places the greatest importance on high-souled and highly-principled men as the strength of the State and without them even earth cannot bear its burdens. It is metaphorical for saying that the State would totter to its foundations. Wrong policies not based on truth and honesty are more harmful than even imperfection in polity. The meta-political virtues of principles and policies are more important than mere forms of government or social order. The inner strength is the purity of men's minds and actions.

'The world goes on' says Tiruvalluvar, 'smoothly because of men of courtesy and goodwill and but for them all the harmony would be dead and buried in the dust.'

" பண்புடையார்ப் பட்டுண்டு உலகம் ; அதுஇன்றேல்
மண்புக்கு மாய்வது மன்." (996)

This goodwill will be born of an optimism and a knowledge of the world which knows of the world's imperfections and laughs at it instead of being dismayed. Otherwise the world will be dark even during daylight. The recognition of evil is the first essential to overcome it. To overcome it or transform it, instead of curing it, is the function of good men in society.

"நகல்வல்லர் அல்லார்க்கு மாயிரு ஞாலம்
பகலும்பாற் பட்டன்று இருள்." (999)

The test of a good man is his ability to put his wealth to profitable use, otherwise it becomes a burden. All the problems of modern governments centre round preventing the accumulation of wealth in fewer hands but getting it invested in public projects which would socialise its benefits. The accumulation of wealth by unjust and corrupt means is a poison to the State. The tragedy of many highly evolved societies is not only that men are unjust but that they are unashamed. This sense of shame is that which abides with all virtues. This delicate sensitiveness is an ornament to men of goodwill, otherwise their greatness is a farce. Tiruvalluvar places the greatest emphasis on this sense of moral and social conscience.

CHAPTER XIX

EVOLUTION OF A GREAT SOCIETY

The evolution of a Great Society depends on the efforts of each individual to raise the goodness of his own family. The world will revolve round such men says Tiruvalluvar. A good State depends on the strength and vitality at the level of the family as the State is only the enlargement of the family writ large.

Tiruvalluvar holds up farming as indispensable as the world depends on the fruits of the plough as on nothing else, and husbandmen are the linchpin of society because the support and sustain all those who take to other works necessary for the State. The farmers will help their Prince to bring all others under his umbrella.

> " பலகுடை நீழலும் தங்குடைக்கீழ்க் காண்பர்
> அலகுடை நீழ லவர்." (1034)

Agriculture is the mainstay of the State and for an affluent society. It is a shame to plead poverty without increasing agriculture production. Such a State is not putting its assets to good use. Earth is ready to yield its bounties and she will laugh if anyone pleads want without taking efforts.

> " இலமென்று அசைஇ இருப்பாரைக் காணின்
> நிலமென்னும் நல்லாள் நகும்." (1040)

Poverty is the cause of under-development about which so much is spoken of today. There is no misfortune like poverty and Tiruvalluvar says, 'Poverty alone is painful as poverty' for an individual or a nation.' It is the cause of many degradations and sorrows. The words of a poor man or a poor country are never heeded. A pauperised society is no credit for any State. While charity is good, there is no citizen so mean as to be forced to beg from those not generous enough and decent enough to give without churlishness, and no man should be so untruthful as to plead insufficiency without sharing even a bit with those who

need. Nor those in need should get angry with those who do dot give. Even in affluent society there will be some sections in poverty but there is no place for beggary if those who have, shared their riches with those who have not. This human law, a law of human dignity both for the giver and the taker, will obviate the need for the State to take steps to soak the rich to succour the poor and that process, it is well known, pleases no one and there will be perpetual and universal discontent against the State. A self-adjusting society is the best and the State should help to foster it by its ethics and principles.

Every man should try to earn his daily bread, however humble it may be. Though it is thin gruel, it would be sweeter than a fare got by beggary.

> " தெண்ணீர் அடுபுற்கை யாயினும் தாள்தந்தது
> உண்ணலி னூங்கினிய தில்." (1065)

Tiruvalluvar signifies his strong feelings on the question of beggary by saying that the Creator of the world had better perish if there is to be large scale mendicancy.

> " இரந்தும் உயிர்வாழ்தல் வேண்டிற் பரந்து
> கெடுக உலகியற்றி யான்." (1062)

Tiruvalluvar concludes his discussion by a chapter on Meanness. In the ultimate analysis it is this degeneracy in human nature that degrades all human actions and insititutions. A high-souled citizenry is a heaven on earth. Of all the evils of the mean, the worst is that they will be unscrupulous and readily sell themselves for even small benefits.

> " எற்றிற் குரியர் கயவர் ? ஒன்று உற்றக்கால்
> விற்றற்கு உரியர் விரைந்து." (1080)

Such dishonourable men is no credit to any society.

CHAPTER XX

TIRUVALLUVAR'S MESSAGE TO THE WORLD

To sum up, Tiruvalluvar devotes a large portion of his treatment of Polity to the qualities of a good citizenry, and gives as much importance to it as he gives to the qualities of the Prince, the Ministers, the Army and so forth. It is a common saying that the people will get the government they deserve. The power and quality of the State, therefore, reside in the people, but it is an axiom of political science that the people cannot govern themselves and therefore require a government to regulate their affairs. A government can, however, misgovern either by the imperfections of its institutions or the lack of quality of the rulers. The interaction of the people on the government and of the government on the people is organic. It is like the interactions of the body and the mind. The health and tone of the body politic depend on this inter-action. In modern times, it is assumed to be achieved by representative government. Mere mechanical representation by counting of heads does not bring about this consummation. The rulers and the people must be governed by the same ideals and impulses, the same ethics and highsouledness and the same realisation of the high human destiny. The meaning and value of democratic order and its perfection in practice is only by the progress of the human mind. This is the message of Tiruvalluvar. A world torn by dissensions and gripped with fear of war and atomic destruction needs this message so that men's mind may be chastened and the rulers and the people may at least retreat for a while and contemplate on the realities. The days of philosopher kings will not come back and they are not necessarily ideal, but a polity that is based on values is yet possible to strive for. It is this *principle of values* that Tiruvalluvar stresses at every turn. Nowhere does he bemoan that humanity has fallen on evil days, that its institutions are decaying and that its doom is near. Nowhere does he suggest obedience like the ancient lawgivers by hinting at punishment in this world or the next. His concepts are dignified in their sobriety and lofty in their simplicity. The world needs them more than ever.

[END]

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SRIMATHI SORNAMMAL ENDOWMENT LECTURES—1967-1968

MADRAS UNIVERSITY

A TWENTIETH CENTURY ASSESSMENT OF TIRUKKURAL

BY

Tiruvachakamani K. M. BALASUBRAMANIAM, B.A.,B.L.

Talk I (25-2-69)

CHAPTER I

TIRUVALLUVAR AND THE TWENTIETH CENTURY OF THE UNITY OF RELIGIONS

I. " As Alpha is of all the letters, first and source of birth
So God Primeval is alone the source of all this earth."

(1) Here in this whole chapter Valluvar speaks of God in his Saguna and personal aspect.

(2) That God is purposely left as nameless so as to suit the Gods of all the prevalent Faiths.

(3) Even by the word பகவன் the following Gods are referred to, as per the Nigandu.

Isa or Siva, Māyōn or Vishnu, Pangayan or Brahman, sinan or Jina and Buddha.

II. The succeeding stanzas will apply to all the Gods of all faiths severally and jointly. (for example)

FATHER GOD OF CHRISTIANS

(1) " The one's who contemplate the glorious Feet of one who well
Hath reached their lotus hearts, for long in heavenly world will dwell."

' மலர்மிசை ஏகினான் '

LORD BUDDHA

(2) "The ones who tread the faultless, righteous path of Him who is
Quite free from five-fold sense organs will live for long in bliss."

'பொறிவாயில் ஐந்தவித்தான்'

LORD VISHNU

(3) "The ones who've reached the feet of God will swim the widest sea
Of births; but men who have'nt reached His feet will be at sea."

'பிறவிப் பெருங்கடல் நீந்துவர்'

ARHAT

(4) "'This hard to swim across the rest of seas except for men
Who've reached the feet of Him—a Righteous—Sea-like, Gracious one."

'அறவாழி அந்தணன்'

ALLAH

(5) "Except for men who've reached the feet of the One without compare,
It is indeed too hard to drive off griefs and mental care."

'தனக்குவமை இல்லாதான்'

LORD SIVA

(6) "The head that bows not 'fore the feet of One of attribute
Eight-fold is worthless like the sense - organs which are quite mute."

'கோளில் பொறியில் குணமிலவே.'

Hence Valluvar had anticipated our Twentieth Century attempts at unifying and integrating the diverse faiths and creeds and not specifically referring to the particular God of one Faith alone.

The world has got tired of harping on the exclusive importance and greatness of each one's creed which had only led to disunity, deadly hatred and dangerous wars all through human history. So in the 19th century itself the attempt at unification and impartial and non-sectarian evoluation of all the Faiths had started both in theory and in practice. Sri Ramakrishna Paramahamsa was practically the pioneer in this unique attempt. His personal verification of the validity, virtue and worth of every one of the theistic faiths of Hinduism, Islam and Christianity by his soulful living each one of them may be said to have set a seal of approval on all faiths.

Sri Ramalingaswamigal, contemporaneous preachings and practising of the Samarasa Sanmārgam in the South also confirmed this spiritual revolution of the 19th century.

Swami Vivekananda completed this glorious process of forging a universal religion.

IDEAL OF WORLD FAITH

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan:

"The common goal of all religions is spiritual life. They do not differ in their aim, but only in the extent of the progress which they are able to make with the aid of their varying lights. If we compare one religion with others, we will see that the differences relate to the formulas and practices. When we go behind dogmas and creeds and get down to the depths, we discover that all religions draw their strength from the same unfathomable source. The Hindu does not refuse to find reality in the Christian's description of his personal converse with Christ, nor does he discredit the assurance which comes to the devout Buddhist who follows the middleway. He does not deny the Muslim's account of willing submission to the supreme Sovereign of the world.

The recognition of this fundamental unity should make possible a certain measure of co-operation on a common basis for the good of mankind as a whole. Even in regard to the theological formulations, there is now a possibility of wider uniformity. Like the nation States, the great religions arose and developed in restricted areas of the world, when intercourse with the rest of mankind was difficult. But now, through the influence of science and trade, a world culture is shaping itself. All religions are now attempting to express themselves in a new idiom and so are approximating to one another. Untenable doctrines are not so much refuted as set aside and the universal elements of religions on which there is agreement are emphasised. This process will be speeded up in years to come and the gradual assimilation of religion will function as a World Faith."

Swami Vivekananda :

1. ON UNIVERSAL RELIGION

" If there is ever to be a universal religion, it must be one which will have no location in place or in time, which will be infinite like the God it will preach and whose sun will shine upon the followers of Krishna and of Christ, on Saints and sinners alike, which will not be Brahminical or Buddhistic, Christian or Mohammedan but the sum total of all these, and still have infinite space for development, which in its catholicity will embrace in its infinite arms and find a place for every human being from the lowest grovelling savage, not far removed from the brute, to the highest man towering by the virtues of his head and heart almost above humanity, making society stand in awe of him and doubt his human nature. It will be a religion which will have no place for persecution or intolerance in its polity, which will recognise divinity in every man and woman and whose whole scope and whose force will be centred in aiding humanity to realise its own true divine nature."

2. ON UNITY IN THE VARIETY OF RELIGIONS

" *We want to lead mankind to the place where there is* neither the Vedas nor the Bible nor the Koran ; yet this has to be done by harmonising the Vedas, the Bible and the Koran.

Mankind ought to be taught that religions are but the varied expressions of the Religion, which is oneness, so that one may choose the path that suits him best."

3. EACH RELIGIONIST TO ITSELF

"The Christian is not to become a Hindu or a Buddhist, nor a Hindu or a Buddhist to become a Christian. But each must assimilate the spirit of the others and yet preserve his individuality, and grow according to the law of growth...every system has produced men and women of the most exalted character. In the face of this evidence if anybody dreams of the exclusive survival of his own religion and the destruction of the others, I pity him from the bottom of my heart, and point out to him that upon the banner of every religion will soon be written, in spite of his resistence, 'Help and Not fight': 'Assimilation and Not destruction'; 'Harmony and Peace and not Dissension.'"

4. I FOLLOW ALL FAITHS

"I accept all religions that were in the past, and worship with them all. I worship God with every one of them in whatever form they worship Him. I shall go to the mosque of the Mohammedan; I shall enter the Christian's Church and kneel before the Crucifix; I shall enter the Buddhistic temple where I shall take refuge in Buddha and in his law; I shall go into the forest and sit down in meditation with the Hindu, who is trying to see the light which enlightens the heart of every one."

5. CITIZEN OF THE WORLD

"I am no longer the citizen of India alone; I belong to the world...day by day this feeling becomes stronger."

Ibnal Arabi Says:

"My heart has become capable of every form; it is a pasture for gazelles and a convent for Christian monks; and a temple for idols and the pilgrims Ka'ba and the table of the Tora and the book of the Quran. I follow the religion of love whichever

way his camels take. My religion and my faith is the true religion."

Gandhi:

"I purchased Sale's translation of the Koran and began reading it. I also obtained other books on Koran."

x x x

"Hindu Muslim Unity I have made a mission of my life. I worked for it in South Africa. I toiled for it here. I did penance for it.

x x x

"I am a Hindu, I am a Muslim, a Christian, a Jew, a Buddhist."

x x x

"I do not mind whether he is known as Abdullah or Harilal, if by adopting the one name or the other he becomes a true devotee of God, which both words mean."

x x x

Nearer home and in the Twentieth Century, a number of colossal attempts have been going on to bring all the world's religions together on the same platform and unite the myriads of hearts on the fundamental and essential areas of agreement among them all.

The world First Spiritual Summit Conference was held at Calcutta on the 22nd of October, 1968.

Mrs. Dickerman Hollister, who conceived the idea of the Temple of Understanding, which had sponsored the Conference said that the children of the world are seriously looking for the answer to the atomic age. In a brief but emotional speech she urged the people to nurse the flame that had been kindled by leaders of different religions.

Mrs. Indra Gandhi, the Prime Minister of India, said, "India has always stood for tolerance and understanding of all religious faiths. Such an understanding is essential for unity within the country and peace in the world."

Delegates attending the Conference included Rev. Pierre Fallon representing the Vatican, Rev. Dr. Lowell Russel Ditzen, Director of the National Presbyterian Centre, Washington, Princess Poon Piasmai Diksul, President of the World Fellowship of Buddhists; Bishop A. J. Shaw, the Methodist Church in South Africa, Swami Chinmayanadaji, Dr. V. Raghavan and Dr. Seyyed H. Nazar of the Teheran University.

On the second day of the Spiritual Summit Conference of the Temple of Understanding, H. S. H. Princess Poon Pismai Diksul spoke on the relevance of Buddhism in the modern world. The Princess said, 'that once kindness and compassion gained prominence in human motivations men would strive to better the world.'

As regards Christianity, the Rev. Pierre Fallon S.J. of the Vatican Secretariat for Non-Christians, stressed the need for "faith, hope and love to build a new world of peace and justice and universal brotherhood."

Speaking for the Protestant Branch of Christianity, Dr. Lowell Russel Ditzen held that "divisiveness and sectarianism are not relevant in the world in which we live. We cannot live in isolation from others." He added, "The world religions must face each other, talk to each other, learn from each other so that together they might be more effective instrument for the service of God and men."

Messrs. Homi B. Dhalla and Dastoor N. D. Minocher Homji read two papers respectively on the relevance of Zorostrianism in the modern world.

On the third day, Swamy Lōkēswarananda of the Ramakrishna Mission said, "the Hindu Religion stood for truth, welfare of the humanity and beauty."

Mr. Dastoor Minocher Homji said, "there is only one religion as there is only one truth. Love which is god is the cornerstone of the Temple of Understanding."

Mr. Oliver Abeysekara, General Secretary of the Congress of Religions, Ceylon, said, "the Congress was organised about five years ago for fostering harmony, understanding and tolerance among the adherents of world religions in Ceylon, thereby opening up a way for the creation of an Integrated society serving the nation through religious harmony."

Munishri Chitrabhanu of the Divine Knowledge Society, Bombay, said, "Jainism is a way of living and thinking. The greatness of the Jain Philosophy lies in the fact that its teachings assured the greatest happiness to the greatest number, not only of men but of all living beings."

According to Principal Sher Sing of Amritsar, Sikkism is a Universal religion. It has no concept of the 'chosen people' because it basically believes in pan-humanism and brotherhood.

The Spiritual Summit Conference concluded its five-day-session here today with a declaration that the leaders of several world faiths take 'creative initiative' in forming a strong international and inter-religious World Council.

Such a Council, though its establishment would require 'the elevated thought', prayer, study, patience, firm vision, and conciliation of many dedicated men and women, is a necessity in the Twentieth Century.

Now, such a world council of all religions of the 20th century is exactly the thing that had been foreseen, practised and propagated by Saint Tiruvalluvar in the first chapter of his immortal Tirukkural.

This harmonious and united religious integration or friendship which is the peculiar Time-spirit of the Twentieth Century has worked wonders in various theatres and some religious creeds of the world like Christianity also.

In a new Christian unity move, a vatican agency announced a few years ago the creation of a joint Roman Catholic - Lutheran Working group to propose ways to bring the divided Churches closer.

It was a new milestone in the relations between Roman Catholic and the Christians who follow the teachings of Martin Luther. Seven Roman Catholics and seven representatives of the Lutheran World Federation would serve on the Working group.

In 1965 Cardinal Gracious, Archibishop of Bombay said in an interview broadcast, that the Church is trying to see what good elements could be harnessed to the service of Christ in various philosophies.

The Cardinal said the Church is 'supra-national' not international.

He added : " Each nation, each race makes its contributions to the general deposit...that's what we are trying to do here, trying to effect a synthesis between Catholicism and the good elements in Hinduism, just as St. Thomas did with Aristotle, and Augustine did with Plato...So here we are trying to see what are the good elements that could be harnessed to the service of Christ in the Hindu systems of their philosophy and in the systems of Mohammadanism."

IN INDIA

The International Congress of the World Fellowship of Faith held its second Session at New Delhi on Jan. 6, 1950.

Dr. Prasad and C. R. Spoke :

Dr. Prasad pleaded for a synthesis of different faiths to conciliate the various view-points of religion.

IN FRANCE

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan spoke at the University of Paris at the Sorbonne as follows :

"The absoluteness or spiritual life and the relativity of creeds have led to a spirit of give and take, of mutual adjustment of differences in the East. It is not a matter of great concern for a Chinese whether he visits a Temple of Confucius, of Laotse, or of Buddha. The greatest teachers of the world Buddha and Christ were not doctrinaires. They gave us no rigid system but they left us that sense of wonder which makes for humanity, elasticity, and sympathy with other points of view.

"This unifying element cannot be found at the technological level; it must be the expression of a living tradition which animates the whole society and unites the present and the past. What we need today is a study of the great religions of the world by which we can build bridges across the ages and continents. This spiritual community, this psychological continuum alone can give the soul to the world which is seeking for it."

H. H. Kanchi Sankaracharya's message:

"Even so men and women worshipping at different shrines and following different faiths ultimately aimed at reaching the same Godhead. They must realise that one faith is as good as another, one form of worship as useful as the other. There is unity behind all the diversity they see. If they did not realise this basic truth but harped on the superficial differences alone, they would miss the joy of life." (1953)

Dr. S. Radhakrishnan:

Mahatma Gandhi had said: "The world is one in fact. It must become one in truth in the minds and hearts of men."

The world is one in fact. Materially and mechanically people had got together. Spiritually and culturally they have not got together. The problem which faced the present generation is how to bring about unity on the psychological, cultural and spiritual planes.

How were religions contributing towards this Unity? What is necessary to my mind is an affirmation of religion that it is a matter of spirit and not of form; that its allegiances are not to members of a community but to the world as a whole.

Tolerance has a negative and positive side. Negatively it means surrender of the aggressive claim that we are the possessors of an exclusive, universal, absolute final Truth.

Positively, it means open-mindedness, a sensitivity to new ideas, enrichment and an enlargement of one religious thought by the acceptance of ideas and theories considered to be worthy of adoption in other religions. This is what the world needs.

"I am not talking of a fusion of religions but a kind of organic assimilation, a growing enrichment, retaining the structure of a particular religion, while using whatever raw material could be assimilated without spoiling the master plan. I believe it is possible for the world to develop a Universal perspective of religion.

"We ask for a commonwealth of religions in which men could cease to express ideas through exclusive dogmas, and would work towards the same goal and wish to possess the joy divine.

"If we were able to recognise this ultimate fact, we would understand that even today religions could come together, supply the needed basis for the united Nations Organisation and make it feel that this is the soul for which the world is in search." In 1952, at the London School of Religion, Dr. S. R. said: "The world unity is no longer a utopian dream but an attainable goal."

26—1—1953:

At the Indian Journalists' Association at London proposing the toast to the Republic of India, Prof. Arnold Toynbee said:

Asking, 'What is the rest of the world hoping from India?' Prof. Toynbee said: "Speaking for myself I think most of us hope for her contribution to a worldwide union. It is the most important contribution she can make and the one the world needs most.

"As has been India's political contribution, her religion and philosophy have been a great force in the world. One half of the world has received the inspiration of Hindu ideas, the other half

has been influenced by Jewish, Moslem and Christian ideas. Now that distances have been halved, will the other half learn from India?" he asked.

"The Western religions are mutually exclusive but the Indian approach is more all-embracing, more catholic. It is very welcome that instead of atom bombs, India has a great role to play in unifying the world."

And such a role was inaugarated in India by St. Tiruvalluvar as far back as 2000 years ago.

CHAPTER II

VALLUVAR'S

DOCTRINE OF EQUALITY AND NO DISTICTIONS

ANIMALS

Unlike many or almost all his contemporary or earlier aw-givers and preceptors of his, Tiruvalluvar is the unequalled Prophet of the Gospel of perfect equality, not merely amongst mankind but also amongst all living beings. Though this is a fundamental creed of Jainism and also of later day Hinduism, it has had no universal acceptance and approval throughout the world even in theory, till practically the Twentieth Century. The doctrine of all men being born as equal is no doubt familiar to all. But the assertion of equality amongst all living beings has taken a long time to get recognised on a world-wide basis.

Saint Valluvar declared categorically.

> " *All the living beings are quite equal in their birth*
> *Thro' diff'rence in their deeds' nature springs*
> *diff'rence in their worth.*"

" பிறப்பொக்கும் எல்லா உயிர்க்கும்." (972)

But in spite of the word உயிர்க்கும் (to lives) specifically and purposefully used in this couplet by Valluvar, almost all the commentators have unfortunately confined their meaning of this word to human beings. In my opinion this will be doing violence to the meaning of the word 'lives' itself, as well as injustice to the high and universal ideal of equality preached by the noble author if we restrict its meaning only to the human beings. Wherever Valluvar uses the word 'உயிர்' or life, he is seen to import a special meaning into it so as to refer to all living creatures.

Couplet 68 is an instance in point. Kalingar specifically refers the word 'life' in this couplet to all sentient beings. In his

notes on couplet 231, Parimel Azhagar himself says: 'உயிர்க்கு என்பது பொதுப்படக் கூறினாரேனும், விலங்குயிர்கட்கேலாமையின், மக்கள் உயிர் மேல் நின்றது.' This is enough to prove that he also acknowledges the general fact, that the word 'உயிர்' in the Kural includes all living beings.

In couplet 244, Parimel Azhagar explains the word 'மன்னுயிர்' used here thus : 'உயிர்களெல்லாம் நித்தமாகலின் மன்னுயிர என்றார்'. So he agrees that *all sentient* beings are eternal which fact lends strength to my point namely that Valluvar refers to all eternal beings, men as well as other creatures by his word, 'lives'. Again the fact that according to Valluvar, a flesh-eater is condemned to hell whence he has no return, also proves that animals are equal to men in the matter of the sanctity of life and that murder of a human being is equated with the killing of a sentient being by Valluvar.

Couplet 261 is still more to the point. The word 'உயிர்' has unequivocal and definite reference to all beings.

These evidences are enough to prove that the author has postulated the theory of equality of birth not only amongst the human but also amongst the animals. The Chola King Manu Neethi Cholan by his conduct of killing his only son as a punishment for his having killed a calf is a further illustration of this doctrine.

The following Kural couplets also have a direct bearing on and explanatory value for, this doctrine.

" The quintessence of all the codes of law of ev'ry sect
Is but to share one's bread with all beings and them protect "

" பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாந் தலை." (322)

" If you would ask, " what is the way of goodness true?", 'tis taught
It is the way which doth devise the non-killing of aught."

"நல்லாறு எனப்படுவது யாதெனின், யாதொன்றும்
கொல்லாமை சூழும் நெறி." (334)

" *Do not from whate'er being part its life it doth cherish,*
Should e'en such act of abstinence make thy own self perish."

" *Of what avail is one's wisdom, if one cannot quite feel*
The suff'rings of another being as one's own and deal."

" அறிவினுன் ஆகுவ துண்டோ பிறிதினோய்
தந்நோய்போல் போற்றாக் கடை?" (315)

" *Is not the tear of grief shed by the lives who can't brook more,*
A weapon strong which will file off a monarch's wealthy store?"

" அல்லற்பட்டு ஆற்றாது அழுதகண் ணீரன்றே
செல்வத்தைத் தேய்க்கும் படை?" (555)

The Buddhist Santadeva writes thus, literally echoing the above-quoted noble couplets of the Kural.

"A man should diligently foster the thought that his fellow creatures are the same as himself. All have the same sorrows, the same joy as I, and I, must guard them like myself. The body of manifold parts in its division of members must be preserved as a whole; and so likewise this manifold universe has its sorrow and joy in common. I must destroy the pain of another as though it were my own because it is a pain; I must show kindness to others, for they are creatures as I am myself." So he too pleads for equality of treatment to all members of the Animal Kingdom.

GANDHI AND SCHWEITZER

The most celebrated and ceaselessly zealous exponents and exemplifiers of this doctrine of equality of all living beings of the Twentieth Century have been

Albert Schweitzer and Mahatma Gandhi.

SCHWEITZER

In the words of Dr. T. P. M., V. C. of Madurai University:

" Schweitzer's conception of reverence for life is significant. Matsya Nyaya, as the will to live at first seems to rule the world, But in this Western saint of the modern world, this ghastly drama becomes a drama of love. The *will to live*, he realises, has come to know about the *wills to live.* " There is unity" he says, "a longing to arrive at unity with itself, to become universal. The phrase, 'reverence for life' flashed as a revelation and at once the riddle of the universe was solved for him in terms of universal love. Thus dawned on him 'Meyyunarvu' the great truth about the ethical world and life affirmation, together with all ideals of civilizations.

"All life is suffering and this is the great truth of Tholkppiyar's Kanchi. At the revelation of a reverence for life, one is seized with love which is really the deep pity for all creatures, not only for Man. The right word for this pity is Arul. There alone the will to live escapes the ghastly drama of matsya nyaya and proceeds to get purified on its way to universal love. Life to Schweitzer, becomes sacred in the same way in which the Jains believe. As Mr. Elwin points out, this great mass-murderer of bacteria "goes out of the way to lift a parched earthworm from the dust and put it safely in the grass or stoop to rescue a struggling insect from a puddle; he will not tear leaves from a tree or pluck flowers in a garden." Schweitzer in fact has extended the principle of reverence for life beyond the realm of animal, bird, fish and insect to the humblest forms of vegetable creation and even to forms of inanimate beauty (Pari Vallal's help to Jasmine Creeper). This reminds us of Kavunti Adigal's speech in Silappadikaram but in Schweitzer the dry bone becomes

a divine incarnation. To Schweitzer this reverence for life is fellowship in joy and in effort; it includes a feeling as one's own - all the concentration and all the aspirations of the will to live-its pleasures too and its language; to live itself out to the full as well as its urge to self-perfection. One gives oneself for the other life. Therefore, there one reveres all life as his own life. Goodness exists therefore in saving or helping life, the enabling of whatever life one can influence to attain its highest development. Dostoevsky knew this reverence for life and the truth of Arul. "Love all God's creation, the whole and every grain of sand in it. If you love everything, you will perceive the divine mystery in things. Once you perceive it, you will begin to comprehend it better every day and you will come at last to *bric* the whole world with an all-embracing love."

Reviewing a book of biography on Albert Schweitzer by Werner Picht, in the Indian Express some time ago, one B. G. R. Krishnama writes as follows :

" His writings bear testimony to his excellency in the field of theology. His intense and burning belief in ' reverence for life ' makes him the greatest philosopher of the age. 'Reverence for life' is after all another name for Ahimsa and follows the trail blazed by Gautama Buddha many centuries ago.

" An anecdote included in this work illustrates the high degree of Schweitzer's 'reverence for life'. When a visitor was about to brush off an ant on Schweitzer's collar, the latter exclaimed ; "Leave it in peace. Have you learnt to pick up an ant or push it away without breaking its leg? "

"Schweitzer's mighty prayer is: " O heavently Father, protect and bless all things that have breath, guard them from all evil and let them sleep in peace.'

GANDHI

Mahatma Gandhi's doctrine of Ahimsa and his soulful sympathy for all creatures and his recognition of their inherent right to exist are too well known to be reiterated here.

There have happened two very important events in modern times which constitute themselves into epoch-making and historic land-marks and turning-points in the world of sentient beings. And together they loudly proclaim the scientific, rational, and humanistic justification of the theory of all livings being of an equal birth and possessing equal right to live as enunciated by Tiruvalluvar.

SIR J. C. BOSE

The first event is the scientific revelation of the sensitiveness of all beings and a consequent revolution in the outlook of humanity and its traditional attitude towards them. Sir Jagadish Chandra Bose was the scientific giant who contributed so much to our science of humanistic biology and botany.

His crescograph magnified the growth and development of plants ten million times and revealed the basic similarity of the vital structure of plant and animal life. Bose has proved that plants and even minerals (in a certain way) can suffer the pain and agony and they can feel fatigue and rest to certain stimuli and that therefore they have life like any other human being. This applies with equal force to all members of the animal kingdom. Hence they are equal in birth to the human beings.

THE HAGUE MEET

The second event of international importance was the holding of the World Congress for the Protection of Animals on 28—8—1950 at the City of the Hague...The greatest gain for the Animal Kingdom as a result of this congress is the recognition by the men of all countries of the right, the inherent right of animals to live in this world. just like the rights of every human to live. Though this right has not been sanctified and strengthened by law, yet even this moral recognition on a universal scale marks indeed an inestimable gain for humanity and for all living beings. What is significant for us, however, is the seal of approval set by the Twentieth Century humanity upon the ancient theory of equality of birth enunciated or rather reiterated by Tiruvalluvar in the First Century A. D.

WORLD CONGRESS TO PROTECT ANIMALS

The Hague : 28—8—1950

The World Congress for the protection of animals opened here today by Queen Juliana of the Netherlands, with her proposals to abolish zoos and animal performances in circuses. About 300 delegates from 108 organisations in 26 countries including India and Ceylon, are attending the meeting which will last 5 days.

That a Draft "Bill of Animals' Rights" should be made a law in all countries was suggested today. Countries represented at the Congress include India and Malaya.

29—8—1950

A Charter of Animal Rights aiming at the welfare of the animals will, it is hoped, result from a resolution past last night by the World Congress for Animal Protection meeting here.

The Congress which opened its 20th Session here today plans to draw on the best national law of all countries to compile the charter under which animals would no longer be classed as goods to be sold or destroyed at will.

It strongly urged the total prohibition of animal performances in circuses, immediate abolition of all non-scientific commercial zoos, and limitation of scientific zoos to one for every 15 million inhabitants.

About 300 delegates from 108 organisations in 26 countries are attending the final day meeting. *Under the charter, legislation would no longer seek to prevent cruelty to animals but would provide a proper status for them.* Each country would have its own national legislation and would act through it.

THE HINDU WROTE A LEADING ARTICLE ON 30—8—1959

BUTCHER SHOPS

The Tamil Nadu has allowed its municipalities to declare holidays for all butcher shops on two days in a year - Gandhi's Birth and Death Anniversaries (12—3—50) respectively.

The Tamil Nadu has an Act to prevent Animal Sacrifices in temples. Madras Animals and birds Sacrifices Prohibition Act came into force from 1st June, 1951.

India has got an Act for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Sir C. V. RAMAN ON ANIMALS

On Leather vs Love

Sir C. V. Raman spoke on 14—1—1953 at the Central Research Institute on leather as follows:

"I do not want to subscribe to the suggestion of slaughtering and my Brahmanical spirit revolted against that idea. In this tropical country nature has endowed them with the wonderful thing cotton and they could make varied use of it. Leather is a relic of the savage age of man."

M. P. S. STATEMENT ON ANIMALS ACT

We the undersigned members of the House of Commons in London. are friends of India and appreciate the initiative Mrs. Rukmani Arundale is taking both in domestic and international affairs. As workers in this country for the welfare of the animals, it has afforded us particular pleasure to learn of the introduction recently by Srimathi Rukmini Devi in the Council of State of India of a comprehensive measure to bring about the abolition of many cruelties to animals, in a land with such an inspiring tradition of humaneness - a tradition brought alive again by Mahatma Gandhi's preaching of Law of Ahimsa.

We feel sure that enlightened opinion, not only in India but throughout the world will give all needed support to this work and will watch with the most sympathetic interest the progress of this Bill. *What India may do in this direction is today bound to encourage Parliaments in other countries to go and do likewise.* In this, as in so many ways, India will be setting a noble example to the rest of the world." (Prof. Toynbee)

The signatories were :

1. The Rt. Hon. Rupert De La Bere, Lord Mayor of London.
2. Mr. Peter Freeman
3. The Rt. Hon. David R. Grenwel
4. Brigadier Ralph Rayner
5. Mr. Arthur Colegate
6. Mr. Anthony Greenwood
7. Lt. Col. John C. Lockwood
8. Dr. Barnatt Stross
9. The Rt. Hon. S. P. Viant

As indeed these British M. P.s as well as Prof. Arnold Toynbee have wished and prophesied, India has already declared its policy and principle of Ahimsa, Universal Love and Truth by the Union Government having adopted for India's National Symbol the sacred Asoka Chakra with the animals like lions adorning it on all four sides.

CHAPTER III

VALLUVAR ON EQUALITY OF HUMAN RACES

The question or doctrine of equal birth of all will have to be examined next with reference to the differences which are being observed amongst the different so-called races in the world. It is of course, needless to tell that Valluvar does not in the least tolerate the least difference among mankind on the basis of race. All men are born free and equal. If he would not differentiate even between men and animals, how could he even dream of any difference among members of the same human family ?

Even theologically speaking, there is no justification to differentiate among the various colours and races of man kind.

The Holy or an says :

"And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the difference of your languages and colours. Lo! herein indeed are the portents for men of knowledge.

" Hast thou not seen the Allah causeth—
And of men and beasts and cattle, in like manner
of diverse hues."

The human conscience, experience as well as the advance in science are all unanimous in this Twentieth Century in unequivocally declaring that there are no different races at all in the world today and that the whole humanity belonging to the so-called different races is all equal in every respect.

BLACK ANCESTOR

There is one scientific theory prevalent today that all mankind owes its origin to black ancestors.

" Mankind was descended from a black ancestor, not a white man, according to commonsense deduction in the light of existing

evidenee," declared Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of Witwaterstrand, Johannesberg, S. A.

He referred to the white races as the "bleached specimens of the original dark-pigmented primitive men".

Skin colour in human beings was determined by the amount 'melanin' (a black pigment) they carried. Melanin was present in all people except Albinos.

Where the incidence of Melanin was low, people were classed as white races; where moderate, the skin was yellowish; and where high, people were black or Negroid.

"Miscegenation through the ages has resulted in imperishable gradations of colour and mankind could no longer be divided into three main groups by skin colour. Climatic environment was the deciding factor in why some people were white and others black to day," he added.

RACE AND NATION

THE RACES OF MANKIND BY PROF. M. NESTURKH

Anthropologists have endeavoured a great deal to understand the problem of the races of mankind. Man may differ from man in his natural environment, his social practices and behaviour but yet belongs to the species Home Sapiens. The racists may speak about "superior or higher" and "inferior or lower" races. They may think that it is the 'higher' races that are responsible for the creation of culture and all human progress through the centuries. But this is not true. We know pretty well now, that to talk of race superiority and inferiority is scientifically incorrect.

Prof. Nesturkh. a Soviet Anthropologist, in his book, traces the origin of mankind and integrates it the origin of races. He discusses the major anthropological (physical) types and their different sub-groups and presents the features common to all races. He believes that "migration, isolation, increase in numbers, the mixing of anthropological types and change in food habits were,

together with natural selection, the main factors in the process of race formation among the ancient hominides" (p. 58). He exposes the fantastic and unscientific views of racists who often rate the biological concept of race with those of nation and class. In the section of 'Race and Language' and 'Race and Mentality' the author indicates that there is no evidence to prove that the racial groups are closely related to the linguistic groups of mankind. It is observed that "groups of one race that enter into the composition of verious peoples and nations, speak different languages." (p. 100). Mental abilities are the same in all modern racial groups. In the last section of 'Equality of races and nations in the USSR' the author claims that the Great October Revolution of 1917 brought about tremendous changes in the social, economic and cultural achievements among the peoples of Russia.

BIBLE

We may incidently refer to the doctrine of equality of all human beings as mentioned by the Old Testament :

1. " Thou shalt love thy follow man as thyself."
   (Leviticas XIX. 18)
2. "The stranger that sojourneth with you shall be unto you as the home-born among you and thou shalt love him as thyself, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."
3. " Are you not as the children of Ethiopeans unto me, Children of Israel ? saith the Lord."
4. " Have we not all one father ? Hath not one God created us ?"

PEARS CYCLOPAEDIA (66th Edn. 1958)

Race Superiority not Inherent

" It is wrong to suppose, as many people do, that primitive people are 'backward' because they are stupid in comparison with ourselves. On the contrary, mental tests have shown that

there is not the slightest reason to suppose that any existing tribe or people is inherently, intellectually or physically superior to any other. (*Incidentally, one of the highest intelligence* quotients ever recorded was found in a Negro girl in one of the Northern States of America).

" Whether a tribe or people or race shows a high degree of culture depends hardly at all upon biological or racial factors, but upon (a) the materials available to them for building up a *culture, and (b) upon the extent to* which they have been able to borrow from others."

SCIENTISTS

"The fundamental point is that all scientists are today agreed that there are no significant intellectual differences between any of the races in existence today, and that the reason why some peoples are relatively backward is either because the raw *materials necessary for technological advance have been lacking* their environment, or because by a historical accident their country has been out of contact with the general flow of civilisation."

Sir Julian Huxley, the author and eminent biologist, while he was in South Africa, in July, 1960, to attend the National Education Conference at the University of Natal, when he was reported as stating as follows :

GENETICS

" Science today knows of no such thing as a superior race. Science has not found any one race to be *genetically superior to* another. Each race has its own curves of intelligence, but they all overlap and none has any ultimate superiority over another. After all, the English are a hybrid community and so are the Americans."

Surely, 'human rights' constitute an inseparable intelligence *norm whereby the individual proves "A man's a man for a' that"* and not a mere piece of movable furniture.

'PURE' RACES DON'T EXIST: WORLD SCIENTISTS' VIEW: UNITED NATIONS—1950

"All mankind derived from a common stock and differences in the achievements of different peoples must be attributed solely to their cultural history," a panel of world scientists said on Saturday.

The panel was asked by the UN to draw up an analysis of the biological aspects of race.

"There is great genetic diversity within all human populations," the scientists said, "Pure races—in the sense of genetically homogenous populations—do not exist in the human species."

The document, published by the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) said that differences between individuals within a 'race' or population were often greater than the average differences between 'races' or populations.

"It is not possible from the biological point of view to speak in any way whatsoever of a general inferiority or superiority of this or that race" the 22 scientists said.

There was no biological justification for prohibiting or advising against inter-marriage.

Point seems to be given to the recent report of the Unesco to the effect that all races are fundamentally alike and that apparent differences are mainly a result of surroundings by a story told by Professor Clande Levi' Straws - says a Paris report (1—8—50).

It concerns a girl of a tribe which lived in the manner of stone age people, who now at the age of 17 is a brilliant biology student.

CHAPTER IV

VALLUVAR ON EQUALITY OF THE PEOPLE WITHIN A COUNTRY

The Theory of equality of birth which has been discussed so far with reference to all living beings and then with reference to all the human races respectively has got to be applied now with reference to the people inhabiting any particular country. And we shall now look at our own country, more so at our own Tamil Nadu in the light of Valluvar's doctrine two thousand years ago.

Valluvar in the whole scheme of his Tirukkural has been consistently maintaining his position, namely, that all beings are born equal. But he is not at all blind to the actual and unavoidable differences that too exist among the very people of a particular country. Hence he has himself laid down in the self-same couplet of 972 as follows :

> ''*Thro diff'rence in their deeds' nature springs diff'rence in their worth.*''

Hence there are other reasons than ante-natal circumstances which would create differences among the people. According to Valluvar such causes are education, wisdom, conduct and wealth etc. Therefore in Valluvar's polity a person is respected not because he has been born in a particular caste but because of his learning, intelligence, good conduct and wealth etc. It is indeed remarkable that such a state of society as Valluvar was contemplating and creating in his contemporary Tamil Nadu is actually obtaining in the Tamil Nadu of the 20th century today.

Learning :

1. "*The learned men alone are said to have their eyes always*
   The unlettered have but a pair of sores upon their face." —(393)

2. "*Except that it can just be said of them that 'they just live"*
The unlearne'd men are like the barren land that naught doth give." (406)

3. "*The men devoid of learning, though they be of higher birth*
Are not equal to men of lower birth with learning's worth." (409)

4. "*Beside the men of learning bright, the untaught are as least*
As are the human beings too the best beside the beast." (410)

Intelligence :

"*The men possessed of wisdom do have all the things of worth*
The men who wisdom lack, whate'er they had, have naught on earth." (430)

Good Conduct :

1. "*A conduct good doth constitute the life noble birth,*
A conduct bad degradeth life and makes it naught of worth." (131)

2. "*The Vedas though forgot by brahman, can be soon relearnt*
His birth is lost for ever by evil conduct once, 'tis burnt.' (134)

Wealth :

"*All men despise the persons who are void of wealth on earth,*
All men do praise and honour those who have the wealth's good worth." (752)

Thus, having laid down the fundamental fact that all men are equal in their birth but that one becomes different from another for reasons of *artificial and acquired qualifications* or status, St. Valluvar has also enuerated a few such typical reasons for differentiations. Therefore, in Valluvar's polity as indeed in the modern times, no one is superior or inferior to another by reason of his birth alone, as indeed the Fundamental Rights of the modern Indian Constitution has definitely laid down. Valluvar has not even mentioned the word caste. The word brahman has been used but only to be repudiated. There is not a word about the main caste divisions or their multimillion subdivisions in his Kural. But the broad four main functions of the people in his land are being referred to. Their respective definitions are noteworthy, in so far as they have absolutely eliminated or are devoid of any reference to birth or hereditary right.

Thus his ruler can be a king or an ordinary man. Valluvar has given room for Monarchy as well as Republics. Dr. M, Varadarajanar also is of this view. Nothing prevents a citizen from occupying the ruler's place. In fact even in the whole of India in the ancient times there had been no water-tight compartment of hereditary monarch as such. The Western author of the book 'Kingship and Community in Early India' observes:

" The concept of Kshatra, as used in the Vedas means rule or ruler. It does not refer to a unit in the class structure. The Kshatriyas were those who filled the governing or military roles in Aryan society. Kings who were not of Kshatriya lineage appear to have sought to legitimate by forging Kshatriya descent or in post-Buddhist India, by exploiting the myth of divinity. Brahmans who became rulers, were in later times occasionally known as 'Brahma-Kshatryas' although there are instances in which no attempt was made to invent Kshatriya status. Members of the lower castes who assumed the throne might, by ritual purification gain the status of Kshatriyas. The very fact of governing was often enough to qualify the ruler as a Kashatriya. The Mahabharatam tells us that when a hostile army threatens the security of the people, when the royal troops are defeated in battle, the leadership of any strong man, even Vaishya or Shudra is legitimate. " He that is a shore in a shoreless place, he

that is a boat in a boatless state-whether he be a slave or whatever he be, he is worthy of honour. He that protects the good and drives evil away, should be made king." This suggests the lack of a common Kshatriya origin, which accounts in part for the fact that Kshatriya consciousness never developed the communal feeling that we find in the Brahmans." Therefore it must have been possible for a Kshatriya or a member of any community to become a ruler in those days. Hear Valluvar's.

Definition of A King is :

> " *An Army, subjects, wealth, ministers, friends and forts-six wings ;*
>
> *Who owneth all these is indeed a lion amongst all kings."*

There is no reference to any hereditary king.

So also in the case of Brahmans, the definition of Valluvar, has studiously eschewed caste or heredity.

To quote the same author again, "Brahman refers to a function-the propagation of learning-rather than to an individual in a particular category. The word originally meant prayer, devetional or magical potency. There is no indication that membership in the Brahman class was originally confined to the offspring of Brahmans. At first knowledge and conduct rather than birth may have been the determining factors. A number of passages in the text record the conversion of Kshatriyas and even Vaishyas to the Brahman rank."

Valluvar's definition of a Brahman rather *Andanar* is in perfect accord with these features of the ancient times as well as the condition of the Twentieth Century India.

Equally so is the case regarding the third and the fourth kind of people like the traders and peasants. Whoever carries on trade and who soever lives on cultivation of the land is a peasant or tiller.

Traders :

> *" The men of trade will prosper in their trade, if they but could*
>
> *Well deal with their own neighbour's goods as with their goods they would."* (120)

Tillers :

> *" Alone those men who plough their fields and eating live, do live;*
>
> *The rest are bowing and following those who food would give"* (1033)

In other words these may be called the functional ' castes ' suited to and obtaining in modern times. Needless to say that there is absolutely no room for untouchability in Valluvar's polity. The division of his society is horizontal and not vertical. So there is neither the upper nor the lower classes based on birth.

Though the doctrine of equality of all races of mankind has been established beyond any doubt, yet the conscience of mankind has not been awakened to the full. It is not only South Africa that is legally practising apartheid or racial discrimination. There is Australia also with its "White Australia Policy'. Even countries with very great ideologies like U. S. A., Russia, China and Britain are still practising racial discrimination in a greater or a smaller measure unabashedly. Nevertheles, mankind of today is within easy reach of perfect equality.

At least in the 21st century our next generations would have reached such an Utopian goal. That is what Professor Arnold Toynbee, the greatest living historian prophesies with satisfaction. He says :

" I believe that the human race is going to choose life and good, not death and evil. I therefore believe in the imminence of one world and I believe that, in the 21st century, human life is going to be a unity again in all its aspects and activities.

"I believe that in the field of religion it is going to be subordinated to ecumenicalism ; that in the field of politics, nationalism is going to be subordinated to the world government ; and that in the field of study, specialisation is going to be subordinated to a comprehensive view of human affairs."

CHAPTER V

TIRUVALLUVAR AND GANDHI

Talk II, 26—2—69

Mahatma Gandhi is the modern prophet of the Twentieth century who has reached the highest peaks and pinnacle of spiritual height and perfection possible. He has been acclaimed as a Buddha and acknowledged as a Christ and generally accepted as a Saviour of mankind of today. He has not founded a religion but has devised a way of life. With his roots in Hinduism and Jainism, his own teachings have come to be christened as Gandhism. The celebration by all the nations and governments of the modern world of his Birth-centenary in 1969 is a measure of his Mahatmic might and proof of his perfect Prophethood. If he and Valluver could be found to meet on common ground and if the doctrines and daily life of the Mahatma could find echoes in the teachings of Tirukkural, then we can safely conclude that Tiruvalluvar had surely anticipated the Mahatma and that Tirukkural's validity and value are nnquestionable and acceptable in the Twentieth Century, as they were in his own times. Let us now examine some of the points of similarity and agreement.

GOD

"The fundamental basis of Gandhism is the conception of God an omnipresent fundamental spiritual reality, an "all-embracing living Light which could be called Sachithananda or Brahman, or Rama or simply Truth. God is a self-existent, All-knowing Living Force, which inheres every other force known to the world...Gandhi was a metaphysical idealist but not of the Sankarite School. He did not adhere to the concept of an undifferentiated Absolute but believed in a God who is kind and responsive to the prayers of the devotee. He wrote : "I cannot recall a single instance when, at the eleventh hour, He (God) has forsaken me." His views are similar to those of the theistic interpreters of the Vedanta."

Now St. Valluvar also bases the whole edifice of his immortal work upon the foundations of God. His very first chapter is upon the need for and efficacy of prayer to personal God. That God, though personal, is not sectarian. He has so worded the qualities of that God as to be applicable to every one of the gods of all the faiths in the world. "Iswara Allah Tere Nam" was the model prayer of Gandhi which had been aniticipted two thousand years ago by Tiruvalluvar.

Secondly, contrary to an errorneous but very general and popular opinion that God is not being spoken of by the Kural in any other chapter than in the first Chapter, we find in its abstract, non-personal, and omnipresent aspect being referred to in many other chapters of Tirukkural. In the Kural perchance, *the word* 'good' refers to God also, even as it practically does in Plato's work. Hence in the following couplet :

> " *Which restrains mind from reaching where'er it*
> *would stray into,*
> *And which deflects the mind from ills to th' good*
> *is wisdom true.*" (422)

Tiruvalluvar wants us to turn our straying mind towards its natural goal of good which is God in His abstract aspect.

Now in another couplet in the chapter called 'Realisation of Truth', Tiruvalluvar refers to God as Truth, even as Gandhi did.

> " *Although they have controlled and held their*
> *five-fold sense in rein*
> *If they had naught of vision of Truth, for them*
> *there's naught of gain.*" (354)

Again,

> " *Who have quite learnt thro' listning how to realise*
> *Truth on earth*
> *Will tread the path which not again will lead one*
> *back to birth.*" (356)

A similar couplet:

"If one's own mind could search and test and surely realise Truth,

One needeth not then expect ought of future birth, in sooth." (357)

Regarding the inhering aspect of God in everything in the world, Valluvar's famous couplet says:

"What'e'er may be the nature of just whate'er object eyed,

'Tis wisdom's part to see and grasp its core of Truth inside." (355)

Lastly, valluvar refers to God in yet another couplet as Perfect Being or 'செம்பொருள்.'

"That birth of nescience might leave off, the mighty wisdom is

To see the Perfect Being—th' cause of all release and bliss." (358)

Thus we see how Gandhi's twofold conception of God in his abstract and personal aspects had been anticipated by Tiruvalluvar Two thousand years ago.

ETHICAL ABSOLUTISM

"Gandhi accepted metaphysical idealism and hence he believed in the supremacy of the ethical values of Sarvodaya. The philosophy of Sarvodaya (good for all) is based on the concept of the unity of existence. It implies a perpetual fight against cruelty to human beings and animals. It has its roots in the famous Mantram of the Yajurveda :

"Isavasyamidam Sarvam" - the entire universe is permeated by the Supreme God." This idealistic philosophy necessarily inculcates the value of eternal truth and justice. It teaches

universal love as the only law of life. It refuses to be satisfied with the progress and well-being of a class or a nation but advocates the emancipation and realisation of the good of all living beings. He interpreted history in terms of the progressive vindication of the superiority of Ahimsa."

Now Tiruvalluvar's code of Ahimsa or more positively 'love' is on all fours with the abovesaid code of Gandhiji.

The following couplets will reflect his creed of love and non-violence and Sarvodaya.

1. "*With all thy strength and utmost might may righteous deeds be done*
Quite ceaselessly in ev'ry way and all the ways open."

2. "*The lovless ones would fain have all the things for themselves 'lone,*
The love-filled ones, for neighbours yield up e'en their body's bone."

3. "*The love-filled 'bode of soul alone deserves the body's name;*
For those without that love, it is but skin-clad bones in frame."

4. "*The deeds of evil, fruits of evil nature, always breed,*
Hence, evil deeds should e'er be dreaded more than fire indeed."

5. "*The evil sins dreaded by him will not afflict the soul,*
Which all the lives doth well protect and hath compassion whole."

6. "*The men devoid of mercy fall with naught of chance to bloom.*"

7. *"Nor for the men without compassion is the other world pure."*

8. *"To kill not aught is grace and killing is the lack of grace."*

9. *"The blessings of compassion for the flesh-eaters are barred."*

10. *"The lives do thrive on abstinence from meat. The hell will not*
Again disgorge the souls of flesh-eaters it has once caught."

11. *"To kill not e'en a single life and not to eat its meat*
Is far better than thousand fire-fed sacrifices net."

12. *"The beings all with their own joined palms would worship give*
To one who shuns the flesh and killeth naught of things which live."

13. *"To endure all the pain that comes, while harming no creature*
Doth constitute the truest form of penance of good feature."

14. *"What means the thing called Truthfulness? You ask and we inform*
It is naught else but speaking words without the least of harm."

15. *"To injure none of neighbours is the spotless men's true goal."*

16. *"Of what avail is one's wisdom, if one cannot quite feel*
The suff'rings of another being as one's own and deal?"

17. *"The crown of all virtues is not to consciously injure*
Whate'er of life at whate'er time in e'er so small measure."

18. *"The sufferings which the men inflict on them alone rebound*
The men desiring no suff'rings must cause no painful wound."

19. *"If you would ask what is a virtue 'it is but non-killing*
From Killing aught of lives on earth do all the evils spring."

20. *"A virtue good is non-killing, unique and sans compare*
But next to that is non-lying, a virtue good and rare."

21. *"Do not from whate'er being part its life it doth cherish,*
Should e'en such act of abstinence make thy own self perish."

22. *"The men of wound-stained frames and starving, low lives are, 'tis said*
The men who had the living beings killed, spilling their blood."

23. *"If he who shaped this world hath so ordained that some men must*
Subsist on alms alone, may he too wand'ring go to dust."

UNILATERAL LOVE

Sri C. Rajagopalachari once wrote as follows :

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept doctrine of unilateral effort in love ?" Gandhiji asked me one day. 'There is no other way', I answered enthusiastically and without hesitation.

"Just so" he replied with evident delight.

"What about the response? The other party does not co-operate and what good is it?"—all these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant : and the road was straight.

"Babu's theory of life and action was always this. Non-violence, Civil disobedience etc., are all technical and specialised phrases. The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love. Prem is an avatar of God in us.

Every act of unilateral love and helpfulness is a shradda ceremony for Babu."

St. Valluvar too has demonstrated as no other author has done, the beauty, efficacy and godliness of an unilateral act and the duty of every one to adopt this supreme creed.

1. "*The love-filled ones for neighbours yield up e'en their body's bone.*"

2. The whole chapter 16 called the "Possession of Forbearance' is illustrative of this principle of action

3. "*Should it be said through helping all will occur loss of self,*
   A loss like this is worth purchase by sale of one's own self."

4. "*To gift off unto the poor alone is charity that's true,*
   The rest of gifts are all but loans of recompensable hue."

5. *" To accept aught of gifts is bad, though heavenward it may guide*
To gift off is the best of virtues though the heav'n's denied."

6. *" What else is then the use of perfect goodness, if as such,*
It won't do good alone to those who have injured it much ?"

NON-POSSESSION

" Gandhi challenged the foundations of modern civilisation. The sophisticated, technological secularistic, aggressive and lustful aspects of modern Western Civilisation repelled him. Its complicated material life was inconsistent with high thinking, Gandhi...hence said that true civilisation consists not in the accumulation of commodities but in a deliberate and voluntary reduction of wants."

His pet theory that any one who possessed more food, more clothes and more necessary articles than one's own minimum need or requirement is a 'thief', is too well known.

Now, St. Valluvar has devoted a whole chapter to this doctrine of dispossession or elimination of wants. It is entitled 'Renunciation.'

1. *" Whate'er, whate'er object might have been by oneself renounced*
One's freedom gained from grief born of such objects is pronounced."

2. *" The vow of celebacy required total dispossession.*
A single thing possessed will take one back to delusion."

Truth, Ahimsa and God :

For Mahatma Gandhi all these three are the same, one leads to the other and the three mingle together, as one integrated unity.

Though Gandhi worshipped a personal God, yet he was equally well convinced of the universal permeation of His unique presence. "Samoham Sarva Bhuteshu" of Lord Krishna's Bagavat Githa made Gandhi believe in and act upon the vital and fundamental principle of all beings in the universe being the same God or being the tabernacles of the same God. Jesus Christ's reference to his body as 'the temple' was extended both by Valluvar and Gandhi to mean all living beings on earth. Hence, Ahimsa to all living beings flowering into unilateral effort of love is tantamount to Sarvodaya, there can be no superior being or inferior being, no friend or enemy for a devotee of unilateral love; hence his all-embracing, all consuming unilateral love which is also universal love is only the secular name for a spiritual God. This is the Truth—the whole Truth—and nothing but the Truth. Therefore it is that for Gandhi, Truth, Ahimsa and God are the three aspects of one Integrated and Whole experience.

Even so, in the Kural of St. Valluvar there is a logical synthesis and substantial identity among these three things of Truth, Ahimsa and God.

His definition of Truth:

> *" What means the thing called Truthfulness? You ask and We inform;*
> *It is naught else but speaking words without the least of harm."* (291)

> *" Even a falsehood partakes of the nature of the Truth,*
> *But only if it produced just a harmless good in sooth."* (292)

The definition of one unique good in this world is as follows :—

> *" A virtue good is non-killing, unique and sans compare,*
> *But next to that is non-lying, a virtue good and rare."* (323)

Therefore, the sum total and substance of these three Kural couplets are that one should be deemed to speak the truth if and when one does not cause any injury or harm to another by thought, word and deed. This injury means and includes slight injuries serious injuries as well as death. If according to couplet 323 non-injuring and non-killing constitute but the two sides of the same coin of Ahimsa, these two phases of Ahimsa or its two steps also constitute Truth in Tirukkural. Hence as with Gandhi so with Valluvar, Ahimsa leads to Truth, rather Ahimsa and Truth are identical.

Then how comes God in the polity of Tirukkural? Couplet 355 which has very significantly been placed by Valluvar in the Chapter entitled "Realisation of Truth" says this:

> "*Whate'er may be the nature of just whate'er object eyed,*
> *Tis widsom's part to see and grasp its core of Truth inside.*"

Therefore, there is in the core of each object of creation in the world an inherent Truth sustaining that thing. And what is that Truth? It is God or Semporul, according to Valluvar himself. Hence, if every creation has Truth of God within its core or soul according to Valluvar, does it not logically follow from this doctrine that all creations are either the forms of God or the temples of God? And if this is acknowledged as the truth, does it not also similarly follow that one's injuring a creature or one's showing love to a creation is tantamount to or identically the same as one's injuring God or showing love to God? If this is so, what is the conclusion at which Valluvar arrives? It is that Ahimsa is Truth and Truth is God and therefore Ahimsa, Truth and God are in the relationship of not only one leading to the other but also as all the three being equal to one another and above all their being identical as an integrated Truth or Experience.

Thus we have seen how the First Century Tiruvalluvar's three-fold Truth is the (unconscious) parent of the self-same experience with the Ahimsa, Truth and God of the Twentieth Century Gandhi.

CHAPTER VI

VALLUVAR ON LOVE AND VIOLENT ACTS OR GANDHIJI'S UNILATERAL LOVE

" The fools maintain that love sustaineth righteous acts alone
But love doth as much actuate the cruel acts of one''. (76)

This is a rather problematical couplet which is interpreted in two ways.

The first and the more obvious one is this : Love for one's near and dear always actuates deeds of good and Kindness. But oftener than not, the same love for another, in the another's own interest, actuates deeds of violence also.

The second meaning as given by Parimel Azhagar is of a rarer and more magnanimous order. It is also equally valid. That is : Love is not only the basis of Kindly acts : it also is capable of winning forth and weeding another from his violent deed. If one shows love towards a menacing foe bent upon mischief to one, the other is sure to be conquered by this gesture. In other words, this interpretation is an anticipation of the Unilateral effort of love to become world, known through Gandhiji.

We are discussing both these meanings in this place and thereby proving the Twentieth Century's approval of Valluvar.

FIRST MEANING

5—10—1951

1. The accused Muttathil Ouseph emloyed in Kalleri estate, Pudupadi Amsam, Calicut Taluk, attacked his son Yohonnan with a billhook and as a rasult of the injuries sustained, the son died. The estate officers insisted upon the son being sent to a

place called Annapadi which was infested with leeches. The accused was naturally anxious that his son should not be sent to that place. On October 12, 1947 he made an attempt to abscond along with his son. They were brought back by the estate officers. Again another attempt was made by the estate officers to send the son of the accused along with other labourers. To prevent his son being sent along with them, he attacked him with a billhook on October 13, and the son died, and he also tried to commit suicide.

The accused was tried by the Sessions Judge, Calicut, for the offence of murder. He was found guilty of the offence and was sentenced to Transportation for life.

In appeal Mr. Justice Subba Rao and Mr. Justice Mack declared, "We therefore confirm the conviction and sentence. But we think it is an eminently fit case for the Government to remit a portion of the sentence under Sec. 401 of Cr. P. C. enable to extricate himself from the clutches of his employers, beaten badly by his estate officers, desperate at the condition of his only son, the accused was in a state of physical and mental agony. Circumstanced as he was, the only way to get out of the difficulty was to kill his son and to commit suicide. We therefore recommend in the interest of justice that the sentence should be reduced to twenty years.

2. The accused Sangiah alias Sanga Gounder of Pothireddipalli village in Sattur Taluk of Ramanathapuram district, has had inflicted fatal stab wounds on his two sons Rajamayil aged 14 and Chandraprakasam aged 12 when they were sleeping in bed at about 4 a.m. on Jan 7, 1950, "to save them from the pangs of hunger".

He and his two sons had been going without food on some nights and it is alleged that he decided to kill both his sons and do away with himself, unable to bear starvation any longer.

The Sessions Judge, while convicting and sentencing the accused to transportation for life, remarked:

'This was an unfortunate case of a man killing his children not out of hatred but out of intense affection, not with a view to depriving them of anything but with a view to saving them from the pangs of starvation and suffering."

In appeal to the High Court, Mr. Justice Govinda Menon and Mr. Justice Basheer Ahmed Sayeed reduced the sentence to one of 5 years R. I. and remarked: "Considering the circumstances which have been brought about by the extreme economic depression and also by various other contributory factors, we feel that justice will be done if the sentence under each count is reduced to R. I. for five years, the sentences to run concurrently."

3. *Husband killed out of mercy*

Wife ends her life with same knife :

Copenhagen, June 5.

Police reported to-day the American wife of Denmark's former Ambassador to the U.S.,Mr. Henrik Kauffmann, split her husband's throat and then took her own life with the same bread knife. They described the murder as a 'mercy killing'.

"Mr. Kauffmann," police said, "had an inoperable cancer and his wife killed him to save him from further suffering. Then she committed suicide, having left a number of letters to relatives explaining why she was going to do it."

Mr. Kauffmann was 74 and his wife 63.

A nurse found their bodies when she entered their suite in a luxurious health and nerve clinic on the coast, 10 miles north of the Copenhagen.

The former Ambassador was the much decorated symbol of Danish resistence to the *Nazis* in World War II.

There is the other meaning of this Kural as given by Parimelazhakar.

SECOND MEANING

It means that one's attitude of unilateral love towards another of enmity will disarm the other. This was Jesus' turning the left cheek to the foe. This is Gandhi's unilateral love. C. R. writes on 36—1—49 :

"Do you agree with me? Do you accept the doctrine of unilateral effort in love?." Gandhiji asked me one day.

"There is no other way" I answered enthusiastically, and without hesitation.

"Just so" he replied with evident delight.

"What about the response? The other party does not co-operate and what good is it?"—all these questions simply disappeared as irrelevant and the road was straight.

Bapu's theory of life and action was always this and some of us knew it, but never before was the full meaning and intensity of a faith so fully poured into the doctrine as now Bapu did incessantly and unweariedly.

Do we believe in God? If we do, we have no clearer visible manifestation of Him than love-the love of mother, of child of man or of beast or bird for its young one, the tenderness of friends or lovers. In the bodies of living beings we have been taught that God lives and finds habitation. If that be true, we see Him manifest whenever we see kindliness, helpfulness sympathy, compassion, or love in any form flowing from one to another. When love disappears, the window is closed against God.

'Non-violence', 'civil disobedience' etc., are all technical, specialised phrases. The basic teaching is unilateral effort in love. Prem is an avatar of God within us. May our thoughts, words, and actions be saturated with prem. Every act of unilateral love and helpfulness is a shraddha ceremony for Bapu". Therefore, if this couplet were to be interpreted according to Parimel Azhagar, this will be found to be the same doctrine of *'unilateral effort of love' of which Gandhi is the most celebrated* exponent and examplor of the Twentieth Century.

CHAPTER VII

VALLUVAR ON COWS

I

" Even if one should beg for draught of water for a cow,
Nothing of blot on tongue is there like e'en that begging love."

" ஆவிற்கு நீரென் றிரப்பினும் நாவிற்கு
இரவின் இளிவந்த தில் (1066)

In Valluvar's view the cow is the most sacred creature on earth. It is so pure, sacred, useful and innocent that one can do anything to feed it and protect it. Still the act of one in begging for a bucketful of cool water even for the sake of the superior and sacred cow is deemed by him as a demeaning act. But even in this case the validity of the theory of the cow's sacrosanct character is being taken for granted and acknowledged by St. Valluvar, far from being discounted or decried. This is a parallel case with the couplet number 656 'ஈன்றாள் பசிகாண் பானாயினும்' which similarly assumes and admits the unequalled sanctity and greatness of one's own mother but which nevertheless says that one should not soil one's own soul by doing deeds which would be reprehensible in the eyes of the great men, even for purpose of appeasing the pain of hunger of one's own mother. In either couplet, the fact has been admitted namely that at once the mother and cow alike are supreme, sacred and a charge on our love and duty,

II

" If but the guardians of a country fail to guard any more,
The cow's milk shrinks and six-fold workers forget all their lore."

" ஆபயன் குன்றும் அறுதொழிலோர் நூன்மறப்பர்
காவலன் காவான் எனின்." (560)

In this couplet, Valluvar refers to the superiority of the cow not only as a sacred animal but also as the source and basis of the economic life of a nation. The first thing to flourish as the result of a King's misrule is also the cow. Who dies when the cow can live and who lives when the cow dies? Even in the Twentieth century the cow is still the sheet-anchre and central pivot of the rural economy of any country, nay the very live wire of even a country's urban economy. Hence cow-protection besides being a religious and sentimental matter, is also a secular duty of India today. These two aspects are being referred to hereunder.

MODERN COW PROTECTION AGITATION: (21—8—53)

1. Burmese Premier U Nu went on a total fast from last evening. He would continue his fast until the question of cow slaughter during the Id was settled.

Burmese Buddhists for the past few years have been demanding ban on cattle-slaugher, as killing is against Buddhist religion.

The Hindu - Leader: 30—10—52

" The special regard in which the Hindus traditionally hold the cow has found expression during the recent observance of Gopashtami. Religious and Political leaders have taken part wholeheartedly in these observances and there has been a demand which is certain to find a sympathetic echo in almost every Hindu breast that the Government should take legal steps to prevent the slaughter of cows. From time immemorial the people of Hindustan have prayed for gold, cows, horses and the asistance of willing workers. The cow a term which naturally embraces the bullock, too, is of great social and economic value to India, a point stressed by the President in his broadcast on Gosamwardana Day. Milk and its products, fuel and manure are all given to this predominantly agricultural people by the cow; and further the bullock is more often than not, the sole motive power

available to the ryot in food-producing and distributing operations. India keeps alive a hundred and fifty million heads of cattle. some of it naturally decrepit. The strictly economic-minded find scope for arguing that the country as a whole stands to gain by the removal of such uneconomic cattle. The people by and large, however, *tend to think in terms of Pinjrapoles and other similar* surroundings where the aged cattle could be allowed to live out their span in peace, as a due return for an almost whole life time of service. In fact, it would be true to say that the sentiment in India is generally opposed to the concept embodied in the phrase 'Putting (an animal) out of pain.' But mere sentiment is not enough, as Dr. Rajendra Prasad has said. Sentiment, in the matter of Go Seva " has to be associated with intelligence, and service to be effective and helpful has to be rendered in a way most suited to present day conditions. To-day Hindus and most non-Hindus who do not desire to offend the susceptibilities of their Hindu brethren feel that the time has come to prevent cow-slaughter by laws His Holiness of the Kamakoti Peetam has appealed for such a ban.

"Among the functions of the Central Council of Gosamvardana, is the taking of such measures as may be necessary 'to prevent the slaughter of useful and productive bovine cattle.' Public sentiment would prefer that even non-productive bovine cattle should be saved from slaughter and it is widely suggested that unproductive cattle could, with advantage, be maintained on grazings not fully in use at present. The interior of forest areas has been mentioned as suitable grazing grounds and also the setting up of Charmalayas where the remains of dead animals could be fully utilised. We are sure we can depend upon the Government of India to pay the necessary attention to public opinion in respect of protection of cattle."

Mr. Kidwai 25—12—52

Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, Agriculture Minister, said here today that the question of banning cowslaughter had reached a stage when it could not be ignored. If the majority of the people wanted that it should be banned, they must do so, because India is a democratic country.

"If the people were unable to maintain dry cows, it was the duty of the Government to maintain them in institutions like Pinjrapoles."

Dr. Thakurdas Ahargawaba, M.P. said that prevention of cow slaughter is mentioned in the directive principles of the constitution. He said that such people who took away every drop of milk of the cow and left nothing for the calf should be regarded as enemies of the cow. "So long as you do not provide for adequate food for the cow, what right have you to demand a ban on cow slaughter?" he asked.

CHAPTER VIII

TIRUVALLUVAR'S CREED AND VEGETARIANISM IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

Vegetarianism is one of the fundamental creeds and teachings of Valluvar. It is a necessary corollary and a logical consequence of his most vital doctrine of Non-killing or Ahimsa. The fact that the chapter on Vegetarianism find its place with reference to the Ascetics does not in the least detract from its value or validity for house holder.

Unfortunately 99% of the lovers of Tirukkural do not seem to care for this doctrine of his. They ignore it wherever they do not explain it away.

Nevertheless the Twentieth century, far from completely throwing this creed overboard or altogether disfavouring or discrediting it, has only been doing its best to uphold this principle and practise it on as large a scale as possible in almost every country. There is an International organisation to propagate vegetarianism among the masses called the World Vegetarian Congress. It is holding its annual sessions in every country and delegates of all the European countries participate in this in considerably large numbers. It has held its Nineteenth Session at Madras in 1968.

Though a universal adoption of vegetarianism by all the inhabitants of this world has not become a *fait accompli*, the mere fact that even in this advanced and scientific and atomic age of the 20th century, large sections of the population are enthusiastically following this rather difficult creed is itself a justification of Tiruvalluvar. Many scientific arguments have been forwarded by European savants not only justifying but also recommending vegetarianism.

Mahatma Gandhi too naturally enough has been the mightiest exponent and marvellous exemplar of vegetarianism. His steadfast

and unwavering adherence to this diet even in the face of death and deadening opposition, has become historical. Hence, though it is a fact that the followers and peofessional propagators of Gandhism as well as Valluvar have been consistently ignoring and neglecting the twin doctrines of Ahimsa and Vegetarianism of both Valluvar and Gandhi, yet the fact to be noted is that the Twentieth century giant has justified and confirmed the first century Saint's favourite doctrine of Vegetarianism.

Still, there is no running away from the fact that human nature being what it is, it is next to impossible for chronic non-vegeatarians *to emancipate* themselves from their inborn slavery to the taste of the animal food. Therefore it is possible to eliminate the actual flesh and meat at the same time pampering to the taste and palate of the chronic addicts to flesh-eating would it not be at once the greatest vindication of Valluvar and a victory for vegetarianism? And strangely such a possibility is there now thanks to science which has discovered a kind of synthetic mutton out of vegetables like Soya Beans which, while being as chaste as a vegetarian food, is still having the very taste of the real meat. Here is a compromise *effected between* the compulsions of principles and the convenience of practising. May the world give up the meat of animals and take to this treat of the plants and thus great Valluvar like his faithful and faultless followers.

In Argentina :

Peron, the Republic's President, has issued an order that there should be no meat eating on Fridays. In support of it a paper called 'Democratia' had written that meat spoils one's lungs and thereby one's health and that protein poison is generated (1953).

San Francisco :

A new Vitamin that could end man's need for meat was described today by the scientists attending the American Chemical Society's 115th national meeting. The Vitamin is called APF for 'Animal Protein Fact'. It has recently been produced synthetically and is being tested on animals. (1950)

Man made meat :

A meatless meat is making an unobtrusive inroad into Japanese kitchens, where beef and pork are coming in housewives disfavour because of price increases.

In fact, this man-made meat has already been successfully integrated into pressed hams and sausages which consumers are eating quite unknowingly.

At present, a total of about 15 makers are actively engaged in the production of artificial meat made of soyabean and wheat.

As such, the man-made meet naturally abounds in vegetable protein—in contrast with the natural meat—which is fraught with animal protein.

The Nisshin Oil Mills Ltd., one of Japan's largest edible oil makers, had been commercially turning out its own artificial meat product, making use of defatted soyabeans.

Some makers oonfidently claim that their products are not different from real beef.

Cultivation of soyabean :

A development programme for soyabean is being taken up to produce 20,000 tonnes of this crop in 1969—70 and 40,000 tonnes by 1973-74.

Although soyabean is a rich source of protein, it is not popular in this country either as a pulse for cooking or as an oilseed, since it is difficult to cook, and its oil content is much lower than that of groundnut. But antibiotic units have found soyabeen as the best culture media, and there is an immediate demand from these units for about 10,000 tonnes. The high protein food products industry requires another 10,000 tonnes and this demand is expected to go up to 20,000 tonnes by the end of the Fourth Plan.

Fortyfour tonnes of soyabean seed imported from the U. S. A. are now being multiplied in the country so that there would be 1,000 tonnes of seed for growing during 1969-70.

Soyabean has been cultivated in the northern hill regions of India from Kashmir to Nagaland, primarily for local consumption. Suitable varieties for cultivation over larger areas in the plains of Northern and Central India have been identified through researches undertaken by the Indian Agricultural Research Institute, New Delhi and the U. P. Agricultural University, Patna nagar.

Where vegetarianism scores :

Mr. P. M. Reddi, General Manager, Hindustan Aeronautics Ltd., Bangalore, has asserted that vegetarians "have the best memory in the world." His chief financial controller a vegetarian, nodded in agreement. Mr. Reddi claimed that he was speaking from experiene and did not believe that his claim could be contested. A non-vegetarian himself, he was very eloquent on the vegetarian prodigies—he seems to have quite a number of them—in his financial and statistical departments who could retain rows and columns of figures in their heads and recite them on top. He did not, however, say that he was going to stipulate vegetarianism as a qualification for recruitment when the H. A. L., next advertised their vacancies.

Mr. Reddi made his observation in the course of a talk on aeronautics and greatly impressed his listeners on the need for starting a 'Vegetarian Association of India' and for having a seminar on vegetarianism.

MODERN VEGETARIAN LEADERS

(1) Mahatma Gandhi, (2) Albert Schweitzer, (3) Adolf Hitler, (4) Bernard Shaw, (5) Sir Stafford Cripps,

CHAPTER IX

VALLUVAR'S DOCTRINE OF FATE OR KARMA

The whole chapter (Number 38) has been written by Tiruvalluvar to inculcate in us the importance of Fate or Destiny. What must happen according to the doctrine of Karma or cause and effect, must and will happen at all costs.

1. *"A resoluteness will brace a man beneath his waxing star.*
   His sloth will cause his loss beneath his waning star and mar."

   " ஆகூழால் தோன்றும் அசைவின்மை ; கைப்பொருள்
   போகூழால் தோன்றும் மடி." (371)

2. *"With all efforts one can't preserve all things of 'no ordain';*
   All ordained things will ne'er leave one, though cast out in the drain.

   " பரியினும் ஆகாவாம் பாலல்ல ; உய்த்துச்
   சொரியினும் போகா தம." (376)

3. *"What are the things of greater might than destiny or fate?*
   It will quite forestall all our schemes and counterplans frustrate."

   " ஊழிற் பெருவலி யாவுள ? மற்றொன்று
   சூழினும் தான்முந் துறும்." (380)

Some illustrations of fate's queer operation which lift off the occurrences beyond the pale of cause and effect in the present, are given below. Even the 20th century, man has not conquered and cannot possibly conquer what is ordained by fate.

Modern examples of Karma or Fate :

(1) A 78 year old stone mason who had spent most of his working life doing repairs 250 ft. up on the Canterbury Cathedral, died from a fall—off a chair on which he was sitting in his garden (15—10—62)

(2) An 8 month old baby fell between a running train and the platform at Kargpur Railway Station on Sunday morning but miraculously escaped unhurt. The child was found stunned but unhurt when the train was halted a few yards from the station (2-10-52).

(3) A 14 month old baby played with a fierce looking cobra in Multan while its mother watched helplessly for some time until a mangoose came and chased the cobra away.

The child was engaged in frolics with the reptile (26-5-53).

(4) Princess Boyan Djavidan, the 75 years old ex-queen of Egypt, wants a job in England as a cook.

She is the widow of the Ishedive Abbas, the last hereditary Khedine of Egypt. She had once a palace and 65 servants. Now she is penniless and is answering advertisements in Paris newspapers, " I need a job. I am sure God will help."

Miraculous escape : (15-2-69)

Two year old Ganesan, son of a gangman in the Tiruchi municipality, had a miraculous escape from a train accident, near the Fort railway station, this morning.

When the Tiruchi Junction bound officers' train was leaving the Fort station, the child, who was playing near the track started rushing across in an attempt to reach his house in a nearby colony. He was knocked down by the train and the engine and two bogies passed over him before the train was stopped by the driver,

Everyone had feared that the child would have been crushed but he wriggled out of the wonder-carriages and fled to his house.

The child sustained only scratch injuries on the head. The train was delayed by quarter of an hour.

Passport hitch saves life :

A prominent Pakistani journalist who had gone to Karachi airport to join 21 others aboard the illfated plane which crashed near Cairo on Thursday was not allowed to do so by the immigration police.

Mr. Tufail Ahmed Jamali, Editor of the Karachi Urdu daily, Anjam had to return home dejected minus his baggage which had already been cleared and deposited in the plane. The police discovered at the last moment that validity of his passport had expired on May 4.

Mr. Jamali, however left a word with Mr. Salahuddin Siddiqui, a Press Officer of the P. I. A. who is among the six survivors to send his baggage back from Cairo.

Fate beckoned her in a plane crash :

Another passenger, Mrs. Bhagirithi Ramaswamy, just 20 and recently married, was bound for New York to join her husband there. She was reported to have cancelled her passage thrice recently before finally deciding to travel by the 'Kanchenjunga' and died now.

Roper Betenbaugh, riding as a passenger in a car in the New York City, was not happy; the driver was going too fast, he thought when the car stopped at a garage for a tyre change. He told his friends he would walk home. They laughed at him and raced away down the South Carolina road. Minutes later, Roper was overtaken by an ambulance rushing to an accident. Two minutes' drive from the spot where he had decided to get out and walk, he saw the tangled remains of the car with the dead bodies of his three companions being carried into the ambulance.

His fish fated :

A coloured man, Mr. Ben Groenewald, has a new angle to the fisherman's story about the one that got away.

"About six months ago", he said yesterday, "I caught a galjoen at Blinderivier (near Mossel Bay) but threw it back because of its size.

"While fishing at Soutgat, two miles form Blinderivier, today I landed the same galjoen.

"This time the fish was ripe for the frying pan and I had it for supper."

How does Mr. Groenewald know it is the same fish ? "I made markings on its tail before I threw it back," he explained.

CHAPTER X

TIRUVALLUVAR ON REBIRTHS

Tiruvalluvar has mentioned in more than one couplet that living beings have seven kinds of births and they are reborn over again.

" எழுபிறப்பும் தீயவை தீண்டா பழிபிறங்காப்
பண்புடை மக்கட் பெறின்." (62)

" *Nothing of evil will throughout one's sevenfold births approach*
The one's whose cultured children live quite from all repproach."

" ஒருமையுள் ஆமைபோல் ஐந்தடக்கல் ஆற்றின்
எழுமையும் ஏமாப் புடைத்து." (126)

" *If one could like a tortoise draw in one's own senses five,*
Throughout one's sevenfold birth, as one's great strength will that Strive."

" ஒருமைக்கண் தான்கற்ற கல்வி ஒருவற்கு
எழுமையும் ஏமாப் புடைத்து." (398)

" *The learning all which one hath gained in this one birth alone*
Throughout the seven fold births of one avails one as one's own."

Couplet 107 is also similar :

" எழுமை எழுபிறப்பும் உள்ளுவர் தங்கண்
விழுமந் துடைத்தவர் நட்பு." (107)

Hence Tiruvalluvar's doctrine of rebirth or reincarnation has to be tested in the light of the discoveries and experiences of the Twentieth century.

There are two ways of testing its truth and validity. One kind of experience proves it to be correct through the numberless cases of infant prodigies who are precocious even in their first year. When we cannot postulate any reason for this unnatural or supernatural phenomenon, we have necessarily to seek the aid of the theory of rebirth.

Secondly, its validity has been proved beyond doubt by the innumerable cases of children and the old, revealing and identifying the places and houses and relations of their respective previous births.

Thus the Twentieth Century has justified and set its seal of approval on the theory of Rebirth enunciated by Tiruvalluvar.

Examples of both the kinds of cases are given here :

PREVIOUS BIRTHS PROVED BY PRODIGIES :

Egyptian boy, Mohammed Ismail Ei Attar : He easily multiplied a number of 10 figures by one just as great. Mohammed extracted the square foot of a six figure number in less than a minute and the cube root took only a little longer. Another queer thing was that in the middle of a calculation he could stop to eat and drink and resume afterwards where he left off.

William Sidies (U.S.A.) who died in 1944 aged 46 : A generation ago he was hailed as 'the greatest boy genius.' At 6 months he could recite the alphabet; at 2 years he could read and write; at six he spoke and wrote several foreign languages; at 11 his theories of fourth dimension startled the scientific world; at 16 he graduated brilliantly from the Hardward University, distinguishing himself, especially in Mathematics.

* * *

Jean Picot the eight year old son of a French peasant: This wonder child who could scarcely read and who was of 'low intelligence' was examined before the Academy of Sciences. In 10 seconds he gave the cube root of a seven figure number, and in less than a minute he extracted the tenth root of a number with nine figures.

* * *

A low-caste Hindu lad in Trivandrum: A problem like finding a fifth root of 69,343,957 would not bother him in the least.

Professor Samuel Krieger (German) whom Einstein described as 'the greatest mathematical mind I have ever seen. No electrical machine is able to compete with him in figures'. When a guest gave Krieger the date of his birth, in a moment the latter replied: "Since you were born 975,715,200 seconds have gone by."

George Bidder, England's 'lightning calculator'. One of his most remarakable feats was solving this problem, when he was only nine years old.

"If you have 8 to 10 million the greater part of which you want to divide between 51 persons in this proportion, £1,946,579,18 sh. $5\frac{1}{2}$d, between 15 persons; £2,59,428.17 sh. $8\frac{1}{4}$d. between 17 persons; £5,455,991.3 sh. $5\frac{3}{4}$ d. between 19 persons, in equal shares, how much will each of the 15 persons' share be, and each of the 17 persons' share and that of each of the 19 persons, and how much will all the 51 persons share and what shall you have remaining?"

It is said that the remainder would be $4\frac{3}{4}$ d.

19th Century. Jedidah Buxton of England: Whenever a period of times was given he would at once give the number of seconds in it.

When he attended the play 'Richard III', he would give the number of words spoken by each performer.

After striding over a field he would give the number of square inches it contained.

He found out the number of cubical eights of an inch in a cubicle mass 23,145,789 yards long, 5,642,732 yards wide and 54, 965 yards thick.

Once he made himself what he called 'drunk with recolloning' the following; "in 200,000 million cubic miles, how many grains of 8 different kinds of corn and pulse, and how many hairs one inch long ? He ascertained by actual counting how many of each kind of grain and how many hairs would go to an inch cube and he set about his gigantic self-imposed task.

Another question put to him was to calculate the product of a farthing doubled 189 times the answer to which even in pounds runs to 39 figures.

* * *

Contemporary of Bidder was an American boy Zarah Colburn. When asked the number of seconds in 48 years he answered in a flash and rapidly worked out such problems as the square root of 106, 129 and the cube-root of 268,236,125. When asked to name the factors of 247, 483 he did so at once, giving 941 and 263, the only possible two.

* * *

Krieger and Bidder were educated men. Buxton and Colburn did not know how they worked out their answers.

* * *

In 1931, Marcelle, a gardener's daughter in Le Nieppe lost her memory and was found wandering. Then suddenly she began to talk not in her tongue but in German, English, Italian, Spanish and finally in Russian. Why this uneducated girl should suddenly burst into learned monologues in strange tongues, no one has ever been able to explain.

World's most remarkable children :

Right through the ages, fantastic child prodigies have always presented profoundly interesting human case-histories. Yet very little attempt has been made to classify the known stories of the world's infant geniuses, to assess which are the most noteworthy.

It would be impossible to exclude Jean-Louls Cardiac, the 'wonder child' of the Chateaue de Cardiac in France, who was born there in 1719. At the age of three months he was reciting his alphabet, and his mental progress was swift and sure. At three years he could read Latin with ease and at four could translate it in both French and English fluently.

By the time he reached the age of six when most children are beginning to understand what school is all about, Cardiac was reading Greek and Hebrew already a complete master of mathematics, history, geography and heraldry. Like so many true child geniuses his life was short but spectacular for he died in Paris when only seven.

12 Languages :

Nor would James "The Admirable" Crichton, be omitted from any such list. Born in 1560 in Scotland, he showed early promise as a scholar. Whilst still a school boy he could answer his teachers fluently on any of twelve different languages, including Arabic, Greek, Hebrew, Flemish and Slavoknic, as well as the commoner European tongues.

Indeed, whilst still in his teens he disputed with learned professors on a vast range of subjects in these dozen languages. By the age of 20 he had mastered the whole existing range of sciences, was skilled equally in verse or prose, and could sing and play many different instruments. Unfortunately, he added swordsmanship to his manifold accomplishments and got himself killed in brawl.

Then there was the great French philosopher and mathematician, Blaise Pascal. He proved to be a scientific genius from

early childhood so full of promise that his father gave up his own court post to devote all his time to educating the boy from the age of seven onwards. At 12 Pascal wrote a treatise on ecoustics and soon afterwards completed the design of the world's first accounting machine. At 16 he composed such abstruse works that the older philosopher Descartes refused to believe they were not the work of a mature man. Although he died at the early age of 39, a recluse in a monastery, he had become a completely mature genius in several fields.

A short life is inevitably the lot of many really brilliant child prodigies. Jean Phillippe Baratier, the eighteenth-century intellectual wizard, lived only 19 years, yet from speaking three languages at the age of four he swiftly achieved the complete surrender of his masters.

At six he was made a member of an ecclesiastical synod in Berlin as well as a member of that city's Royal Academy, and at 14 he was confirmed as a doctor of philosophy. From the time he was five, Baratier possessed an extraordinary memory, which enabled him to recite vast sections of the Bible word perfect and without pausing.

Occasionally, however, a prodigy appears whose powers remain throughout a life of normal span. Such a one was that 'book in breeches'. Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay...He was a fantastically clever reader and memoriser all his life, beginning at two.

Wrote Treatises :

Whilst still a toddler, he would habitually converse like a prime adult. When badly scalded by some spilt coffee at the age of four, he answered his hostess's sympathetic inquiries with, "Thank you madam, the agony is abated."

He edited (and largely wrote) an excellent nursery newspaper, and at seven was hard at work on his gigantic 'Compendium of Universal History from the Creation to Modern Times', several poems and hymns and 'an epic on the fortunes of his family'.

When a boy of eight, he was busily engaged on a learned treatise designed to convert the natives of Malabar and Travancore to Christianity. Macaulay remembered and could quote at will-pages of everything he had ever read, even from earliest childhood.

But the intellectual prodigy to end all prodigies was undoubtedly Christian Priedrich Heinecken, the famous 'Infant of Lubeck' who was born there in 1721. All reports confirm that he actually talked coherently when only a few hours old. In faet, from the time of his birth onwards, he packed into his very short life intellectual attainments achieved by few clever men who reach mature age.

Muscical Prodigies:

By the age of two he knew most of the Bible, and already his intelligence was such that only outstanding adults could match it. When he was three Henecken's head was filled with detailed knowledge of universal history, geography, French, German, Greek and Latin almost unique for any human being, and he could answer readily the most difficult questions.

In 1724, the King of Denmark had him brought to Copenhagen to see if the faboulous 'infant' really was all that he had heard, shortly afterwards, little Heinecken fell ill and solemnly foretold his death within a year. This event took place soon after, when the child was only four, lonely, exhausted and spent, in some ways the most remarkable genius who has ever lived.

Now all these prodigies were of the kind where the precocious brilliance is in general and creative intellectual ability. But there are other types of remarkably clever children, chief among which are the musieal prodigies, and the mathematical wizards and lightning calculators.

Early prowess in music is not rare, although great skill is, but it differs from many other youthful attainments to very rarely fading after adolescene. In fact many great musicians have begun as child prodigies and few if any really outstanding musical prodigies have lost their gifts for good.

It is said that Chopin wept at the sound of music whilst still a baby. The conductor Sir Landon Ronald could play the piāno pasably before he could talk. Yehudi Menuhin began playing the violin at three, and at three-and-a-half, the Spanish wonder pianist Pepito Ariola was tested in 1900 by a group of international experts. He had already been performing for a year and could execute many classical pieces on sight, somehow managing to sound full octaves with his tiny bands. One observer recalled that " his hands appeared to grow while he played."

Both Charles and Samuel Wesley, nephews of the founder of Methodism. could play the organ and harpsichord well at three and Charles could render any tune his mother sang or played without a moment's hesitation. Handel was famous as a keyboard performer before the age of five, and Meyerbeer was one of the best pianists in Berlin at nine.

Lively interest:

Yet none of these quite equalled in sheer amazing early brilliance in music of the composer, Mozart. He was first attracted to the art when he was just three years old, showing a 'lively interest' in his older sister's clavier lessons and practice. And striking chords as complicated as his infant's hands would allow.

His father, sensing unusual gifts, actually gave up his time more and more to his son's music lessons. At four Mozart was tentatively composing and extemporising, and when he was five he had written several charming minutes and was already a quite brilliant harpsichord performer.

At six he made his first musical tour of Austria, repeating it at seven, when he played his own works for violin and organ, quite captivating the salons of Paris., London and Vienna by his skill and palpable genius.

Mozart wrote his first big work on oratorio at 10 and was a prolific serious composer well before he entered his teens. At 13 he went to Italy alone, giving concert tours. At 14 he took all the musical degrees then available, and by the time he was 16

was completely established as one of the world's greatest musicians. He died when only 35, with 626 immortal compositions set down.

Mathematical freak :

As for the rapid mathematical calculators, there have been many children possessed with this strange, inexplicable gift. Apart from a natural facility with numbers and a phenomenal memory, such children usually have no other special intelligence, indeed, they may be dull or even illiterate. Such odd human calculating machines were Vito Mangiamele, a cicilian shepherd boy, who could do such rapid feats as giving the cube root of 3,796,416 in his head in 30 seconds when only 11 years old, and the illiterate Indian lad Arumugam who up to the age of 16 could perform the most diverse mental calculations in a few seconds only.

Even more astonishing was Truman Safford, an American infant mathematical freak. When only seven he was a serious student of algebra, higher mathematics and geometry, and delighted in his skill with hefty numerical problems.

Once, when asked to multiply 365,365,365,365,365,365 by itself mentally; it is recorded that he " instantly, flew round the room like a top, pulled his pantaloons over the top of his boots, bit his hand, rolled his eyes in their sockets, sometimes smiling and talking, and then seeming to be in an agony until, in not more than one minute, he replied correctly : "133 491 850—208, 566, 925, 016, 658, 299, 941, 583, 225."

Always boys :

He claimed that the answers always came to him in the form of spontaneous mental pictures, and like so many prodigies of this kind, he lost his powers about the age of 16.

What causes some children, perhaps one in a million for the geniuses, one in 100,000 for the others, to be born so clever? The answer is that sometimes through glandular unbalance, sometimes through other causes, certain sections of their brains reach maturity very speedily, so that their physical development

is far outstripped by their mental powers. This is rightly regarded by medical science as a natural occurrence, any prodigy being the odd 'sport' that nature throws up from time to time and there is never anything morbid or unpleasant about them. Child prodigies are almost always boys, too.

But perhaps it is as well for parents, and for the adult world generally, that they are comparatively rare.

Those child prodigies :

The possibility of having a child prodigy is one of those remote yet impelling chances that must occur to all parents at some time or another.

Prodigies are regarded with something akin to horror by many, while others are entranced by them.

Every generation produces its crop of staggering prodigies, with their fantastic powers in the arts, sciences (especially mathematics) and creative fields, and with brains altogether super-normal for their ages.

Not all of them by any means line up to their youthful brilliance. Many that do mature into real genuises burn themselves out early, like Mozart or Chopin, although there are records of men whose lives from infancy to old age have been marked by exceptional brilliance like Lord Macaulay and Dr. Johnson.

Hereditary :

What are the chances of your child becoming a prodigy ?

These amazing mental powers are always in part hereditary, although that does not mean that the parents may pass on the brilliance; it may lie much further back in the child's ancestry.

Of every 1000 children born, it has been reliably computed about 50 may be termed as bright, 25 as really brilliant, and only

one as a prodigy. Even then, that one may not turn out in the end to be a real, undeniable genius.

Infant prodigies are nearly always boys—so there is not much chance for your little girl, even if you secretly wished she were one of these rarities, which not many parents do nowadays in this age of mediocrity, although there are admittedly many disadvantages in being a prodigy's parents.

Consoled or may be disappointed by these facts, take a look at some of the world's most outstanding mental prodigies.

There was Lord Macaulay already mentioned, whose parents must have been staggered when he sat down and wrote a serious history of the universe at the age of seven !

He edited a nursery-paper even earlier than that, and when he was only eight composed a treatise on Christianity designed to convert the 'heathen natives' of Malabar.

He never had any trouble over reading and all through life, no matter what he read, he memorized it so thoroughly that he could repeat whole chunks of it—verse, newspaper items, the pages of a book—from memory in later life many years after that first reading.

Dean Swift could read any chapter of the Bible before he was three. Lord Byron read all kinds of literature perpetually from the age of five, while of John Stuart Mill it was said that he must have begun to read in his cradle, so wide was his knowledge of books before he was eight. He started to learn Greek at three.

Dr. Johnson :

Dr. Johnson could read easily at three and when still toddling in petticoats he would daily be handed a prayer-book by his mother, shown the collect for the day, and told : "Sam, You must get this by heart."

Remarkable :

She would then go upstairs, but before she could reach the second floor he followed her and 'repeated it distinctly', although he had not read it more than twice over.

One Henry Bradshaw also read well at three and, when a boy at Eton had a library there of over 500 volumes. Whilst still a lad he read through in one year all the standard English poets, including, Chaucer, Spenser and Tennyson.

Even more remarkable was the case of William Sidis. Who read at two and actually lectured on the fourth dimension to a group of learned professors when he was eleven. But his youthful brilliance quickly faded, and he became a clerk at Rs. 90 a week and died unknown at 46.

An American boy from Brooklyn, Arthur Greenwood, mastered the alphabet at twelve months and was made a Master of Physics at only eleven.

John Ruskin was a bookworm at the age of five, having been taught to read in infancy. Before he was six he was familiar with Shakespeare, Scott, Byron and a host of classics.

Musical prodigies are equally numerous and capture popular fancy even more, as witness the recent crop of boy conductors. Handel played the organ, composed and was famous in Germany by time he was five.

At the age of six, Mozart, with a string of excellent compositions already behind him, embarked on a violin, piano and organ tour of Europe. But he was a good example of the flame of genius burning out quickly for he died at the age of only 35.

Chopin, who died when 39, is said to have wept at the sounds of music when still a boy.

Haydn was composing at six, and at that tender age Richard Strauss had written a performable poka.

Mendelssohn was another composer-prodigy, writing much music still loved today, when he was in his teens.

Genius :

In our own day Yahudi Menuin was playing the fiddle well at three, with his sister at the piano. Both Solomon and Pouishnoff were keyboard prodigies, although their gifts were wisely fostered in those early days by long years of study before concert work was undertaken fulltime.

Strangest of all the prodigies are perhaps the unique mathematical freaks, who can do lightning calculations or abstruse problems in their heads whilst still children.

Very few of these turn out to be anything more than a flash in the pan, and most lose their gifts very early, often before adult-hood is reached.

George Bidder, for instance, the son of a Devon Stone mason, could compute the compound interest on £ 4,444 for 4,444 days at $4\frac{1}{2}$ percent per annum in two minutes when only two.

An even more startling prodigy of this kind was Truman Safford, who became a mathematical scholar before he was eight or nine. When only ten he was asked, in a test, to multiply in his head, 365, 365, 365, 365, 365, 365 by itself.

INDIA

In India we have Shakuntala Devi who, own a grown-up woman, solves mathematical problems faster than a computer.

The one-time child genius continues to baffle audiences all over the world with her wizardry with numbers. "What's 2 to the power of 127?" she was asked by a Chinese professor in Singapore. Pat came the correct answer in half a minute-quicker than it could be produced by the most sophisticated calculating machine.

Perhaps it is just as well for the sanity of the world that infant prodigies are so rare.

Mozart was a child prodigy :

Mrs. E. Harley writing that Shakespeare never went to school, says that inherited ability is of little use if the opportunity to apply the training is not afforded to it.

She adds : " For example, would a man with the capacity of *any of our musical geniuses be able. when adult to play his* chosen instrument had he not spent a great portion of his lifetime practicing that instrument, training both hand and ear ?"

The answer is YES : Franz Liszt was the child wonder of his age ; Mozart was an infant prodigy at the age of three ; *Chopin was hailed in Warsaw as a 'Second Mozart' at the age* of eight.

Too clever in figures :

A packed gathering of Chartered Accountants at a regional seminar in the City, found Smt. Shakuntala Devi, the mathematical prodigy, not only too clever but also quick in answering most of their problems. She stood a severe test for over an hour giving up to the ninth root of huge numbers within a a minute like a ready-reckoner.

More than that, when her answer relating to the seventh root of a figure differed from that of an Accountant, the gathering wondered how a chartered accountant with practical experience could go wrong. Her answer was 59 and the accountant's reply was 39. She asked a brother accountant present at the meeting to work out the problem on the blackboard and it was found that the accountant was wrong. He took about 15 minutes to work out the sum, while she gave the answer in less than a minute. She again asked the accountants if they could give the correct answer of 'two of the power of three', the accountants paused for a while wondering perhaps why such a simple question had been put them. But one among the gathering answered, perhaps, deliberately—'nine'. She retorted amidst laughter

that if it was nine and not 'eight' the Income tax department would ultimately be affected.

12 year old child prodigy of painting :

Senaka Senanayaka is a twelve year old Ceylonese boy whose great ambition is to become cricket champion of Ceylon, where cricket is the national sport. In this he resembles boys of his age all over the world who dream of becoming winner of the bicycle tour of France, European soccer champion, a member of the World Series baseball team in the United States or a judo or boxing champion.

Cricket aside, Senaka is a better than - average student who likes sweets and enjoys going to the cinema. One thing, however, that makes Senaka different from millions of other boys of his age is that he is rapidly becoming a world-renowned artist. Since 1959, there have been a dozen exhibitions of his paintings—first in his native Ceylon, and later in the United States, Germany and Great Britain which reveal his very individual talents as a painter. Even between cricket matches, young Senaka has been known to install himself at his ease with paints and brushes and cover an empty canvas with a scene of life in Ceylon, or a painting of the forests of his country and its wild life. His paintings, moreover, are characterized by a profound knowledge of colour, form and movement. At first sight spectators think that his works are those of an experienced artist who has studied for many years and is acquainted with the great master-pieces.

Yet Senaka has never set foot inside an art academy. It would have been difficult for him to have done so because he began to show his amazing talent at the age of six or seven.

There are few examples of prodigies like Senaka in the world, although there have been child prodigies in both music and poetry. But there are certain precedents in Senaka's own family which may explain his gift. His mother is a painter, and his great-grandmother (now 96 years-old was an artist of some fame in Ceylon in her own days.) On his father's side of the

family are a nuumber of men who have achieved political importance. Senaka is a nephew of Mr. Dudley Senanayaka, who was twice Prime Minister of Ceylon and son of the late Rt. Hon. D. S. Senanayake who gained independence for his country and was its first Prime Minister. Senaka grew up in a home where art and knowledge were cultivated intensely.

Senaka's precocity showed itself even before he began to paint. When he was only two-and-a half years old he had already begun to read and write. His bent towards art was discovered in the Royal Primary School at Colombo. Art education held a prominent place at the school and, in order to give a practical creative assignment to the pupils, the teacher planned a collective mural, with groups of four or five children working on each section. The subject was to be inspired by visits to the local zoo or by events from history book.

These murals can still be seen in Colombo and the parts painted by Senaka stand out from the rest. It was this difference between his own talent and that of his classmates which prompted Senaka at the age of six to ask his mother, when he returned home, for paints and paper.

He began painting water colours, and about forty of them made up his first exhibition, which was held in Colombo in 1959. Later his parents gave him oil paints and canvasses. By the time he was twelve, Senaka had already completed his hundredth canvas. His precocity continued to surprise the experts both because of its spontaneity and the maturity with which he expressed himself in his paintings. They are marked by an elegance of colour and decorative movement that would be the envy of many an older artist.

His style is so diverse and has some times such recognisable influences that one might think he was following in the footsteps of the great French impressionists of modern non-figurative painters or even the Byznatines. But in fact this is not the case. Apparently Senaka has never shown the slightest curiosity in museums or art albums and only once in his life has he revealed an interest in a book on art, a monograph of Van Gogh's work which he studied for two days intensely.

Will Senaka's unusual talent continue to develop? For the time being, he is unconcerned about his fame as a child or art prodigy, though that fame is spreading from continent to continent (two of his paintings are being exhibited at the seventh Biennial art exhibition at See Paulo, Brazil). His parents try to keep him out of the public eye, for they want him to complete his schooling like other boys of his age. As for Senaka he continues to dream of that day when he will be cricket champion of Ceylon.

SHE IS A GENIUS AT TWO

A mother whose two-year-old girl can read and write fluently is asking the education authorities if she can send her daughter to school when she is three, in May. The mother is Mrs. Margaret Thompson, 39-year-old Chinese-born wife of Mr. James Thompson, a 56 year-old American who writes books on science for schools.

At their home in Woodcote Way, Reading, England, Mrs. Thompson put two-year-old Maybelle through her paces. She was able to read fluently from children's books and even read a little from books in her father's study, including 'Elementary Biology.' Then she wrote equally well on her black-board and could spell such words as television and telephone. Mrs. Thompson estimates that Maybelle can spell at least 400 words.

In London :

Peter Divis, 4 year old, of chelsea, London. He was singing when one year old, drawing at 2, and writing sensibly at 3.

Indian examples :

(1) Damodar Prasad Chouley, a 6 year old son of Kanhaiya Lal Chouley at Kalahadi village, 18 miles from Jubbalpore.

The child recites passages from Valmiki Ramayana, Tulasi Ramayana, the Gita, Bhartruhari Sataka, Vyasa Smirithi, Mahabharata Agni Purana and Rig Veda (1952).

(2) President Rajendra Prasad received today Santosh Oak, a 3 year old Maharashtriyan boy who speaks and understands four languages namely English, Sanskrit, Hindi and Marathi (1952).

(3) Mr. P.S. Gurusami Pillai of Madurai, a model of memory, I have myself seen.

(4) Sai Sukumar, a boy aged 8, of Masulipatam, has got by heart the whole of Gita and about 800 slokas from Ramayana and other Puranas (1955).

(5) A four year old child from Mysore recites hundreds of slokas from old scriptures like the Vedas, Upanishads, the Brahmasutras etc.

"A Pandit, learning assiduously for 25 years, cannot do this" said learned men."

(6) In the village of Ramannapet, Hyderabad, there is a three month old baby which talks like an adult (1952).

II

Cases of Remembering one's previous Births :

The following cases of people remembering their respective previous births also go to prove the Hindu doctrine of rebirths as convincingly adumberated in the Tirukkural 2000 years ago.

He was born Again :

Are we born again as the Hindus and Buddhists believe, or do we pass this way only once?

There must be thousands who have visited a place for the first time and because their surroundings were so familiar, believed that they had been there in some previous existence. That is no proof, however, of reincarnation.

Dr. Eugene Kolisko, the noted Viennese physiologist, says that everyone is born again, usually after about 1,000 years,

which accounts for so many believing that they were medieval monks, Roman centurions or Greek slaves in a former life. He cites the famous archaeologist, Heinrich Schliemann as proof of rebirth. Schliemann, a successful business man grew vastly interested in the Ancient Greeks. Late in life he began excavating and decided to unearth Ancient Troy. Experts said that the site he choose was nowhere near Troy, but he ignored their advice and proved to be exactly right.

But there are even more astounding cases than that of Schliemann; that, for instance, of the Bralornes, who lived a restricted life in Logan, Utah and had never ventured more than a few miles from home until their son, who had made good, gave them a present for their fortieth wedding anniversary, of a Far Eastern cruise.

When John Bralorne, guide book in hand, stepped ashore at Bombay, he was overcome by the strangest sensation. 'Mother' he said as they arrived at a temple shown in the guide book, 'I've been here before.'

"Nonsense, John." she replied, "it seems familiar because you've been looking at the photograph so long."

Then suddenly both realized that they were familiar with their surroundings and no longer needed the ministrations of their guide. They knew what he told them before the words passed his lips.

They strolled in the King's Garden which John Bralorne seemed to know quite well and once when he looked puzzled his wife reminded, "If you're looking for Osborne Street it's ever there." Yet neither had been out of America before!

Both were astonished at the knowledge the other displayed. Then suddenly John suggested, "Let's take a tram to Toh. I wonder if that old palm tree will still be there?" The remark did not surprise his wife who merely remarked, "It must be 400 years old by now."

When they reached Toh and looked for the tree, it was missing. So was the wooden house they expected to find; in its

place a block of flats. They entered the restaurant under the flats and asked the owner, 'Do you know what stood here originally?' He didn't but said, 'My cook does', and sent for him.

"The house was destroyed by fire", the cook told them "nearby grew an enormous palm—they cut that down."

"Who owned the house and the tree?" asked the Bralornes.

"A family named Bhen?"

"How queer", they chorused, for they never knew till that moment why they had christened their son Bhen Nor. Could they account for their familiarity with the city, but Indians to whom they related their experience accepted it without quibble as proof of reincarnation, for re-birth is part of their belief.

Another example of reincarnation, perhaps proof of it, occurred some years ago in the mountain country of the Lebanon where lived the Dievel Druses, a tribe that believes in the existence of God but quite logically states that prayer is an interference with the Divine Will.

According to W. B. Seabrook, author of 'Adventures in Arabia', at the exact hour of the death of a tribesman, Mansour Atrash, a boy named Najib Abu Faray was born into the family hundreds of miles distant. Like most mountain Arabs he lived in the tight circle of his tribe till he was twenty; then left his village and journeyed to the village where Mansour Atrash had lived.

When he got there he exclaimed, "Why? I have seen all this before! This is my village and my house is up a certain street and stands on a certain corner."

His sceptical companions followed as he traced his way through the twisting, winding lanes straight to Atrash's house. "I put a bag of money in that wall" he pointed to a spot, and sealed it." To prove he was mad the headman had the wall torn down and lo!-there was the bag.

He went to the Vineyards that belonged to Atrash's family, where a dispute was being waged over boundaries and told the wrangling parties precisely where these were and his word was accepted in a Druse court of law. Most astonishing of all, he was recognised and accepted by Mansour's children as their reincarnated father and the family presented him with ten camel loads of grain.

Another case as extraordinary, occurred in India some years ago. S. T. Hollins, Director-General of Police in Hyderabad, visited the parents of a ten-year old girl in Delhi who declared that she was the wife of a man in Muttra in a previous existence.

She was so insistent that her parents took her to Muttra, and when they arrived there she led them to the house of her former husband. She knocked at the door which was opened by a middle aged man. "You are my husband," she stated, much to his bewilderment but when her parents explained they were invited inside.

The girl described each room and its contents with such accuracy that the owner was staggered. "But my wife", he protested, "died eight years ago and you are ten. I have married again".

"Perhaps" the girl replied, "but my body contains the soul of your last wife." She told him about their life together and the nights she had spent in his arms, concluding, "We had no children and when we had been married fourteen years I had a fever and died. I have now been re-born in Delhi."

It was a fantastic story but her former 'husband' agreed that every word she had spoken was true.

The story was reported in the Press and Hindus everywhere accepted it as proof of the doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

The idea that man is born again and again and lives other lives, is no more improbable than that of a heaven where one

suffers the tortures of the damned. No one has returned from either place.

Over 300 cases of rebirth reported :

Over 300 cases, the theory of rebirth, have so far been reported from all over the world and have been scientifically investigated by Dr. Ian Stevenson, Dean of the Department of Neurology and Psychyatry, Virginia University (USA.)

Disclosing this here yesterday at a meeting of the staff and trainees of the Bureau of Psychology, U.P., Dr. Stevenson, who is currently on a visit to India in connection with scientific investigation of cases of rebirth, said India topped the list of such cases. The number of such cases occurring in North India, especially U.P. was more than in other parts of the country.

He said he had come across cases in which persons remembered events of their previous lives.

Dr. Stevenson has been engaged in research work on rebirth for the past 10 years.

Dr. Stevenson said though nothing could be said at present about the theory of rebirth, if it was proved, it would not only have an impact on our way of living but also on neurology, medicine and science.

He said most of the cases investigated by him had been such where persons had died due to viloence or accident in their previous lives.

RE-BIRTH : The Mysteries of God in the Universe :

This is a lucid and scholarly book on a controversial subject The author's argument is this. In Zoroastrianism, Islam and Christinity the doctrine of Karma and re-birth is not accepted, while in Hinduism and Buddhism it is considered vital. The sacred books of these three reglions Zoroastrianism, Islam and Christinity teach the belief in Karma and re-birth. Jesus himself taught this doctrine in Matthew XVI, verses 13 – 14 and

John III, verses 1 to 13. Early Church Fathers like Origen, St. Augustine and Clement of Alexandria held this doctrine until it was prescribed by the Second Council of Constantinople in A.D. 553. The relevant passages in the sacred books of Islam and Zoroastrianism are considered. In addition to these scriptural passages, the evidence given by numerous children who remember their past lives is cited. Such cases have been studied scientifically. Dr. H. N. Banerjee of the University of Rajasthan writes a lengthy introduction and closes with the reflection that the empirical study of such cases is of great importance. He himself has been carrying on such a scientific study and writing about it. The investigations into the past lives of people under hypnosis with proper medical supervision is valuable, The evidence obtained through mediums. particularly in the Life Readings of Edgar Cacye, should be considered. This book is thus upto the minute in its approach to the subject, using the latest researches in psychological and medical laboratories.

Clairvoyance can save life :

Are we really sure that the mind functioning through the brain always depends on the brain ? Mental functions like telepathy and Clairvoyance work independently of the rules of space, time and mass.

If at certain moments some mental functions like telepathy and Clairvoyance work independently of physical rules, memories of previous birth can also somehow survive. The situation appears to be strange but it is true. Let us take an example of a case of extra sensory perception.

Clairvoyance

It was on a Saturday at the beginning of June, Miss Gina Beauchamp, a 23 year old secretary from Cheshire, and her mother were among a crowd of holiday makers chatting happily at Victoria Coach Station, London. They were waiting for their coach to take them to Mansion Airport, Kent, for their holiday flight to Costa Brava.

Suddenly, Gina turned to her mother and said, "I can't go. I know something is going to happen."

Despite her mother's pleading, Gina stuck to her decision. Her disappointed mother carried on alone, and Gina returned home.

A few hours later, Mrs. Beauchamp's plane crashed at Perpignan, in the south of France, and she, together with 82 passengers, was killed.

Was this just a 'coincidence'? Was it just chance that Miss. Beauchamp decided not to go by the plane or could she see disaster impending? If we compare this with thousands of similar cases on record, Gina's behaviour was above and beyond the normal senses. It appears to be a definite example of mental functions, which are beyond the jurisdiction of time and space.

Now, if we judge cases of reincarnation in the light of cases of extra sensory perception, they do not appear impossible. The thinking which holds re-incarnation impossible considers that everything in the universe is within the physical principles of time space and mass, which do not leave any margin for the non-physical element in man on the assumption of which re-incarnation can be considered significant.

Re-Incarnation :

Psychic phenomena like extra-senosry perception are independent of physical laws, so also is the phenomenon of re-incarnation beyond physiological laws, and so 're-incarnation' is a possibility.

There is an unusual case of re-incarnation from England.

"As a girl of eleven I was taken with my brother from our home in Northants to spend Christmas with relatives in Weymouth.

"After leaving Yeovil, our train stopped for sometime, and to my surprise I found the country quite familiar to me, especially a hilly field opposite.

"I said to my brother, 'When I was quite a little girl, I lived in a house near here. I remember running down a hill in that field with two grown-ups holding my hands and we all feel down and I hurt my leg badly.'

"Here my mother broke in to scold me for telling lies. I had never been that way before and certainly never lived there. I insisted that I had, and that when I ran down the hill I was wearing a white frock down to my ankles with little green leaves on it, and the persons holding my hands were wearing blue-and-white checked frocks.

"I said, my name was Margaret then. This was too much for my mother. I was forbidden to speak again till we reached Weymouth. I knew afterwards I could not have run down that hill but the memory still remained as clear as any childhood memory.

Childhood :

"The sequel came seventeen years later. I was motoring with my then employer through Dorset. While having a tyre changed we went to a cottage not far from the Pool where a young woman got us tea.

"While waiting for it, I saw an old glass portrait on and to my amazement I saw it was of myself as I was then, running down that hill, a child of five with a plain, serious face, in a long white dress springed with green.

"I exclaimed, 'why that is me' and of course both my employer and the woman laughed, The woman said, 'well, that child died years ago, but I guess you were just like her when you were small," and my employer agreed.

"Seeing I was interested, the woman called her mother to tell me the story of the child. She said the child was Margaret Kempthorne, the only child of a farmer. The mother of the story-teller at that time was employed at the farm as a daily maid.

When Margaret was about five years old, she was running down a hill with this dairymaid and another when one of the grown ups caught her foot in a robbit hole. They all fell, with the child undermost.

'I wont die'.

"Her leg was badly broken. She never recovered and died two months later, though, as the old lady told me, with rather morbid relish: My mother said that for such a wee girl she fought hard to live, and died just after calling out, 'I won't die.'

"She did not know where the farm was but the market town was Yeovil. I asked, 'when this happened?' and in answer, she took the portrait down and on the back was gummed a slip of paper.

"I read there Margaret Kempthorne, born January 25th, 1830, died October 11, 1835. On the day Margaret died, my father's mother was born, miles away in Northants. My own birthday is on January 25th."

* * *

Here is an extraordinary experience of a Canadian woman being reincarnated.

"I was motoring with my husband in Ontario Canada. As we were approaching Smith's Falls, I started to describe the town.

"My husband knew I had never been in Canada before. So he was surprised when I described a part of the main street. Workmen carefully greeted us and one approached me speaking Italian. Answering in French I told him I was sorry I could not speak Italian.

'But you are Italian, are you not ? You must be and I am sure you are. It is my country, too,' he said in bad French.

"I then thought of my journey, and the apparent knowldge I possessed of Italy, and now this workman insisting that I belonged there.

Telepathy:

"Had I as a peasant woman, trudged up that hillside to the little church? Or perhaps, wandered in pagan abandon among the cypress tress and olive groves? I wonder...."

* * *

Recently a case has been reported from Australia. According to the report Mr. Ernest Bridgs vividly remembers his past life in Egypt.

The above examples are appropriate answers to the question raised in the beginning of the article. If telepathy and clairvoyance can take place which are non-physical in nature survival of memory of previous life is also possible.

CHAPTER XI

TIRUVALLUVAR'S POLITY

Though it is commonly supposed that Valluvar speaks only of hereditary kings, yet there is enough evidence to entitle us to posit the theory that his scheme has a place for a non-king or any one of the citizens to rule the land. Though the Kural, in consonance with its broad treatment of the fundamentals alone of anything, avoiding all minute details and manner and procedures has not stated as to how the non-king or the Republican Chief is to be elected etc., yet there seems to be no doubt about the fact that in the polity of Valluvar there is as much scope for a Republican president as for a hereditary monarch. Dr. M. Varadarajanar also is of the same view.

Out of the ten couplets in the chapter 39 dealing with the Ruler it will be seen that four couplets mention monarchy and kings as such while four others merely refer to one who rules. The balance of two couplets significantly enough refers to the State or Government in the neuter gender as Arasu.

Coupiets on kings :

1. *"These four, courage and lib'ral hand, wisdom*
and zeal that's due

In never decreasing measure are features of a
monarch true." (382)

2. *"If easy access gave a king without the harsh*
words' sting,

The world will highly praise indeed the Kingdom
of that Kin ' (386)

3. *" A monarch who doth even justice mete out and protects*
Will well be specially honoured as a god by his subjects." (388)

4. *" The world will rally 'biding 'neath the crown of that good king*
Whose greatness forbears bitterest words which both his ears do sting." (390)

Any Ruler or Republican Head:

1. *" An army, subject, wealth, ministers, friends and forts—six wings ;*
Who owneth all these is indeed a lion amongst all kings." (381)

2. *" Keen watchfulness and learning and a daring great, these three*
Should ne'er forsake the king who ruleth O'er a good country."

3. *" To him who can protect with pleasing words and gifts galore,*
This world will submit itself as he wished and will adore." (387)

4. *" The one who hath these four; a gifting hand, good grace and straight*
And just sceptre and care for subjects' weal is monarch's light." (390)

Government :

The other couplets 384 and 385 merely refer to the State or Government.

These couplets will surely prove our contention that Valluvar has given a place for Republics too even in his time and therefore his polity is modern enough to suit our Twentieth century politics too.

Is the order of six wings correct?

Though the couplet number 381 mentions the six wings of a State other than the king in the order of army, subjects, wealth, ministers, friends and forts, yet the commentator Parimel Azhagar has thought fit to raise a doubt as to the logical appropriateness of this order; and thinking that it is not a correct order, he makes bold to assert that the poet has adopted this order for the sake of poetical exigencies. And he has also arranged the chapters according to his own conception of the order but opposed to the authentic order in the couplet.

Now, a close examination of the matter will easily convince any one. that Valluvar's order is the most logical and modern imaginable.

Let us take the question of the Armies which is placed first.

In the very first couplet on the Army's Excellence (77) Valluvar says that the fearless army of a king is the chief of all the rich possessions of his.

And P. himself in his commentary says:

"The author speaks of the Army as the foremost of all the possessions of a king because it is the protection for the king as well as for all the other limbs of the State."

Having positively proved the eminence and indispensable nature of the Armies, Saint Valluvar reiterates their importance negatively also in the last couplet of the chapter on forts. In couplet 750 he says that however grand a fort may be in all other respects yet it will be nothing if it is not defended by men of fighting excellence. So, according to the author, the army is the first and the last of the State. That is why he has emphasised its

indispensability in the first couplet of chapter 77 on Armies (the first chapter according to him) and in the last couplet of chapter 75 *on* Forts *(the last chapter according to him).*

The opinion of Machiavelli in his Prince also reinforses this view. " A prince should therefore have no other aim or thought, nor take up any other thing for study but war and its organisation and discipline for that is the only art that is necessary to one who command..." Even Plato in his Republic has attached a very great importance to the army and its organisation.

In the words of Field, an exponent of Plato, " the first stage is the selection of the members of the army, which is to be recognised as a specialised vocation. The superior efficiency as a fighting force of a professional army is the first consideration to be put forward."

The importance of the 'subjects' is next only, if at all, to that of the army. Hence it was that during the second World War all the governments were most zealously devoting their time and talents towards keeping up the morale of the citizens at home. For, any demoralisation of the home-front would have very dangerous repercussions on all other fronts including the armies in the field. Demoralisation or despondency on the part of a nation will adversely affect the very men who are being recruited from among it directly and the production of food and sinews of war in the country indirectly. Hence the British Government in India aptly called the department which dealt with the propaganda for public moral as the National War Front.

In view of the explanation offered in the previous paragraph, the vital role of the food-front in the body politic will be visible to all. Hence it is placed in the middle of all as the heart. In fact, in chapter 74 dealing with the Land or Kingdom, Valluvar does the same thing. Just as food is placed in the very heart of the six limbs of State, it is placed in the very centre and heart of couplet 738, which speaks of the five ornaments of a country such as freedom from disease, wealth, food produce, features of entertainments and fortifications. Thus the third place offered in this couplet 381 to the food production by the author stands justified.

Then comes, of course, the minister in importance. The Allies are the most unreliable and oft-shifting factor and hence their place is practically in the last. The fact that the forts have been placed as the last of the five ornaments in the couplet 738 also justifies us in inferring that the author must have relegated this limb of the fortifications to the very last intentionally in couplet 381. For after all it is the army that ultimately decides the utility of a fort. In the present day it has absolutely no importance. It will now be seen in the light of these remarks that the order of enumeration of the six limbs of a State adopted by Valluvar in the text alone is the most practical, logical and actual order and that the criticism thereof by Parimel Azhagar is untenable and altogether fanciful.

Refer to the fate of the Maginot line of France in the Second World War which was 'over-run by the German Army in one night.

CHAPTER XII

VALLUVAR'S RULER A CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCH

Lord Layton once remarked in 1949 with an oweful lack of knowledge of the fact, "yet we must accept the fact that the conception of a constitutional monarchy has always been alien and quite unintelligible to the millions of India." So far as Valluvar's ruler was concerned nothing could be further from the truth.

It is no doubt true that Valluvar does not in so many words formally declare that his king is a constitutional one. Nevertheless, it would be found on closer analysis that due to a sort of unwritten constitution like that of Great Britain and customs too, the Kuralin King was having no more unfettered autocracy than does Her Majesty the Queen of Britain enjoys today.

The ruler was strictly enjoined to have the qualities of fearlessness, bounteousness, intelligence and perseverance. Expeditious decisions, learning and daring are equally necessary. He must have a profound sense of honour which would instinctively eschew the evil and choose the righteous action. His fame will be far-flung and full only in case he could be easily accessible to the citizens and he could altogether avoid harsh or unpleasant words. He can bring down the whole kingdom to his feet if only he could develop a sense of forbearance and tolerance which would brook the bitterest words of criticism of his policy by friends and opponents alike. He must be fully equipped with all knowledge. He should dread the things that ought to be dreaded and dare things which muat be dared. He must develop a shrewd prophetic sense to foresee events and forestall them. He must attune his conduct to the opinion of the world around him and not run a coach and four into their pet prejudices. Meanness, arrogance and temper should never be in his nature or conduct. He should rid himself first of his own drawbacks before he accuses others of faults.

The chapter 45 on Befriending the Great is not merely a moral exhortation to the king. It is a reiteration of a political duty cast on the king. He must ignore it only at his peril. The word 'Periar' or great men are the veterans and worthy leaders of men who, whether elected to represent them or not, have been commanding universal love and respect from the body politic in so great a measure that any one of them at any time might perforce change places with the ruler. Therefore they constituted, as it were, a powerful though unelected House of Commons, vested with extraordinary powers next only perhaps to those of the general public.

What Dr. S. Krishnaswami Iyengar says will be applicable to this kind of organised society.

" While in form the Hindu Government may be described as a monarchy and even an autocracy and while it may readily even be conceeded that the Hindu monarchy had autocratic powers for application in times of emergency, the actual use of the power was made in a way to satisfy the exacting demands even of a pure and complete democracy, not only in form but more completely in spirit and that is what is really wanted, not the form of it."

Again, what another western author called Gerald Heard remarks is also equally applicable here. This great American thinker, in his book 'Man, the Master' says about the Indian social system that it is an 'organic democracy' and suggests in his work that it is the democracy the world as a whole needs today. Heard defines 'organic democracy' as " the rule of the people who have organised themselves in a living and not a mechanical relationship; where instead of all men being said to be equal, which is a *lie*, all men are known to be of equal value, could we but find the position in which their potential contribution could be released and their essential growth so pursued."

Therefore, Valluvar asserts that the greatest and the most invulnerable strength of a king is the unanimous support of this loose and undefined yet none the less identifiable and powerful body of the elders of experience. They become his critical friends

and castigating well-wishers without whose guidance and correction a king would go to dogs even sans a foe. Their friendship and co-operation are like the capital formation of a going concern. The loss of their followship and friendly support is capable of ten times more of injury and ruin to a king than the enmity of a number of ordinary folks he might incur.

Similarly, the eschewing and elimination of the company and comradeship of the mean and the low is as imporant as the earning and establishing the good friendship of the great. Their friendship will spell one's immediate ruin.

Then Valluvar says the steady and safe rule of a king is ensured by his sense of justice and impartial treatment of offenders. It is not the spear but the straight sceptre that earns a king his victory. The king who rules embracing his subjects with love and justice will himself be embraced by the latter. Denial of hearing his subjects by a king and declining to do justice to them would spell his speedy downfall. A king should strictly avoid tyranny. The flood of tears of the innocent oppressed will wash away his wealth and welfare. A king should steel himself with persevering toil and shield himself against laziness and sloth. A king should avoid bad and doubtful friends and seek and preserve the friendship of the good ones. He should avoid anger and hatred at all costs. Above all a king should never offend or alienate the great men. His doing so is like inviting the wrath of the death-God. In other words the assembly of the great would depose him in no time. With these and other checks and balances the king of Valluvar was quite constitutional and democratic.

CHAPTER XIII

VALLUVAR
ON
MINISTERS AND DEMOCRACY

The Ministers and all aspects of their work are being dealt with by Valluvar in ten chapters.

Valluvar's minister, also like the king, must have steadfastness, learning, high birth and perseverence. He must supplement his native intelligence with bookish lore and strengthen both with a knowledge of the world. He must have the courage of conviction as well as a correct sense of his duty by profferring the proper advice to his ruler, even at the cost of his own life.

The Minister's motives, intentions as well as modes of operation must be no less magnanimous and pure than his mighty goal or aim. He should never do a thing rashly and repent for it later on. Even the sight of his mother's starvation should not force him into an unworthy deed. He should embark upon no scheme for the state which would be condemned by the great men and which would wring out tears from the oppressed. Gains garnered by evil means will go the way they came by. His execution of the schemes for the State must be manly and characterised by persistence even if pain were to dog his foot steps. But what is the most important aspect of a minister's art or qualification and what after all constitutes the most charactaristic feature of a modern democracy is the prominence allotted to speech-making by Tiruvalluvar. This one fact alone is sufficient to prove that the minister had to do a lot of speaking in the Assembly of the elders, among the general public, and in the courts of alien rulers, both by delivering regular speeches of rhetoric and by engaging themselves in wordy sword-thrusts and witty battles with opponents. Hence Valluvar has written three chapters on this aspect alone.

In the chapter of Eloquence (65) Valluvar says the art of eloquence is the greatest and most beneficial of all other arts. Because it is at once the symbol of democracy and the strength of a government. The minister must be so eloquent and captivating in his speech that his own adherents must be enthralled and his adversaries become envious. He should so use the words in a debate or question-hour that the opponent could not score against it with a better word than that. The whole world will surrender to him and carry out the behests of a minister who can address it sweetly and with sumptuous rhetoric. These remarks are so moder as to refer to our own late Chief Minister Mr. C. N. Annadurai as well as his worthy successor Mr. M. Karunanidhi particularly.

One of the remaining two chapters namely (72) speaks of the need for the minister to gauge and measure apt to the nature, mood and standard of an audience, assembly or a court. 'Be shallow with the fools and subtle with sophisticated,' enjoins Valluvar. 'Never try to be learned amongst fools. It is only amongst the most learned that one must prove his mettle.'

The next chapter (73) says that no one least of all a minister should shy at or dread any audience or assembly. 'What is the use of one's learning, if one can't give out boldly what one has learnt ?' asks the Kural.

Therefore, the features of self-restraint, abiding by the will of the public and the elders and need to follow the highest principles of ethics render the monarchy of Valluvar a constitutional monarchy. Similarly. the righteous and beneficial injunctions to be followed by the ministers and the need for them to cultivate and cleverly manipulate the art of rhetoric and the practice of debate go to prove that in Valluvar's polity the ministry was democratic. Thus the constitutional monarchy and the democratic ministry constitute in Valluvar's polity the characteristic features of our contemporary political set up of the Twentieth Century.

Talk III 28—2—69

CHAPTER XIV

VALLUVAR ON THE COUNTRY

" தள்ளா விளையுளும் தக்காரும் தாழ்விலாச்
செல்வரும் சேர்வது நாடு." (731)

" *The never-decreasing crops, the men of skill who understand*
And those of deathless wealth-what doth possess these is a land."

This couplet can be said to refer to the threefold requisite and indispensable features of any viable country to become enviable too.

The classical economists divided the agents of production into Land, Labour and Capital. Alfred Marshal at the end of the 19th century added a fourth factor, organisation or knowledge to include the activity of the entropreneurs also.

About a decade ago our Government of India noted in a preamble to its resolution on scientific policy as follows: " The key to national prosperity, apart from the spirit of the people, lies in the modern age in the effective combination of three factors—technology, raw materials and capital. Of these, the first (technology) is perhaps the most important........."

It will thus be seen that the advanced Economists of the modern age as well as the Twentieth Century Government of India are in complete agreement with our Tiruvalluvar of 2000 years ago on the postulation of the three kinds of factors necessary for an ideal nation.

Here a majority of commentators have interpreted the word 'தக்கார்' to mean spiritual saints and cultured giants. But a few

modern scholars like Dr. B. Natarajan and Dr. Ilakkuvanar have taken it as referring to men of knowledge and technical know-how of both agriculture and industry. I also accept this interpretation.

So also the word 'விளையுள்' refers not merely to foodstuffs or grains but also to all kinds of raw materials like the products of the seas and mines etc.

In the national development of our own country the part played by the foreign technicians in the beginning and our indigenous experts later on is the most important one.

As 'The Sunday Standard' has written in a leading article, on 20-2-66, "Faced as we are with a paucity of capital and resources in a number of fields, the need to give an impetus to technological progress does not have to be emphasised. How is this impetus to be given? It is not enough to produce the men who can do research for we must give them the opportunity to apply their research to solving the actual problems of the nation.

"The scientist has a new and practical way of looking at things and reaching a solution which would not strike an ordinary man. We should avail ourselves of their talent in solving problems ranging from farm productivity to population problems and community development so that a scientific approach can be brought to bear on them."

This is what the 'Hindu' paper's editorial article dated April 4, 1965 said:

"At Pusa, near Delhi, the Indian Council of Agricultural Research Institute has been celebrating its diamond jubilee and looking back on its achievements in producing better strains of rice, wheat, sugar, maize and other seeds. Research is a slow process, but if it is successful, it yields results of very high value to the nation and to the world. Speaking at the celebrations, the Food Minister has claimed that we now have the scientific know-how necessary for achieving an agricultural revolution. In his view, what is needed is a more efficient integration of research, education and extension work."

The latest news from New Delhi says that the gap in the technological know-how in the country is only marginal and that too in a limited number of fields.

In a large number of fields, India has attained self-sufficiency and is in a position to export it. Indian Consultancy services are competent to deal with all problems relating to setting up of fertilizer, steel, cement, sugar and many other industries.

A symposium was organised by the Engineering Association of India and was attended by representatives of consultants, contractors, industrialists, research workers, and planning authorities.

There was general agreement that Indian engineers possessed the know-how to set up integrated steel plants, pig iron, and ferro-alloy plants and were already exporting it to some developing countries. Similarly in the field of chemical industries the Indian Consultancy was adequate to design and build a wide variety of plants employing local and imported know-how.

The symposium however felt that the gaps in new fields like petro-chemicals needed to be filled.

In a joint communique issued lately by the Governments of India and U.S.S.R. they remarked, inter alia, as follows :

"It is a matter of justifiable pride that the Indian specialists and workers, within a short space of time mastered the full productive capacity of the plant (Bhilai Steel Factory) with the help of their Soviet colleagues and are successfully working the equipment with all its complex technology."

As to '*தள்ளா விளையுள்*' particularly with reference to the production of food grains in India, we are just now recovering from the fearful state of depending entirely on our imports of food from abroad. India is a predominently agricultural country 70% of whose population is engaged in the agricultural industry.

Agriculture and industry get the largest chunks in the outlay for the public sector in the fourth Five Year Plan of India.

Organised industry has been allotted Rs. 3000 crores. The outlay for agriculture and irrigation is believed to have totalled upto Rs. 3100 crores.

Our Government hopes to avoid foreign imports and attain self-sufficiency in food within the Fourth Plan period.

As for wealth, India is doing its best to earn more wealth by promoting and rationalising export of Indian goods to foreign *countries.*

'இலம் என்று'

130 Million tonne food target for fourth plan:

The Planning Commission has accepted a food production target of 130 to 132 million tonnes by the end of the Fourth Plan. This target has been projected on the basis of a 100 million tonne potential this year.

The production targets suggested for the major cash crops along with their estimated base-level production this year are : Oilseeds 10.90 million tonnes (8.90), sugar-cane (gur) 15 million tonnes (12.50). cotton 8 million bales (6), jute 7.40 million bales (6.20) and tobacco 445 million kg. (345).

While an annual growth rate of five per cent has been postulated for agriculture as a whole, the growth rate for foodgrains works out to 5.7 per cent.

This is proposed to be achieved by continuing the intensive agricultural strategy. While for food-grains, the major plank will be the extension of the high-yielding varieties and multiple cropping programmes for commercial crops per-acre yields are proposed to be setepped up through a series of package programmes involving intensive use of inputs and improved agricultural practices.

The area under the high-yielding varieties of foodgrains is expected to go up by 39 million acres and that under the multiple-cropping programme by 25 million acres during the Fourth Plan.

Both these programmes are to be implemented in areas with assured irrigation or rainfall.

On the basis of the trends in production and consumption, an overall self-sufficiency in foodgrains is expected to be achieved in 1970-71, the second year of the Fourth Plan.

By 1971, the country may still be deficit in wheat, but surplus in all other major cereals, especially coarse grains. From that year, therefore, either the consumption of wheat will have to be replaced by other cereals or wheat will have to be imported against exports of other cereals principally rice.

If the Fourth Plan food production target is achieved, the country will have a net surplus of one to three million tonnes.

CHAPTER XV

VALLUVAR ON THE ARMY

" Although devoid of strength offensive and
defensive might,

An army gains momentum thro' its grand
imposing sight." (768)

Valluvar says irrespective of an army's capacity for achieving victory, the mere number counts. Its magnitude in size is important and indispensable.

This theory has got confirmed by the greatest Generals of the Second World War.

The Eighth Army commander, General James Van Fleet said in Korea on 5—7—1952 :

" I must agree with Earl Alexander that we would like to have more man power. Every Commander in military history has wanted more troops."

Again, General Mathews Ridgway, the Allied Supreme Commander in Europe, when asked to comment on British Defence Minister Alexander's statement (Field Marshal Earl Alexander) in London that he wished General Van Fleet the Eighth Army Commander in Korea, had more reserves in his own hands said: "When I was commanding in Korea, I often wished I had more reserves. I have never heard of a military commander who was satisfied with his reserves."

" Although an army in its ranks hath fighting
men galore,

An army rid of great Generals can ne'er flourish
any more." (770)

Valluvar's view is that a General alone is responsible for an army's victory.

This has been confirmed by one of the world's greatest Generals, Napolean Bonaparte himself, when he declared that "There are no bad soldiers but only bad Generals." If there is a great General, victory is assured, but if the General is weak, the army alone cannot win.

CHAPTER XVI

VALLUVAR ON THE SELECTION OF EXECUTIVES

1. *"Because the men without Kinsmen have no attachments got,*
   And since they dread not deeds of shame at all, such men choose not." (502)

Valluvar does not want that men of straw with no attachment to the society and relations to feel proud of, should be selected for any job. This same principle still holds good today. Men without antecedents and precedents and connections are not being selected even today.

2. *"The choice must fall on one of noble stock who is e'er free*
   From faults and whose high honour doth from all disgraces flee." (506)

A man with no sense of shame and who is not anxious to avoid degradation is equally unfit for selection.

3. *"Do test the points of strength and test the points of one's defect*
   And testing then which outweigh which. by that excess select."

Even today this principle is being followed in giving the candidates for interview marks and the percentage of marks, higher or lower, decides their fate.

NEPOTISM

4\. (1) *" No one should be save those who know the ways and who somehow*

Could get things done, well braving all, commissioned due to love." (515)

(2) *" To choose some men who are devoid of proper lore, because*

They are thy fav'rite men, will yield thee all the follies gross " (506)

Even now the evil of nepotism is discouraged and condemned. People at the top from the Ministers downwards are still in the habit of giving jobs to people for reasons of favouritism, communalism etc., and not on grounds of merit alone. Such jobbery will produce only inefficiency, corruption and a number of evils.

Indian Express Leading Article of 27—2—69 says:

" But the hunger for office and power has riddled the country's politics and infected its politicians with the bug of casteism. In order to win seats and influence voters, our political parties without exception ponder to this vice."

" அரியகற்று ஆசற்றார் கண்ணும் தெரியுங்கால்
இன்மை அரிதே வெளிறு." (503)

" The faultless men of rarest lore too, if you could but see
And test them subtly, free from lack of wisdom, will not be."

This couplet's practical wisdom is being proved almost every day in the administration of India and every other country in the world. The best, most experienced and sharewedest of officials or executives are found on occasions awefully guilty of grave betrayal of want of common sense in certain very simple actions too. Examples may irritate. Let each one recall to himself such instances in his own experience. Some actions betray intellectual

lacunae or lapses. Perhaps Lord Curzon has crystallised his experience of executives more correctly than others when he declared : ' Departmentalism is not a moral delinquency but an intellectual hiatus."

Richardson observes : " The wisest among us is a fool in some things."

" Nor is he the wisest man who never proved himself the fool," says Lord Tennyson.

" Even Homer nods sometimes"

" The wise man has his follies no less than the fools"—Cotton

" பெருமைக்கும் ஏனைச் சிறுமைக்கும் தத்தம்
கருமமே கட்டளைக் கல்." (505)

" *To test the greatness of each one and each one's*
littleness,
The only touchstone is the way in which his deeds
he does."

This couplet may be said to apply to the crieterion for promoting an employee or executive from his present post. In the present centuary also these tests of efficiency alone are applicable generally in making promotions, though other extraneous and irrelevant considerations like community, relationship, favouritism, and corruption also are not to be ruled out altogether. Valluvar says 'கருமமே' efficiency alone should be the test. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan said : " In a competitive world, if we are to survive, our ablest men should be entrusted with high responsibility."

" எனைவகையான் தேறியக் கண்ணும் வினைவகையான்
வேறாகும் மாந்தர் பலர்." (514)

" *Whate'er the kind of testing of their fitness be*
arranged,
Many indeed get thro' the nature of their jobs too,
changed."

This couplet refers to the impossibility of once for all deciding the complete character of an employee from his appointment upto his retirement. If வினை could be metaphysically interpreted as 'fate', it means that the போகூழ் or waning star of even an inherently and exceptionally righteous and well-behaved executive would unwinttingly and unexpectedly bring about his sudden fall from his usual standard or a faulty step which wil betray him and perchance ruin him also. In such cases the king must weigh all the aspects and circumstances of that isolated 'slip' and adjudge accordingly. A very highly-placed officer travelling third and claiming First Class from the State once in a way does happen in our times.

But the more natural meaning of the word வினை is and should be the nature of the particular deed or the character and nature of the particular department which will spoil and seduce him. One can think of some such departments and deeds in our own times also.

" செய்வானை நாடி வினைநாடி காலத்தொடு
எய்த உணர்ந்து செயல்." (516)

" *Do test the agent's fitness, test the nature of the deed,*
And seeing how they chime with time, commission him indeed."

It is a fundamental principle of administrative efficiency at all times and all climes that there should be a correspondence between a candidate's aptitude, fitness and past experience and the nature and functions of the job he tries for. Though in our own times some attention is being paid by the Administration of the Public Service Commission yet cases of the appointment of square pegs in round holes are not altogether wanting today.

Inaugurating some years ago, the University Employment Information and Guidance Bureau of the Madras University, Mr. R. Venkatraman now Member of the Planning Commission who was then a Minister said that the present day Employment

Exchanges did a 'dull, routine job' of just maintaining registers of people in need of employment. They should make a study of their aptitudes and capacities and make a selection before referring them to their employers. He added that most of the students in professional colleges were there 'by chance', and not by a conscious selection. The advanced countries advised the student to choose a particular profession or vocation which suited his aptitude, by means of various tests, including psychiatric ones. He regretted that no such attempt has been made so far to adopt such tests in this country.

The Vice-Chancellor, Dr. A. L. Mudaliar agreed with this view. A student who got a first class in the Pre-University Examination was immediately considered to be eligible to become a doctor and engineer, he said.

The Minister and the Vice-Chancellor both spoke approvingly of the three-day selection method adopted by the Army where the candidate is put through a series of rigorous tests to find out his real aptitude and ability.

Mr. Venkataraman said a beginning has been made in the selection of candidates for the Industrial Training Institutes and the selection method had resulted in better standards at the institutes.

" வினைக்குரிமை நாடிய பின்றை அவனை
அதற்குரிய னாகச் செயல்." (518)

" Do test and see the fitness of a person for a work,
And make him then for that work 'lone responsible
sans shirk."

This couplet expounds the theory of what the British Government in India used to call the " Man on the Spot theory." This is a very sound one. This may be said to refer more specifically to the post of a collector in a district. Once a collector has been chosen and appointed as the person in charge of a district, he then becomes till he is transferred or removed fully responsible for the complete administration of that district.

The head of the State should deal with the people of that district only through that collector. Ministerial interference almost every day in the day-to-day administration of the Collector, to suit the modern days' political expediencies, open criticism of the collectors acts, summary transfers of him at the mere whisper of a partyman are all the inevitable and characteristic features and consequences of our Twentieth Century democracy but which will sap the vitality of the position of the collector and sabotage the very efficiency, reputation and security of his administration.

Valluvar had insisted upon giving the fullest responsibility to the man on the spot, two thousand years ago.

The couplet 'நாடோறும் நாடுக மன்னன்' (520) speaks of the need to secretly spy the conduct of the public servants, as opposed to the King's own open and personal daily interference with them.

> "*To choose a person, testing not at first his wisdom's worth.*
>
> *And want of trust in chosen one, to endless griefs, give birth.*"

The meaning is obvious.

CHAPTER XVII

VALLUVAR ON CORRUPTION

Couplet number 520 of Tirukkural is as follows:

"*A King shall daily spy the conduct of the one who served,*

Because the subjects will not swerve save when the servants swerved."

This couplet deals with the imperative need for a King's daily checking up the conduct and behaviour of all the officers and servants in the State. This is a warning to the king to be on the look-out for any corruption or misconduct etc., in the government servants. In fact, this is an anticipation of couplet 584 which asks a king to have the conduct of his subordinates and servants in the State, inter alia, checked up and reported on by his spies and Intelligence Bureau.

St. Valluvar says that the citizens will never tread the wrong paths except when the servants of the State misbehave. This is a doctrine of extreme importance having a direct and vital bearing on the modern conditions also. There is a view prevalent to-day that corruption has its origin in the public alone and that the corrupt officials are after all only the victims of the public's temptations. Hence the supporters of this view want the offerer of bribes also to be punished. This is an absurd position from whatever angle it might be viewed. The cases of corruption detected by the Police by adopting the method of 'trap' clearly demonstrate the truth of the inherent corruptibility of certain officials. The way in which the public are treated in certain offices even in the matter of disposing of routine papers will convince any unprejudiced man of the tricks and tactics adopted by a good number of members of the staff of the office, small and big, to extract from the former whatever may be possible. Hence, the principal offenders in cases of corruption are not so much the public as the officers, even according to the author of Kural.

Legislation and actions to be adopted by a modern Government must therefore be based upon this sound fundamental principle.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad, former President of India declared at Hyderabad a few weeks ago in August 1962 that "one who went round the country and wanted to know what people suffered from, would find that the charges of corruption and nepotism were true at least to some extent."

Sri K. Santhanam, an Ex-Minister of the Union Government and the Chairman of the Committe on Prevention of Corruption, wrote a few days ago in 'The Hindu' of Madras, inter alia, as follows:

"Though the proportion of public servants who are corrupt has not probably increased, the mere expansion of bureaucracy and the vast opportunities of corruption afforded by the system of controls and licences which are indispensable for planned economic development suggest an increase in the quantum of corruption. At any rate the belief that this is the case is as corrosive of national moral as if it were the actual fact."

Speking by way of answering a question in the Tamil Nadu Legislative Assembly on the 21st August 1968 the late-lamented and lovable Chief Minister, Mr. C. N. Annadurai remarked as follows:

"The Madras Vigilance Commission has pointed out the existence of speed-money corruption in practically every sphere of government activity. Certain proposals made by the commission are under consideration.".

The evil had been there for a long time and successive government had made sincere efforts to put it down, the Chief Minister said. The difficulty was that it did not come under 'Bribing' an official for going out of the way to favour a party. The order passed by him would be found to be corrupt. Only something was pushed on speedily. This form of corruption was very difficult to detect.

CHAPTER XVIII

VALLUVAR ON RATIONING OF FOOD

"பகுத்துண்டு பல்லுயிர் ஓம்புதல் நூலோர்
தொகுத்தவற்றுள் எல்லாந் தலை." (322)

"The quintessence of all the codes of law of every sect
Is but to share one's bread with all beings and them protect."

Though Valluvar has not mentioned that it is rationing as such, the wording of the couplet is such that it lends itself to the interpretation of having a reference to the modern system of rationing in India. This means one should collect the paddy, divide it into two parts, one for one's own family and the other for the general public or fellow citizens, The portion set apart for the others can be better distributed according to the need of each one. The Government agency alone is the best suited one to do this work. Hence the procurement officials receive the spare paddy from each agriculturist and after pooling the whole lot, re-distribute the rice to all people according to the Ration cards. Therefore this couplet has a Twentieth Century ring about it.

"உழுதுண்டு வாழ்வாரே வாழ்வார்மற் றெல்லாம்
தொழுதுண்டு பின்செல் பவர்." (1033)

This couplet has a subtle refererce to the que system.

"செவிக்குண வில்லாத போழ்து சிறிது
வயிற்றுக்கும் ஈயப் படும்." (412)

This couplet has a reference to the small measure of rationed rice we are having these days.

CHAPTER XIX

VALLUVAR ON REFUGEES

" பொறையொருங்கு மேல்வருங்கால் தாங்கி இறைவற்கு
இறையொருங்கு நேர்வது நாடு." (733)

" To bear the burden of refugees as and when it came,

And payment of its taxes due to King make Kingdom's name."

It applies to the lakhs and lakhs of refugees that had marched into India from East Pakistan, after Partition, the evacuees from Burma who had been arriving in India by a number of ships and also the Ceylon repatriate Indians returning to India in thousands now-a-days. Both the State and Central Government have been spending many crores of rupees over their rehabilitation and settlement in and absorption by this country. Therefore this couplet has a definite and direct bearing on today's India and how this country bravely tackles the problem of its refugees.

CHAPTER XX

VALLUVAR ON SPIES

1. *" Of ev'ry deed of ev'ry subject ev'ry day performed*
   It is the duty of a King to quickly get informed."

2. *" A King's officials, Kinsmen and his hostile people too*
   Who watcheth all these people's conduct is a good spy true."

3. *" A king shall not at all publicly honour his own spy*
   If so he did, divulging he would be his secrets high."

These three couplets particularly on spies are too modern. Today the people of the Central Intelligence Department are having their finger in every pie. No one is excluded from the purview of their ubiquitous spying.

A newspaper report of the agency latest case of a spy being honoured in secrecy will be a modern example of the couplet No. 590.

A New York message says :

" The Central Intelligence last month secretly decorated Gary Powers, Pilot of the American U-2 Spy Plane shot down over the Soviet Union in 1960, the New York Herald Tribune revealed on Wednesday.

A front page report in the paper said the medal was a secret one which Powers could not wear and must not speak about."

Yet these papers have published it.

CHAPTER XXI

VALLUVAR'S IDEAS ON THE CITIZENRY AND ITS CHIEF FEATURES

Almost all the ancient commentators on Tirukkural as well as the leading critics and scholars of our own days like Dr. M. Varadarajanar are now agreed upon the fact that Parimel Azhagar's classification of the last 13 chapters as Ozhibiyal or Miscellaneous is incorrect and unwarranted and that they on the other hand constitute a separate chapter or Part on குடியியல் or citizenry. The reasons adduced by them on behalf of this theory is indeed so overwhelmingly convincing that any impartial student must needs follow their view and not that of Parimel Azhagar.

If so, what does this part tell us ? Just as the ruler in the Kural is a constitutional monarch, whether he be a hereditary king or a highly powerful Republican Head, and just as the Minister in the Kural is a democractic person sustaining his position and his State both on his benevolent and righteous acts and on his persuading powers and powerful eloquence, so also the important limb of the State namely the citizens of Valluvar's Tamil Nadu are also assigned a place of high souled qualities in the former part of these 13 chapters. Even in the order of enumeration of the six limbs of a King's State, St. Valluvar has, as seen by us, quite logically assigned the second place to the குடி or Citizens, next only to that of the Army.

Mr. Nal Murugesa Mudaliar remarks : "And in Kudi Iyal consisting of 13 chapters not even once (the word 'King' occurs). This last feature is remarkable and significant. It is clear that though political power formally resided in the king, it really was endowed by the people and ministers."

Incidentally, we may be permitted to mention here the great resemblance between the principle of sovereignty of the

people herein referred to and to the same in the Twentieth century India. It has been legally and constitutionally laid down as a fundamental doctrine that in India the residuary power resides neither in the Parliament nor in the Judiciary but in the citizens or people of this country.

Mr. Nal Murugesa Mudaliar continues as follows:

"Although Tiruvalluvar uses the words அரசு, வேந்து, மன்னன் etc. to denote the Head of the State, he frequently refers only to his functional descriptions as கோலொடு நின்றான் (522) and காவலன் (560) etc. In the Kural polity the people or மக்கள் are not mere subjects to be ruled but citizens who participate in the political power and responsibilities."

Here also the present day Indians are in the same position in free India.

The citizens of Valluvar's State were characterised by certain qualities which when compared with the qualities of the Twentieth Century citizens of this country, will be to our own disadvantage. Those born in noble families were of good conduct, truthfulness and a sense of shame. Smiles, bounteousness, sweet words and avoidance of libelling others also made a citizen. Even in their nadir of poverty they would not commit acts of disgrace. They were universally polite and courteous and humble to all fellow citizens and very shy and modest. Are we—the Indians of today—anywhere near this ideal ?

Their sense of honour was such as would be a model to all men of all countries. The fallen ones faced the world with self-respect; the highest ones greeted their neighbours with humility. They deemed those who had fallen from their high standards as no better than the hair fallen from the head. Just to earn one's bread no one went cringing to those who treated one with scorn. The citizens preferred death to loss of honour.

Their ideal was greatness. They always aimed at the achievement of the rarest and greatest deeds, like the Russians and Americans of today. They ever befriended the great.

Littleness of mind indulged in the luxury of self-adoration ; lovely greatness was always humble. They never betrayed the bad things of others.

The ancient Tamil polity of Valluvar developed a particular quality amongst its citizens called சான்றாண்மை—perfectness. Love, Honour, Social usefulness, favouring grace and truthfulness were the five great pillars upon which rested in majesty this god of perfectness. We of the Twentieth Century will do well to search our own heart to find if we have even the remotest claim to be the lineal descendants of these early forbears of ours. They would neither kill any being nor expose their neighbours' faults. They used to be humble with even their foes and thus conquer their hateful hearts. They showed their true greatness by not indulging in bitter and intemperate controversies with all sorts of men, as we of today are only too prone to do. They at once bowed out of such nasty situations by unashamedly owning defeat even at the hands of their unequals. These two magnanimous qualities of humility with foes and confession of defeat before the low, if only we could practise or possess them today, would solve all our national problems from A to Z. The false sense of self-conceit and self-inflation born in almost every one of us from our new-won freedom and ill-digested democracy drive us into political madness and feverish frenzy, resulting in the manufacturing of hatred, jealousy, recrimination, riot, revolt, reprisal and orgies of destruction and death which are the most menacing monuments of our national depravity and degeneracy. "What profiteth a man if he gaineth the whole world, and loseth his soul ?" May our Kural worshipping moderns make up their minds to move in this spirit of Valluvar !

What is the use of one's perfectness if one could not return good alone even to those who have done one nothing but injury ? Even the poverty in the perfect ones is a piece of precious ornament. It is because of the existence of such noble ones that the very world is subsisting. If they too lose their goodness, the world will bury itself below and perish.

Culture and kindness and humility were also the leading characteristics of the ancient Tamil citizenry. Mere intellect sans

cultured conduct was discounted. These were the noble and national traits of the Tamil citizens of Tiruvalluvar. Above all they had a keen sense of shame. Modesty in as much as manly virtue as it is a feminine one. It is this which distinguishes one from the animals. The citizens' conduct without a sense of shame was deemed as a disease. They used to feel ashamed of their own deeds of disgrace as much as those of others too. The life of the shameless citizens was like the soulless strutting of wooden dolls on the stage.

Let the modern Indians check up their Twentieth Century moral code of the citizens. Is not India seething to day with acts of barefaced shamelessness almost every day? If we are true worshippers of Valluvar, let us not practise idolatry herein also. Let us revive the righteous era of the Tamil Veda in our thought, word and deed.

Lastly, every citizen worked zealously and ceaselessly for the upliftment and advancement of his family also. Profound wisdom and pefect perseverance lifted up one's family. God himself would tuckup his sleeves and rush to the aid of one who is determined to raise the status of his family. The whole world will befriend him who works for his family's worthy rise with a faultless conduct. A manly citizen is he who raises up his family's status and stature. The body and mind of one who is whole heartedly engaged in and engrossed with the Himalayan task of upraising his family without miseries, do themselves become the temple of pain all through his life. That is his keen sense of duty for his family and sacrifice for its other members.

Society :

There were also black sheep in Valluvar's social fabric. The despicable and the degenerate also strutted upon the stage. They were humans just because as Portia says "God made them, therefore let them pass for men." Their own untrained will and unashamed conscience were the law unto themselves. Their motive force was fear whenever it was not selfishness. They tom-tommed every secret they came by. They will not part with a grain save to those who broke their jaw-bones. They may perhaps be of

some use like the sugar-cane, if crushed to yield something by outside compulsion. They used always to insult and humiliate lesser fries than themselves. They cannot even brook the mere sight of other and better placed people eating well or dressing themselves decently. The moment a chance offers itself they will be the first to offer themselves for sale. Such a despicable lot of the depraved and the degenerate do find their echoes and successors even in our Twentieth Century India. The less said about these tribes the better.

Wealth and poverty :

Even in this Utopian world of Valluvar there are some bones in the cupboard. There were men of wealth no doubt but they had no conscience individual or social. They were the rich men who had amassed fabulous wealth but since they themselves never enjoyed it they were as bad as dead. Such bundles of flesh who never cared for fame were a burden on earth. If they do not want to be loved by many for their charity what else do they think of leaving behind them as their heritage ? Their wealth, unused by themselves and undistributed to others is compared to the beauty of a spinster which has been useful neither to herself nor to other men. His wealth is like unto the poisonous tree in the midst of the town. Such a wealth will pass into unknown hands after them.

Valluvar's idea is that if in accordance with his own chapter on social help or duty to Society (22) the rich people could share their wealth and help the needy of their own accord, the country would be a paradise on earth. We must, as Dr. T.P.M. says, read this chapter also under the heading of citizenry. Valluvar says he alone who knows and does his duty by his society can be deemed alive; those who don't are mere dead corpses. Are not all their wealth amassed through their striving meant only for helping their neighbours ? This doctrine of the Kural can be said to be the origin and parent of the 'Trusteeship Theory' of Mahatma Gandhi of 20th century. A truly conscientious wealthy man will be a real socialist in action. His wealthy will be like the tankful water, fruit-bearing tree and a medicinal tree respectively, just in the midst of a town or village for the thirsty

ones, hungry ones and the sick ly to help themselves with freely and at any time. This is the Sarvodaya of Gandhi. This is indeed Socialism without tears. Even in their fall, they would strive to keep up their spirit of charity. If one should be ruined as a result of following this spontaneous Socialism, it is as well that one purchases it by even selling one's own self. Such a socialism has no equal or better either in heaven or on earth. These rich men are rare and righteous like the very clouds which pour their rain on earth expecting or seeking no return.

It is therefore the failure of these Haves to sustain the Havenots in the land which is mourned and chastised by Valluvar. It is on account of this failure there is miserable poverty in the land and the consequent evil of beggary. So Valluvar treats about these social evils. He devotes one chapter to poverty and two to begging. There is nothing like poverty which is as painful and degrading as poverty itself. It kills one's self-respect, self confidence and soul itself. It is a drag on and danger to the very society and its advancement.

Due to this poverty some people go abegging. Begging has been morally banned by Valluvar. Even so the Twentieth Century India (at least urban India) has banned begging, but with no success. The most celebrated couplet which curses the very author of the world or the authors of a political constitution to destruction is 1062.

" If he who shaped this world hath so ordained that some men must
Subsist on alms alone, may he too wand'ring go to dust." (1062)

Modern critics refer this word 'உலகியற்றியான்' to the makers of the political constitution of a country who fail to feed all their countrymen. Our own Indian Constitution has laid down in the Fundamental Rights that no citizen of this country shall die of starvation for want of food. No doubt our conscience is clear. But the country is still in fear of poverty and begging.

CHAPTER XXII

VALLUVAR ON PROHIBITION

" The multi-loyal maids, the liquor and the dice—
these three

Are dear attachments of the men from whom doth
fortune flee."

" இருமனப் பெண்டிரும் கள்ளும் கவறும்
திருநீக்கப் பட்டார் தொடர்பு." (920)

According to Valluvar the three cardinal sins which have to be eschewed by mankind are (1) public women, (2) liquor and (3) gambling.

We shall first see how far the Twentieth Century has responded to the righteous call of Valluvar in the world in general and in our country in particular.

Drinking is at once a personal as well as a social plague. Its evil consequences are mental, physical, social and spiritual. Hence it must be eschewed by propaganda by society, if possible and by state legislation, if necessary.

" The men asleep are not diff'rent from those who
are quite dead

The men who quaff the liquour are but those with
poison fed." (926)

It is not a mere rhetorical flourish. The word poison is scientifically and literally significant. Here is an explanation of the physically dangerous consequences of liquor-drinking.

Danger in drink 'நஞ்சுபானம்'

Alcohol dehydrogenate is an enzyme which catalyses the breakdown of alcohol in mammals.

This enzyme exists not only in yeast and plants but also in fish and mammalian liver. This enzyme contains a significant quantity of zinc which is at the active site and indispensable to enzymatic activity.

The high contact of this enzyme in yeast serves to produce alcohol in the fermentation process. It is well known that indigestion of large quantities of alcohol produces cirrhosis of liver, which is destruction of the liver cells and fibrous tissue replacement.

Damage to the liver causes gastro-intestinal upset. Indigestion of food, loss of appetite, and accumulation of fluid in the abdomen which presents as distended abdomen, anaemia, and swelling of the feet. When the body is unable to handle the continuing load of alcohol, chronic liver damage is to be expected leading to nonsynthesis of protein and of enzymes such as alcohol dehydrogenate.

Alcohol dehydrogenase activity varies with individuals; hence their capacity to detoxify alcohol also varies. That is why certain individuals escape damage to the liver while others who consume far lesser quantities get liver damage.

It is wrong to think that if one consumes adequate food with alcohol no damage to the liver will occur. Whether the stomach is empty or filled with food the toxic products produced will certainly damage the liver.

Disulfiram or Antabuse is used in the treatment of alcohol is consumed after taking the drug, toxic symptoms with severe nausea and vomiting occur and may cause disgust for alcohol in the patient. This has not been very successful as alcoholics do not choose to take the drug and then drink the alcohol.

Tincture of Angelica taken on empty stomach in a dosage of ten drops in an ounce of water, once daily regularly for several months has helped some alcoholics to give up drinks. This is an alcoholic extract of angelica in very high dilutions and available only at a few homeopathic chemists. Its mode of action is not known as no research has been done on homeopathic drugs except a few.

Durban's chief magistrate says, 'Drink and debt cause most delinquency.'

'Drink and debt by parents are the main causes of juvenile delinquency,' says the Chief Magistrate of Durban, Mr.A.F. Wilson. He gave this view while addressing the annual meeting of the Durban Creche and Children's home yesterday.

'There would always be child delinquency, whatever the cause.

'And as long as we have delinquency, we need child welfare,' he said.

Mr. Wilson said delinquency was not inherent. It could easily be caused by environment.

At all levels :

Child delinquency was found at all social levels. A recent survey had shown that a man who was a drunkard and had no job had the same effect on a child as a man who was obsessed by his career.

"The abuse of alcohol leads parents into debt and from there they seek consolation in alcohol. This often lead to delinquency amongst the children," said Mr. Wilson.

Alcoholism's huge cost to S.A.:

Alcoholism is costing industry in South Africa R. 30 to R. 40 million a year, according to estimates by Dr. G.M. du Plessis, Chairman of the South African National Council on Alcoholism,

'And industry can play a vital role in combating the problem on a national scale,' says Dr. Du Plessis in an article in the Department of Labour bulletin 'Rehabilitation in South Africa.'

"Industry in this country has generally not yet fully accepted that alcoholism, a wide spread and disabling disease, affects not only the family or the community, but also industrial management to an extensive degree."

Greater portion :

He compares alcoholism in industry to an iceberg—" only a small portion is obvious while the really dangerous and by far great portion is submerged and not readily discernible."

Dr. due Plessis says there are several reasons why industry has failed to appreciate the problem ; misguided belief that all alcoholics are easily recognisable ; failure to appreciate the extent of the problem and its cost to the economy in terms of absenteeism, loss of productivity, concentration and judgment ; and the belief that it is a moral problem affecting only the degenerate and weak-willed.

'At a conservative estimate three per cent of the staff in an industrial undertaking could be alcoholics. Most people look only for the final stages of the disease, but it is essential to take into account the 'concealed problem drinker' who costs industry more than is realised,' adds Dr. du Plessis.

South Africa's unenviable drinking reputation :

There has been an alarming increase in the consumption of hard liquor in South Africa. According to statistics people in this country drank 5 m. gallons of brandy last year.

In 1963 South Africans drank 61,300,000 gallons of alcoholic liquor—an increase of 81,300,000 gallons over 1962.

South Africans have thus earned the unenviable reputation of being among the hardest drinkers in the world.

Condemned :

I was disturbed to see the Bishop of Johannesburg, the Rt. Rv. Leslie Strading, saying that it is the 'excessive misuse of alcohol which is causing concern.'

I would have thought that Churchmen would condemn alcohol completely, and would not defend its use in moderation. The consumption of strong drink is condemned in the Bible.

Since the repeal of prohibition in America, that country has reaped a fearful harvest in prostitution, crimes of violence wrecked homes, highway accidents and divorce.

> *Alcohol is not a revenue collector. On the contrary, it is a contributor to the physical mental and spiritual deterioration of man.*

I feel the only way the Church can combat alcoholism is to preach total abstinence.

People should not be ecnouraged to drink more. More drink only brings more misery, poverty, crime and alcoholism.

India drinking among women : Delhi survey's findings :

Though drinking may safely be presumed to be largely a male phenomenon in India, it was noticed that drinking did prevail among women in two distinct socio-economic groups. Women in high socio-economic groups, such as wives of high officials and well-to-do business men and career women were found among the upper class women drinkers.

This was one of the main conclusions of a sample survey of drinking habits in Delhi during 1964-65 conducted by the Delhi School of Social Work, which were placed on the tables of the Lok Sabha by the Minister of Planning, Mr. B.R. Bhagat.

According to the survey the other group of women drinkers came from residents from slum neighbourhood. There was no interesting difference between these two groups of women

drinkers. Whereas the upper class women came largely from the younger age group of 20—29, among women in slums drinking was more common among older women of 40 years and above.

Most drinkers were first initiated to drinking when they were *between 20—29 years. There was however, a fair number who* had their first drink before they were 20 years. U.S. Children Start Drinking at 14.

U.S.A.: Despite all the laws, the average child in the United States to-day drinks at the age of 14, a spokesman for the American Medical Association says :

Dr. Marvin Block, Chairman of the Association's Committee on Alcoholism, said yesterday that in many U.S. suburbs, 85 per cent of the children drink at 14 years of age. About 75 per cent of that number drink with their parents' permission.

Dr. Block said :

"The fact that children drink so early makes a 'farce' of *legal age statutes," he added.*

Dr. Block addressed the ninth annual Ontario Youth Conference on alcohol problems.

The disease of drink :

Careful surveys have been able to estimate how much alcoholism costs a country's industry in terms of money. But *nobody is able to tell* what is the cost in terms of human degradation, misery and illhealth. These are the elements in the tragedy of alcoholism that can be measured only by *personal experience* and intimate association.

It follows that if the loss and suffering cannot be assessed, neither can the value of the work that is being done to help *alcoholics to reahabilitate* themselves be turned into a statistical record. But something of the heroic story of reclamation can be told in the case histories of those *who come under* the fortifying influence of Alcoholics Anonymous.

Until this brotherhood became an anti-alcoholic force little more than twenty years ago alcoholics were rarely distinguished in the popular image from other excessive drinkers. Today they are recognised as victims of a disease, a disease which can be held at bay but which cannot be cured.

Finding faith :

The treatment is mental and spiritual as well as clinical. It is a process of acknowledgement and resolution, an inspiration to come to terms with a malady that is motivated by alcohol. The faith that is given to alcoholics through the inspiration of personal and corporate effort is expressed in the prayer that greets each new day—"God grant us the serenity to accept the things we cannot change, courage to change the things we can, and wisdom to know the difference."

The thing these men and women cannot change is the ugly fact of alcoholism and what it does to human lives; the thing they can change is their own surrender to the temptation of strong drink. And the wisdom to know the difference is implicit in their acknowledgement of a physical fact—the fact that alcoholism is a disease, not just a social disgrace.

Work of friendship :

Scattered about the world there are small corps of social workers and much larger bands of acknowledged sufferers always on hand to help, guide and inspire those who need it. Friendship and understanding take the place of society's repugnance and condemnation. It is a campaign that knows no frontiers of class, creed or religion.

In Durban the work is centred at a home called Lulama, which functions, under the auspices of the South African National

Council on Alcoholism, and it is for much-needed expansion that an appeal has gone out for 13,000 Rands. At this centre patients are given medical treatment and occupational therapy.

A new and fully-equipped recreation and therapy room is an urgent need. It is a small amount to ask for the needs of a mission which can and does save innumerable lives from ruin and despair.

Society makes many a more lavish investment in causes that bring a smaller dividend.

Anglican bishop urges prohibition :

"The Durban Press has recently given considerable spaces to the question of liquor. Your leading article on March 26 is specially appreciated.

"The misery associated with drinking far far outweighs its reputed delights. The alcoholic is seen and either pitied or despised; but what is not seen is the misery of wives and children who fearfully await daily the return of their 'bread-winner', who must not speak or make any noise because he is in his usual bad mood.

"There is really only one answer to this greatest problem with which our country is faced—prohibition. You allow that dagga should be prohibited ; then why not liquor ?

"The U.S.A. tried it, and found it of inestimable benefit. In spite of all the grag running, the speak easies and the like, the whole community benefited by the removal of the public house and bottle store. Big money brought about repeal, and big money has done its best to hide the good results of prohibition ; but the record is there for any who wish to read of reduction in crime, gaol accommodation, mental illness, etc."

P.O. Box 286,
Pinetown.

—S.C. BRADLEY,
Bishop.

INDIA 'ESSAY IN ESCAPISM', THE HINDU, MADRAS

"The outcome of the deliberation of the All India Congress Committee on Prohibition is on expected lines. While the professed Gandhians were given an opportunity at Panaji to let off some steam, a compromise formula has been adopted that turns down in effect the demand of the 100 members of the AIOC, who requisitioned the meeting in Goa, even while appearing to appease them. The resolution as amended and ultimately adopted by the session is a pious but cautious reiteration of the objective of the Congress, though some truth has been sought to be put into it by the stipulation that " the Working Committee should, in consultation with the Congress Chief Ministers, draw up a programme, so that the policy (of prohibition) will be implemented within a period of seven years, beginning from October 2, 1969."

What would have come as a surprise to the people at large is not the resolution that finally emerged but this phenomenon of the top leaders of the country and government wasting all this time and effort in beating what is obviously a dying if not a dead horse. And many may be inclined to regard the heat sought to be worked up over this question as nothing but an essay in escapism by those who feel unequal to facing the more urgent and crucial issues of the times. The dry law has already been relaxed even in Congress-administered States, because its enforcement has proved virtually impossible. The Tek Chand Committee as well as other impartial enquiries into the working of Prohibition have clearly confessed that the policy is a failure. Far from the people being weaned from the drink evil, spurious and harmful concoctions are being freely sold and consumed to the detriment of the health and often even the lives of the addicts. A State Government may be made to give up ' the tainted money ' from excise revenue only to let it flow into the pockets of anti-social elements like the bootleggers who have prospered enormously under the cloak of Prohibition and obviously have a vested interest in its perpetuation."

"Dr. Sushila Nayyar's doleful plea that those in charge of implementing the policy (of Prohibition) should be prohibited from drinking and her pathetic confession that Congress legislators and

Ministers could with impunity report to the police the theft of liquor bottles from their homes would show the kind of lost because she and her friends are trying to bolster up. Rather than seek to enforce by law a reform that has little popular support and has tended to promote official corruption and disrespect for all laws by the open and widespread defiance of one of them, the Gandhian believers may be serving the cause better if they go to the people, particularly the poor, and try to wean them from the evil by persistent propaganda. Insistence on a time schedule for the enforcement of Prohibition appears wholly unrealistic in the light of past experience in many States and the firm views recently expressed by even the Union Home Ministry on the Tek Chand Report. And so, it will be no surprise if the 7-year schedule now envisaged at Panaji shares the fate of a similar three-year deadline set by the Congress High Command even in 1937."

Against prohibition :

The Niyogi Committee on Prohibition reached the conclusion : "To pursue Prohibition in the direction in which we have been doing i.e. to pursue a phantom, a veritable will O' the wisp, which is destined to lead to disaster.

"On a full consideration of various criticisms and suggestions we are unable to discover any effective method by which total Prohibition can achieve eradication of the drink, or even hope to combat it with the hope of eventual extinction." **1—7—52**

KURAL COUPLET :

Couplet :

"While in his sober state, if he could see a drunkard's fate.

Won't he remember all the ills of his own drunken state?"

" கள்ளுண்ணாப் போழ்திற் களித்தானைக் காணுங்கால்
உள்ளான்கொல் உண்டதன் சோர்வு ? " (930)

Almost following the truth of this couplet but of course unconsciously, the authorities of a city in Japan are inflicting a novel but very scientific punishment on the drunkards. The wild blabberings and blurtings of the drunkards while in the police custody after their arrest are being recorded on tapes and after they return to sobriety, the offenders are forced to listen to the music of their own voice made and recorded during their drunken state. The sadder drunkards become wiser too after this treatment because they admit that this efficacious punishment is not only more painful than even a fine but also more shameful yet educative. (Ananda Vikatan)

Conclusion :

In spite of all these somewhat formidable arguments adduced against Prohibition and all human attempt at eliminating the evil of drink from our society, India is still more or less firm in its national resolve to stick on to Prohibition. Though some of the States in India like Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, and Maharashtra have boldly scrapped their respective Prohibition laws, yet there are some heroic states like Tamil Nadu and Gujarat which are determined to tenaciously hold on to Prohibition, irrespective of any consequences and every adverse criticism.

So to begin with, Mahatma Gandhi's main plank of his constructive programme was Prohibition. The whole nation has accepted it.

Secondly, Rajaji introduced Prohibition in Tamil Nadu during his first Ministry itself of 1937 even prior to Swaraj.

Thirdly, and this is most important, the policy as well as the principle of Prohibition has been incorporated into the Directive Principles of the Indian Constitution itself.

All honour to our late-lamented Chief Minister Mr.C.N.A. who had tenaciously stuck to and stood by the policy of prohibition, like a true Gandhiite, against financial and fiscal temptations to the contrary and all other discouraging factors. He has thus earned the golden praises from Sushila Nayyar and the heart-felt

gratitude of millions of housewives in this State. Mr. Karunanidhi, his successor, is also equally strong in this policy.

PROSTITUTION AND GAMBLING

The fact that prostitution and gambling have been bracketed with the drink evil and the fact that all the three evils have been placed in Perutqal along with the Ministers etc. clearly point out the aim or intention of Valluvar. These three evils in his view are not merely personal sins but gigantic and public sins affecting a wide circle of human beings directly and indirectly. Hence Valluvar wants these national evils to be put down by all possible effective means by the State itself with all its vital and varieties of weapons at its disposal. This is also Gandhi's view.

Hence the State's duty it is *to eliminate these threefold evils* of drink, damsels and the dice which tend *to damn the whole* society.

In Tamil Nadu today, thanks to the magnanimous and statesmanlike policy of the late lamented Chief Minister and his worthy pupil and successor Mr. Karunanidhi, the policy of *Prohibition is still being continued* and is *most certain to continue*, irrespective of its *adverse or unfavourable consequences. In fact* in this as in so many other cases the late Chief Minister was simply following the Kural injunction.

1. *"The deed which yieldeth neither glory nor a benefit true*
   Into a King, his min'ster must by ev'ry means eschew." **(652)**

2. *"Though he should see the sight of his own mother's starvation,*
   The deeds which noble souls reprove, he too should always shun." **(656)**

3. *"The extreme poverty of those of noble souls indeed*
   Is by far better than the wealth obtained thro' sinful deed." **(657)**

Hence all glory to his unsullied memory.

Regarding the offence of prostitution, there is a legal prohibition of this sinful profession throughout the State of Tamil Nadu's cities. In this race against human nature the success of the State effort cannot be cent per cent.

With reference to gambling, there is a law prohibiting gambling, betting, etc. in public places. Successive State Governments have been going on promising to scrape off horse-racing and the attendant betting etc. The present C.M. seems to take the view that no isolated taboo of races in one State alone would do but India must pursue (At CBT). The present Government is also apparently not very serious, *if not very sincere*, in the matter of abolishing the Races. Here also the vicious tendencies of mankind and a variety of vested interests stand in the way of a speedy abolition of the Races.

CHAPTER XXIII

VALLUVAR'S VIEW ON CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

" A king's punishing th'hardened, murd'rous men is like the deed

Of ridding Crop-filled paddy-fields of cumbrous growth of weed." (560)

The couplet deals with the punishment of a murderer by the king or the judge under him.

But unfortunately a person like C.R. is pitted against the abolition of capital punishment. He has made a strong plea for inflicting capital punishment on murderers. And what is worse, he cites this very couplet for his authority.

C.R. wants capital punishment :

" Civilization depends on firm government and severe punishment of criminals. The criminal himself pays no regard for life. He delivers judgment without trial. He shows no mercy. But we talk of leniency and pity to the criminal. One who acts murderously forfeits all rights to pity. We should not be cruel but we should not punish society in the desire to show pity to unrepentant criminals."

Mr. C. Rajagopalachari cited verses from the Tirukkural which pointed out that, "it is not a matter for blame but the office and duty of a ruler, who should protect his subjects against external foes and look after their welfare, to be severe with those that are found to offend against the law. Punishment for grievous offences is like weeding of fields necessary for the protection of crops."

C.R. added that there was no man kindlier or wiser one than Tiruvalluvar. He said these things for the good of people.

THE SUNDAY STANDARD'S EDITORIAL

Dated 29—8—1965 is:

Capital punishment:

There is nothing very new or striking about the recent debate on the death peanlty, at the symposium of Bombay lawyers except that it once again reveals man's uneasy conscience over this baffling and undying topic.

"My heart is for abolition, but my mind wavers," said Mr. Justice H.R. Gokhale. This neatly expresses the perplexity of all *serious-minded people.* *Paraphrased, it means that* sentiment is against the death penalty, but reason recoils from the sentimental suggestion.

Long ago, Lord Chief Justice Hewart similarly summed up the matter: "The death penalty is an evil, but a necessary evil." No decent person maintains that capital punishment is an unmixed good even from the strictly penal standpoint."

* * * *

The Government pleader felt that killing a human being in the name of law is repulsive. Nobody says it is attractive or amiable. No judge has relished hanging people, except Judge Jeffreys—although some people believe that even Jeffreys was a case of giving a dog a bad name and hanging it.

At the same time, a normally robust mind views with horror the killing of an innocent person, particularly a little child from such sordid motives as greed, lust or revenge. In atrocious cases of murder, sentimental sympathy for the murderer implies callous unconcern for the victim.

It is idle to talk of the reformative role of legal punishment in such a context. There are criminals beyond the pale or possibility of reform; and the security of society demands that they should be eliminated.

* * * *

The analogy of fraudulent traders who make spurious drugs resulting in mass murders, for earning filthy lucre, is singularly inept. It may be an argument for hanging the avaricious dealer, but not for sparing the atrocious murderer.

The recent move in England for amending the rigid and uncompromising English law of murder and abolishing the capital sentence has once again revived the dead horse.

But what takes place in England need not affect our law which, as it stands, has always been humane and adequate, meticulously distinguishing the degrees as well as qualities of murder. And our people—judges, lawyers and legislators—have an ingrained horror of taking life and scarcely need to be goaded into being more humane. There is no need to follow the British example in a hurry.

Death penalty repeal :

The proposal for the abolition of capital punishment has met with strong opposition from the States, it is learnt.

The Law Commission, which is now considering the matter at the request of the Union Government, is therefore, unlikely to commend the proposal.

The commission sent out an elaborate questionnaire some time ago to the State Governments, the judiciary and also to the Lawyers Associations. Later, the scope of inquiry was widened and the comments of more organisations and the common public were invited.

The replies to the questionnaire are being processed. But the consensus that has emerged clearly does not favour the abolition of the death penalty at this stage of development of the country.

Some of the State Governments, notably those which are faced with dacoity menace, has felt that the abolition of capital punishment would lead to an increase in heinous crimes.

VALLUVAR'S VIEW

Parimel Alagar has gone out of the way for no justifiable or known reason and recast the words in a different order and then given out the meaning of this couplet.

The original order in the couplet is

'கொலையிற் கொடியாரை வேந்தொறுத்தல்' (550)

P's order is :

'கொடியாரை வேந்து கொலையின் ஒறுத்தல்'

Manakkudavar also follows the same order and is one with P. in his interpretation.

It is Kalingar alone who takes a normal, sensible and natural view which must be the real view of St. Valluvar also. Hence this interpretation has been followed in my translation of this couplet.

"The word 'கொடியார்' means 'Athathayigal' in Sanskrit and they are said to be of six kinds like those guilty of arson, poisoning, murdering with deadly weapons, theft of property, dispossession of others' landed property and lust for one's neighbour's wife."—Sukra Needhi (3 : 41)

Now the very fact that St. Valluvar has simply mentioned the word 'ஒறுத்தல்' (Punishing) and has not stated 'கொலையின் ஒறுத்தல்' (Punishing with death) is the clearest proof of his intention to make a king avoid inflicting capital punishment even on offenders guilty of murder.

The comparison instituted by the author between the punishment of the offender and the weeding out of the plants is also significant. It means that the punishment inflicted must also be similar to the act of weeding out plants, just sufficient to eliminate the presence of undesirable and harmful elements from society. This process of elimination need not necessarily mean removing by killing outright. The weeds uprooted and cast off from out of the fields have still a chance of growing if they be transplanted

elsewhere, away from a paddy-field. Hence, the possibility of the removed weeds for living again elsewhere, also argues the possibility and even the advisability of the murderous men living somewhere else than in the society, say in a prison cell. To push the comparison one step further, the transplanted weeds elsewhere may grow long enough and strong enough to become useful later on as the green manure for the same fields. Even so the offenders *of to-day segregated* and systematically weaned off from their criminal propensities have on a future date every chance of turning out into useful servants of the very society which they had once injured.

Therefore, the author's real intention behind this couplet could thus be gathered through the carefully-used words and comparison of his.

It is significant again that in the couplet 549 the author has spoken of punishing the offence only, and not the offenders, even as he does here in 550.

We must read also couplets 561 and 562 along with this 550, if we really wanted to get at the real intention of the author.

Even on the showing of P. the author has in his mind only the awarding of a preventive punishment in *case of any offence (561)*. And this offence is no exception. If it were so, he would have specifically stated so. Now as it is, his intention is quite clear and that is to avoid the infliction of capital punishment even on murderers. It is only the disingenous dabbling with the order of the words in the couplet by P. and his extracting an artificial *meaning therefrom* that have caused needless doubts in the readers' minds. Again, the artificial expression unnaturally extracted from the text by P. namely 'கொலையின் ஒறுத்தல்' is neither idiomatic nor flawless Tamil. The word கொலை means 'murder'. If so, we do not say as P. does, that 'the criminal is punished with murder.' The criminal is 'punished with death' is the idiom. In so far as the author has used no such valid expression to convey his idea of a capital punishment and in so far as the word ஒறுத்தல் has been deliberately used by him in connection with the hard-hearted murderers only, and not with reference to punishment, St. Valluvar could never be taken to lend

support to the interpretation P. puts upon this couplet. Hence the Kural is against awarding capital punishment.

Sir C.P. Ramaswamy Iyar said in 1952:

"But at the present moment the most accepted theory in the field was that grave crimes could be traced to heredity and bad early training and criminals could be reformed by a psychological approach. In Scandinavian countries this experiment was tried but was left half way due to onslaught of communism.

The All India Penological Conference held in February 1947 at Lucknow recommended the abolition of whipping and resolved that the present practice of dealing with crimes like murders should be reversed. It held the opinion that in normal cases the sentence should be transportation for life and only in exceptional circumstances capital punishment should be awarded."

* * *

1953. The Victorian Parliamentary Labour party decided to abolish capital punishment in that State of Australia.

Queensland State too has abolished.

Death penalty to go in Britain:

The British House of Lords yesterday approved a Bill abolishing the death penalty by a vote of 204 to 104.

The Lords approved the Bill in second reading. This is the first time the House of Lords, which had voted twice on this subject since the end of second World War, had approved the abolition.

The House of Commons last week approved the abolition of the death penalty with a 102 vote majority.

GUJARAT

The latest news says the State of Gujarat has abolished the award of Capital punishment in honour of the memory of

Mahatma Gandhi whose Birth Centenary it is going to celebrate like the million of the world to-day.

This is the best exemplification of both Valluvam and Gandhism. All honour to Gujarat.

The Government of Tamil Nadu too may very well follow suit and abolish capital punishment here also.

Hanging for murder goes in U. K.

Two major Bills—abolishing hanging as the penalty for murder and banning incitement to racial hatred—became law in Britain yesterday.

Queen Elizabeth has given royal assent to the Bills.

Hanging for murder is abolished for an experimental period of five years from now. Only treason, piracy and certain military offences will carry the death penalty.

The Race Relations Bill provided maximum penalty of two years in jail and a fine of £ 1,000 for incitement to race hatred.

The aim is to stop race discrimination in public places, like hotels, restaurants and cafes, theatres, cinemas and swimming pools or on public transport.

CHAPTER XXIV

VALLUVAR AND HIS ECONOMIC DOCTRINES

1. *" To be able to increase wealth, to lay it up and guard,*
And also will to distribute it, marks a royal lord." (385)

Herein the author refers neither to the king nor to his minister, but to the neutral thing called the State or Government.

The essential functions of Public Finance according to Valluvar are (1) Creation of revenues, (2) Collecting of revenue, (3) Management or guarding of revenue and (4) Public expenditure. In modern Public Finance these four functions may be equated with the three categories : (1) Public Income. (2) Financial Administration and (3) Public Expenditure.

Dr. B. Natarajan, in his lecture under this very Endowment, states as follows :

" The term creation of public revenues has been interpreted by some in a modern sense. They held that Valluvar had in mind the concept of State engaging directly in productive activities or what is now known as State or Public Enterprises. Although there is no distinct evidence for such inference, it is possible that the ruler in those days had his domains or Crown lands and the proper management and husbanding of its resources was laid down as an important duty of State. The expression 'creation' however carries a different signification. By 'creation' Valluvar presumably meant that the State shonld constantly be

doing all that is necessary to 'create' those conditions by which the yield from the major heads of revenue increases naturally and automatically. The torturing and fostering of the taxable capacity of the population was laid down as a prime concern of the sovereign in the sphere of Public Finance. It is this which Valluvar must have had in his mind rather than starting and running of Public Enterpriser, although the latter is not to be excluded. The creation of taxable capacity indeed is the hall-mark of any progressive economy."

The word 'creating' can also be made to include producing both food stuffs, grains and industrial goods. The word is not mere tax collection. This can be very well taken to mean the State's Trade nationally and internationally. This century has a number of examples.

Protection means not merely protecting the produce physically but also fiscal protection of the indigenous and nascent industries by means of import duties etc. and excise etc.

Distribution has a very wide significance as referring to the functions of a Welfare State such as expenditure on hospitals, schools, choultries, places of entertainments gardens etc. as Parimel Azhagar has explained in detail.

The next couplet is :

> "*Let him just be the executive who can income's source*
> *Quite multiply and foster wealth, removing hind'ring force.*" (512)

Expanding the sources of income, means that the State should invent and expand the number of the ways and means of revenue to the State. The present day State has gone about this business even too much.

Increasing the quantum and measure of income that will accrue as a result of such multiplication of the number of sources. Here we may safely infer that there could be a reference to the Five Year Plans of the modern State. This couplet has an obvious reference to the Finance Minister whose duty it is to foster the income of the State.

Strangely, two eminent Indian Parliamentarians of to-day have severally and without a knowledge of the Kural, have pronounced that the Finance Minister of a State should increase the resources of his State.

Mr. Morarjee Desai, India's Finance Minister said recently at Madras on 13th February 1969 as follows :

"The function of the Finance Minister is not to collect money and conserve it but to utilise it in such a manner that it produces larger prosperity and greater contentment and self-confidence in the country as a whole."

Again Dr. A. L. Mudaliar, then Leader of the Opposition and Vice Chancellor here in the Legislative Council on 10—7—1952 remarked as follows :—

The law of dwindling returns would operate unless they took note of the economic factors and unless they were able, in a scientific manner to help making the people richer in every way. The Finance Minister should not play the role of mere tax-gatherer of the old but should also be a 'wealth-producer.'

This couplet may be taken to refer to the importation of foreign experts to help us with their past experience and 'Know-how' in the matter of establishing new industries. The cases of Bhilai, Rourkela and other Steel Industries and the importers of Russian and German technical exports of this century in India are instances in point.

"To gain thy object, do produce good wealth and that alone
Will file the pride of foes; a sharper steel is not yet known." (759)

This couplet has a direct bearing on the need for manufacturing all articles in one's own country and even to the modern steel industry so as to give a blow to the economic arrogance of other exporting countries.

CHAPTER XXV

VALLUVAR ON WATER SOURCES

" இருபுனலும் வாய்ந்த மலையும் வருபுனலும்
வல்லரணும் நாட்டிற் குறுப்பு."

"*The two-fold waters, useful hills, and water*
flowing thence,
And mighty forts are called the limbs of Land
of excellence." (737)

Three kinds of water sources are being mentioned in this couplet, one is the natural river which has its source on the mountains.

The other two are described as 'மேல் நீர், கீழ் நீர்' referring respectively to 'ஏரிகளும், தூரவு கேணிகளும்' by Parimel Azhagar. In the modern technical parlance both these kinds of water may be called surface water and underground water or better still major irrigation and minor irrigation water. And this fact makes Valluvar's couplet have quite a modern twentieth century ring.

Thus, one of the latest text books on irrigation speaks of these things only. The book speaks of mono and multi-purpose storage reservoirs, and dams of masonry concrete and earthen bunds. And this is equivalent to Valluvar's 'மேல் நீர்' or surface water.

Next it deals with design of diversion works, head works of canals, regulators, escapes, drops etc. and finishes with inundation channels, river-training etc. And this is covered by Valluvar's 'வருபுனல்' or river waters.

Thirdly a whole chapter has been devoted in this book to the subject of prospecting of ground water for irrigation and the methods of lifting ground-water.

This book is by V. B. Priyani.

The Hindu Sunday, October 17, 1965.

Water resources :

About ninetyseven per cent of the water which covers seventy per cent of the surface of the earth is salt water in the oceans. Another two per cent is in the form of ice at the poles and elsewhere and the balance of one per cent is what has to be conserved for man's daily use. That is why we have of late been hearing of attempts to apply the principles of modern industrials technology to the conversion of sea water into a portable condition at a commercially feasible cost. Not a moment too soon has come the declaration of an International Hydrological Decade under the inspiration of Unesco. As international effort is being made to bring together hydrologists so that they may share their knowledge in a manner that would benefit all nations. In tune with this, the U. S. has set up a Water Resource Council (to study the ways and means of conserving water and ensuring better distribution) and has allotted $ 275 millions for further research in desalinisation techniques.

One major problem facing hydrologists is that of pollution of valuable water resources by industrial plants. Petroleum, paper and food industries have been among the most prolific of pollutants and other modern industries not only gobble up enormous quantities of water but throw them out after use in such a manner that it has been calculated that "industrial wastes create more than twice as much pollution as the entire sewage system" in an industrialised country like the U. S. It is only now that people and authorities are waking up to the urgent need for ending this pollution and compelling cities, towns, industrialists and individuals to take measures to prevent poisoning of water resources. The Cooum and Buckingham Canal in Madras are, for instance, being used as receptacles for civic sewage; even in the

advanced nations of the West, rivers and lakes are similarly polluted. An exception to the rule is the Ruhr in Germany where the river, though it flows through a densely industrialised area, remains comparatively clean, thanks to the cooperative efforts of municipalities and industries.

Another problem of hydrology is to provide water for big cities as well as for large dry areas which can be used for raising more food crops if only water could be made available. Sometimes water has to be transported over long distances and at great cost and Madras is not alone in thinking in terms of getting water from the overflowing rivers situated many miles away. Cities and States are learning the hard way to look far ahead and California, for example, is planning to meet its requirements in 2020 A. D. It has plenty of water in the north while the south is dry. But water can make this arid region bloom and support millions more. In fact the manner in which a country like Israel and A State like California tackle their water problem is a matter of international interest. Israel deals with water on a national basis, being a tiny country, and is constantly improving its conservation work and water-tranportation facilities. Its scientists are engaged in finding out the answer to the question : "How much water does each crop actually need?" In South India, it may be pointed out that such experimental data would be particularly valuable especially when the water in the reservoirs goes down in level and the seasonal rains either fail or are inadequate.

Conservation and desalinisation are the two major means of utilising the world's water resources to the best effect. It is reported that about a couple of hundred desalinisation plants are already at work all over the world and that "engineers have already lowered the average cost from about $5 per 1000 gallons of water in 1952 to about $1. Thirtyfive cents per 1000 gallons, however, is the price of desalinised water which would make it "competitive in price with natural water in the U. S." In less affluent societies the price will have to be even lower. Meanwhile it is being argued that the price of water supplied to urban dwellers and industrialists should be 'more realistic' and that an increase in price and strictly controlled supply would themselves be conservation methods of great effectiveness. Industries, in

particular, in an effort to avoid high water supply charges, are learning to use the same supply over and over again by setting up auxiliary purification plants. By raising the cost of water to citizens it may be possible to find the money for financing more efficient water transportation over long distances. In any case, the Hydrological Decade will serve, among other things, the extremely valuable purpose of making people water-conscious which, unfortunately, they are not, except in times of scarcity.

The Hindu - Sunday, March 28, 1965.

WASTED WEALTH

It is an old truism that water sustains life. It is the mainstay of agriculture. Countries seeking to industrialise themselves rapidly are also coming to learn that it is even more necessary for industries of all kinds. The preoccupation with water in a developing country like India is therefore understandable. What is not so easy to comprehend is why attention should be paid mostly to surface sources of water as rivers and tanks and reservoirs to the neglect of underground. It is true that these sources are invisible and so missed. They were not so easy to exploit either, except in a small way, until recently. But the spread of electricity to almost every nook and corner of the land is making available in an ever-increasing measure the power necessary to pump up the underground water economically, wherever it is needed, be it for irrigation, drinking purposes or industrial uses. How vast this resource is and how poorly it is being used were recently indicated by the Union Minister for Irrigation, Mr. K. L. Rao, while addressing the inaugural meeting of the Indian Association of Geo-hydrologists. A little more than a sixth of all the rainfall every year is being sucked up by the earth and kept in reserve in its underground holds. Not all of it may be usable by man for various reasons, but at present, only a small part of even the usable reserves is being exploited through wells, tube wells and other means.

Mr. Rao estimates the country's underground storage at 30,000 million acre feet upto a depth of 1000 feet. That is a large quantity of water. The ground water exploration of the Geological Survey of India has already indicated several areas where such subterranean storage occurs in significant quantities. Even the heart of the great Indian desert in the Jaisalmer area of Rajasthan has been found to have considerable underground reserves. Properly used, there is no reason why even the desert cannot be made to bloom. The huge underground reservoirs at Neyveli, along with lignite, are already helping to transform that belt into a vast industrial complex. It had been pointed out even long ago by geological survey authorities that the entire region known as the Cuddalore formation of sand stone, stretching from the south of Markanam along the coast to Ramanathapuram harbours large quantities of underground water that may be tapped for a variety of uses. Some American experts who visited Madras last year to study Madras City's drinking water problem suggested exploiting this underground water as an economical way of solving the problem. Why a more systematic survey of these resources has not been made so far and the water utilised better is not known, though huge sums are being spent on river-based irrigation works. What is needed is not only fuller use of this valuable resource to bring more acres into fruitful production, but scientific study to ensure that there is neither waste nor local over-exploitation, upsetting the water-table too much. Geo-hydrology is being developed as an important specialisation in the advanced countries and Indian universities would do well to institute studies and courses therein.

The Hindu - SUB LEADER, 26—10—1965

WASTED WATERS

Madras has not only developed almost all of the available surface water for irrigation, but is just now in the unenviable position of not having enough water in its reservoirs to turn the turbines and fertilise the fields. But there are many other States where there is still ample scope for harnessing river waters for food production through the construction of new dams as well as

by the full use of water already stored. The Prime Minister performed Bhoomi Pooja the other day at a site in Paithan in Maharashtra, the site of the proposed Rs. 65 crore Godavari project expected to irrigate nearly seven lakh acres of land. And there is the giant Nagarjunasagar Project in Andhra Pradesh in a fairly advanced stage of construction as well as many other major ones like the Upper Krishna project in Mysore that should in course of time bring vast tracts of fallow land under the plough to produce hundreds of thousands of tons more of food grains. But those birds in the bush cannot avail much at the present critical juncture, though it will be hoped that a new sense of urgency will be felt by those in charge of the execution of partially completed schemes to finish the work ahead of schedule, before thinking of undertaking new projects. Mysore, for instance, has been able to spread irrigation only to 450,000 acres during the Third Plan as against a target of more than twice that extent, partly by not being able to use up all the water stored.

The Planning Commission is reported to have met last week to consider measures to ensure full utilisation of all available water which suggests that many other States besides Mysore are also remiss in this respect. The Union Ministry of Irrigation indicated in its last annual report that the position in respect of utilisation had improved and stood at as high as 95 per cent. But it could arrive at this figure only after some argument as to the irrigation potential created in a particular year not being considered for use during that year because, in practice, utilisation depends upon the waters being available at the head of the water course at the beginning of the season. And by the end of the Third Plan next March, only 15·41 million acres may be actually irrigated though a new potential of nearly 20 million acres might be created. The present Emergency is no time to leave unused any available water even for one or even a part of a cultivating season and the Planning Commission would do well to concentrate on steps to ensure maximum use of this valuable resource.

The Prime Minister has urged that the Government should see that all difficulties in the way of full use of water are removed. Some of those difficulties like failure to dig field channels in time have been known for some time and no State

Government will have any excuse to let that stand in the way of full and timely utilisation hereafter. Even the proposal to link minor irrigation programmes with schemes for rural electrification is nothing new and it is surprising that a Committee should have to be set up at this late hour to make suggestions for promoting lift irrigation from tube wells. State Governments would perhaps go about it all more purposefully if Central aid for new irrigation projects is linked by a formula to the record of utilisation of projects already completed.

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CHAPTER XXVI

VALLUVAR AND THE WEALTH IN THE OCEANS

" The spacious oceans' pearls and creatures too will soon diminish
If clouds would not the oceans whence they had drunk, replenish."

" நெடுங்கடலும் தன்னீர்மை குன்றும் தடிந்தெழிலி
தான்நல்கா தாகி விடின்." (17)

None of the commentators on this couplet has ever interpreted or explained the word தன்னீர்மை in this couplet with all the tremendous possibilities or potentialities that this word and watery world contained. No one could go beyond the conception of the pearls in the shells of the sea or the numberless sea lives therein.

But the scientists of the Twentieth Century have succeeded in discovering the immense and inexhaustible possibilities on the ocean floor.

The scramble for the sea-bed (Hindu, 28—1—69)

Mr. Pardo, Malta's permanent Representative of the U. N., recently persuaded the world body to form a major committee to study the problem of the sovereignty of the sea bed.

The sea-bed and the ocean floor constitute nearly three quarters of the land area of the earth. International law encourages the appropriation of this vast area by those who have the technical competence to exploit it. The known resources of the sea-bed and of the ocean floor are greater than the resources known to exist on dry land and may soon become commercially exploitable, affecting the prices of several minerals.

Nearly a hundred years ago an expedition discovered the existence of phosphorite and manganese dioxide concretions—commonly called nodules on the ocean floor. Manganese nodules are irregularly spherical in shape, like potatoes, ranging from 0.5 to 25 cm., in diameter, and are commonly found on the surface of the ocean floor at a depth of between 1,500 and 6000 metres. About 20 per cent of the surface of the Pacific Ocean floor is covered by nodules sometimes in the almost incredible concentration of 50 kg. per square metre. These nodules have been estimated to contain 43 billion tons of aluminium—equivalent to reserves for 20,000 years at the 1960 world rate of consumption (as compared to known land reserves for 100 years).

They also contain 358 billion tons of manganese equivalent to reserves for 400,000 years (known land reserves, 100 years); 7.9 billion tons of copper equivalent to reserves for 6,000 years (known land reserves, 40 years); nearly one billion tons of zirconium—equivalent to reserves for 100,000 years (known land reserves, 100 years); 14.7 billion tons of nickel equivalent to reserves for 150,000 years (land reserves, 100 years); 5.2 billion tons of cobalt equivalent to reserves for 200,000 years (land reserves, 40 years); Three-quarters of a billion tons of molybdenum equivalent to reserves for 30,000 years (land reserves, 500 years).

In addition, the Pacific Ocean nodules contain 207 billion tons of iron, nearly, 10 billion tons of titanium, 25 billion tons of magnesium, 1.3 billion tons of lead, 800 million tons of vanadium and so on.

Manganese nodules are also found in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. Thus estimates made must be substantially increased to obtain world estimates. The vastness of this untapped wealth is made even more incredible by the fact that manganese nodules are forming at a rate faster than 1960 world consumption of magnesium, cobalt, zinconium and other metals.

National appropriation and the commercial exploitation of the mineral resources of the ocean floor are imminent. Leases have already been granted for the mining of phosphorite deposits lying well beyond the continental shelf, at depths exceeding 1000

metres and at a distance of upto 50 miles from the nearest coast. A prototype submersible for commercial mining of the rich manganese nodule deposits of the ocean floor at depths upto 4,000 metres is under construction now and others are planned.

Equally vast are the resources below the floor's surface. In 1947 world petroleum reserves under the seas were estimated at 1,000 billion barrels; in 1966 they were estimated at 2.5 trillion barrels.

Present off-shore commercial petroleum production is confined to the continental shelf in waters not exceeding 100 metres in depth; and it still uses land technology. This situation cannot be expected to continue for long. Semi-submersible drilling rigs in operation to-day are capable of drilling in water depths up to 350 metres. Self propelled ocean-going oil-drilling rigs can anchor in water 180 metres deep and drill 75,000 metres into the ocean floor. Remote-controlled robots for underwater use have been developed to maintain underwater well-heads. Methods of transportation to the coast of off-shore oil are also being improved.

Expenditure on oceanographic research and technology is increasing rapidly. In the United States, governmental expenditure in these fields were only 29 million 10 years ago, they are now nearly 500 million and are projected to exceed 5 million in 10 years' time. Similar increases in governmental expenditures may be observed in the Soviet Union and France. A new generation of deep submergence vessels is already under construction which will be capable of operating at a depth of 7,000 metres. Thus within a couple of years nearly the entire ocean floor will be accessible and exploitable without excessive difficulty. The World's future wealth is beneath oceans!

Six British companies are to study the possibilities of long-term exploitation of the oceans and their resources.

They have set up the Commercial Oceanology Study Group to undertake an investigation which will begin soon and is expected to last about a year. Mr. N. C. Flemming, an oceanologist, will lead the investigation.

This is the latest example of the increasing interest being taken in the potentialities of the oceans. They may prove the ultimate source of the world's wealth for in their depths is a vast depository of chemicals and minerals which may prove more rewarding to mine than deposits on land. Moreover, such under-water accumulations are constantly growing and in terms of present-day consumption are virtually inexhaustible.

Where Britain is concerned, it was said during the passage of the Continental Shelf Bill (1963) through Parliament that not only oil but coal and minerals might be found in the exploitation of the Continental shelf (Particularly in the North Sea).

Gold washed up :

Such exploitation is a new development in most parts of the world and certainly round the British Isles. The Continental shelf comprises water in general 100 fathoms or less in depth, but development will not stop there.

The tremendous possibilities in oil and coal resources, minerals, food, and fish farming beyond the shelf, at depths of over 1,000 feet, have been discussed by the House of Commons Parliamentary and Scientific Committee.

Two further examples of this current interest can be quoted from the Antipodes. Recently, a Brisbane man, Mr. George Alcorn, engaged the South Australian Oceanographic Research Institute to confirm his theory that there is gold for the taking, off the coast of new South Wales.

He says that after heavy storms, gold has been washed up. When a likely gold-bearing area has been mapped out, Mr. Alcorn plans to bring a dredger into use to suck up the gold and other minerals.

Mineral deposits :

Australia is also turning to the ocean as a possible source of superphosphate fertiliser. It is not an exaggeration to say that the fertility of the Commonwealth's agricultural areas has been brought about by the use of this fertiliser.

About three-quarters of the cultivated land is regularly manured largely by superphosphate manufactured from rock imported from certain pacific islands, such as Nauru and the Gilbert and Ellice Group. But their resources are being so rapidly depleted that the end is in sight and so the Bureau of Mineral Resources, Britain, is giving attention to sea bed mineral deposits containing phosphorus.

The Royal Navy frigate Diamantina is examining the Continental shelf for deposits of phosphate that could be mined and converted into fertiliser. Island deposits were originally bird droppings, but phosphorus in the sea could be the produce of chemical action or fragments of dead plant and sea life.

Reports are regularly coming in of new discoveries of wealth in diverse latitudes of the world's oceans. For example, up till lately the least-known was the Indian Ocean, Now more than 2,000 scientists from 24 countries and some 30 research vessels are taking part in a six-year expedition sponsored by UNESCO and other international bodies. One of the vessles, the Soviet Vityaz, reported large deposits of iron and manganese ores, containing up-to 0.5 per cent of nickel, cobalt and rare metals, lying under the southern part of the ocean.

This year the expedition has discovered two warm water holes in the middle of the Red Sea containing unusual iron deposits. The chief scientists on board the United States research vessel Atlantis II reported that the deposits were found at depths of around 700 feet where the temperature registered nearly 140 degree Fahrenheit. Normally at such a depth the temperature is about 40 degrees. The Atlantis II is now concerned on the chemical and physical aspects of Indian Ocean.

Nodules :

Vast areas of the ocean bed are strewn with mysteriously formed nodules made up of an average of 25 per cent of manganese, 15 per cent of iron and small quantities of cobalt, nickel and copper.

Some concentrations in the Pacific are reckoned worth upto Rs. 5 crores a square mile. A shark's tooth or whale's ear-bone may form the nucleus of a nodule. Manganese nodules on the sea bed 18,000 feet down have been viewed by cameras lowered from a Russian research vessel.

One of the leading advocates of the exploitation of the ocean floor for economic purposes is Dr. John L. Mero, an oceanologist, of the University of California.

He proposes collecting the nodules with gigantic vacuum cleaner like hydraulic dredges. They would have propellers, gyros and floats to keep the pipes in position and television cameras to find the nodules.

As a rig moves, the pump will lift or 'snuff' up the lumps by means of suction heads through as much as three miles of pipe into a barge. It is estimated that the extracted metal will yield a profit of Rs. 100 a ton.

U. N. Control:

There has been talk since the end of the Second World War of the Antarctic proving a source of uranium. The oceans may prove to be a much more accessible source of uranium, as was pointed out at a United Nations Conference on the peaceful uses of atomic energy. Dr. Robert Spence, Director of the Harwell Research Institute, said that it is now technically feasible to extract uranium from sea water for less than it now costs.

The development of the world's ocean resources cannot be left as a 'free for all'. When exploitation becomes intense a number of political questions will arise. Such as: What will happen outside territorial waters? Will there be international law for the depths? Ought the United Nations to be given control of the oceans?

The problem of the division of the sea-bed between nations bordering it has already arisen with the search for oil and gas in the North Sea.

New era in under exploration :

In recent years, due to the improved design of diving equipment more underwater exploration has taken place than in all recorded history.

Off the coast and islands of central America much sunken treasure has been lifted off the sea bed from wrecked ships. There is a project now being developed from lifting silt, rich in rare minerals, off the bed of the Red Sea.

Whilst space exploration has dominated the headlines over the past twenty years it now begins to look as though the next century will be known not as the 'Space Age' but as the 'Space and Marine Age.'

There are many exciting possibilities to be linked with this new and urgent interest in the sea. Although fish and shell fish have been bred in tanks for several thousand years fish or sea farming has not yet been attempted on a major scale.

Preliminary experiments are being carried out in England and the U. S. A. but little has, as yet, been revealed as to their success of the results obtained. Theoretically, there is scope to add enormously to world food production through sea farming.

Pilot scheme :

One or two pilot experimental schemes for harnessing the ebb and flow of tidal waters are already in operation. It is early yet to attempt to evaluate their commercial and practical viability. In theory, there is enormous scope (especially in Northern areas) for the development of new sources of electrical power.

It has long been thought that on and under the sea beds are mineral deposits fantastically greater than those so far being mined or exploited on land. The Red sea venture will be the first major attempt to exploit these deposits apart from the off shore oil and gas rigs already in use all over the world. We can probably look forward to an era in the not too distant future when the oceans of the world contain floating townships which are related to mineral exploitation.

Of one thing we can be sure, that if the world population continues to expand at its present fantastic rate, it will become a matter of dire necessity that mankind somehow makes use of this vast sea-covered area of the world's surface which has throughout recorded history been so neglected.

WORLD FOOD PROBLEM SOLVED

In the depths of sea there is food for millions :

Each year the increase in India's population is well over 10,000,000. Some people estimate it is nearly 12.000,000.

For every 10,000,000 increase in the population India must provide about 2,00,000 tons of additional foodgrains, 500,000 tons of fruits and vegetables and 800,000 tons of additional animal products, particularly milk.

These are the huge increases Indian agriculture must achieve merely to maintain present levels and also to set right the present imbalance in the average Indian's diet. Yet the present levels are woefully inadequate for great masses of Indians never have enough to eat.

Malnutrition:

Nutritionally, India is a very poor country. An average Indian is said to eat 1.23 pounds of food daily, mostly rice, containing 1,990 calories, while an American or a European consumes as much as 1.66 pounds of food containing 3,120 calories a day.

Without an adequate balanced diet containing proteins, all the fats and carbohydrates which a child can eat will not help him. A child with a full stomach can still die of malnutrition.

In India alone 50 million children may die of malnutrition in the next ten years, unless the protein intake is radically increased.

Protein deficiency is not only a social tragedy, but also an economic liability. A large debilitated, stunted population

with reduced intelligence must lower national efficiency and productivity.

Such plain speaking characterises a thoughtful, factual and constructive book on the problem which I have just read. It is entitled 'Feeding India's Growing Millions' (Asia publishing House).

The author is a distinguished Indian statistician Dr. P. V. Sukhatme, Director of the Statistics Division of the Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations (FAO).

The author has done all he could to authenticate his meterial. The first chapter, for example, is concerned with a careful review of food balance sheets, consumption surveys, protein and other requirements all of which helps to establish the validity of the statistics used and consequently of the results obtained.

Once he has established as it were the bonafides of his case, Dr. Sukhatme goes on to examine the statistics of hunger in India future food needs and the possibilities of raising the needed additional foods.

These are chapters which, I suggest, should be made compulsory reading for all students in our secondary schools and colleges. The grim facts of the present food situation should be known to all and the threat of even grimmer facts arising in the future should be exposed to the coming generations.

In this book, Dr. Sukhatme refers to two groups of countries in the world-the rich, well-fed small group and the poor and ill-fed big group, to which India belongs.

"It will be seen," he comments, referring to tables in his book, "that the richer countries not only consume larger amounts of carbohydrate foods (cereals, starchy roots and sugar) than India but also five times as large a quantity of protective foods comprising animal products, fruits and vegetables, fats and oils."

Referring to the effects of good nutrition, Dr. Sukhatme points to the astonishing change in expectation of life in such

countries as Britain and France. Till the middle of last century at least, the expectation was about 40 years in both countries. Today it exceeds 70 years. Not all, of course, is due to better nutrition, but there is no doubt that basically this has made the change possible.

In India today the expectation of life is about 45 years. Statistics of infantile mortality, in particular, reflect nutritional levels. In India, the rate is 40 in 1,000 while in the U. K. and France it is one.

It is known that the principal cause of death of infants between 1 and 4 years of age is infection and the capacity to combat infection is 'largely determined by the intake of protective foods in the diet.'

In his estimate of the extent of hunger in India, Dr. Sukhatme says : " Probably one in every three of India's population is under-nourished. The incidence of malnutrition is more difficult to assess. The evidence presented indicates that it is far higher and can be placed at least 50 per cent for India as a whole.

Difficult task :

Further the majority of the under-nourished are also mal-nourished. It would thus appear that some 250 millions of India's population today are either under-nourished or malnurished or both.

The answer to this appalling problem is *to maximise* the production of food, of vegetable and animal origin in order to raise the appallingly low standards of diet of the mass of people.

This in itself is an imposing task and needs to be tackled in many ways—*mechanisation of agriculture, improved farming* practices, use of better seeds, fertilisers and irrigation, better credit facilities and incentives, a revision of the cattle policy and fuller exploitation of the nutrition resources-immense fish-wealth- from hitherto unexplored pastures and unharvested crops of the Arbian Sea, for the sea has its crops no less than land, and in this lies the hope of utilising a *comparatively untapped source of rich* food for a growing protein-poor country like India.

Better supply :

To augment our food resources the *International Indian* Ocean Expedition (IIOE) has shown where to go. But before the fabulous riches of the sea can be garnered for the benefit of the under-fed and under-nourished, a vast field of scientific exploration is necessary all along India's long coastline.

This will not only ensure a better and ample supply of fish but help popularise the use of that microscopic life, animal and plant, known as plankton and also the use of seaweeds as food —not popular in India—which could be cultivated to form an important part of our diet.

The recent exploration of the hidden wealth of the vast Indian Ocean—28 times the size of India—by an international team of experts will go a long way towards relieving under-nourishment of the masses and in meeting the food demand of the increasing population of Asian countries bordering the Ocean.